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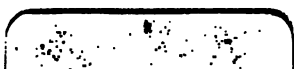
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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER
1903

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REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME

AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1903

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1904

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere. For the former he cordially acknowledges his great indebtedness to the summary and full reports, used by special permission of *The Times*, which have appeared in that journal, and he has also pleasure in expressing his sense of obligation to the Editors of "Ross's Parliamentary Record," *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*, for the valuable assistance which, by their consent, he has derived from their summaries and reports, towards presenting a compact view of the course of Parliamentary proceedings. To the Editors of the two last-named papers he further desires to tender his best thanks for their permission to make use of the summaries of speeches delivered outside Parliament appearing in their columns.

ADDENDUM TO CHRONICLE OF EVENTS.

August 6. There was published the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Municipal Trading. They had confined themselves almost entirely to questions of account and audit. They recommended that a uniform system of audit be enforced in the case of all the major local authorities; that the appointments of the auditors should be subject to the approval of the Local Government Board; and, generally, that the auditors should be required to make such reports as should enable all citizens to judge clearly as to the financial condition of all business undertakings carried on by their local authorities.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1903.

PART I.

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DURING the first six weeks of 1903 which elapsed before the opening of the parliamentary session, public attention was principally occupied with our relations with the United States and Germany in the conduct of the negotiations for the settlement of the Venezuelan difficulty (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, pp. 240-1). The tension of feeling was not entirely relieved by the acceptance of the proposal to refer matters to arbitration, inasmuch as the blockade of the Venezuelan ports by the allied Powers was maintained until the protocol had been actually signed, the admission of the principle of arbitration still leaving the terms of reference to be decided upon. The claim of the three blockading Powers—England, Germany and Italy—to priority of treatment in the hypothecation of the Venezuelan Customs for payment of their claims and indemnities was opposed by Mr. Bowen, the American Minister acting on behalf of Venezuela, and the disputes on this point, coupled with the unfortunate bombardment of San Carlos by a German man-of-war on January 20 while the negotiations were still proceeding, led to the exhibition of considerable irritation on the part of the New York Press. The anxiety of the British public as to the nature and extent of our agreement with Germany was thereby intensified, and led to the exercise of much speculation as to the

history of its inception. It was felt that the Government had not only failed to discern the foreign situation in its true perspective, but had shown curious inability to diagnose the state of public opinion at home. The attitude of Ministers was either apologetic or deprecatory; Lord Cranborne, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the course of a speech at Sheffield on January 30, which excited considerable criticism among the Government's supporters, went so far as to admit the truth of Sir Robert Giffen's description of the affair as "a mess." He denied, however, that there was any Anglo-German alliance. There were only "certain arrangements to govern common action when we entered into this business." This description corresponded pretty closely with a phrase employed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, who, speaking four days earlier at Glasgow, had called the joint Anglo-German action "a mere casual co-operation for a specific purpose and for a limited time." But, as Mr. Asquith pointed out at Hull (Jan. 28), this statement was hard to reconcile with Lord Lansdowne's own despatch, in which he described the association as one from which neither Government would be at liberty to recede without the consent of the other, or with the acknowledged ignorance of the British Government as to the character, extent or grounds of the German claims. In these circumstances, Mr. Asquith said that he preferred to describe the alliance as "a partnership, indefinite to a large extent in its purposes, and altogether indefinite in point of time, in which we as a nation combined unlimited liability with a strictly limited power of control." The explanations given by Ministers of the history of the agreement also led to a good deal of mystification in respect of the question, Who had taken the lead in bringing about the joint action? That the British Government had been the first to resolve on operations against Venezuela, and, having obtained the approval of the United States, had afterwards admitted German co-operation, was a version of the facts first put forward by Lord George Hamilton at Bradford on February 7, and was doubtless meant to dispel the impression that our Government had blindly followed a lead given by Germany. Subsequent explanations given by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons on February 17, and by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Lords on March 2, served to remove the impression prevalent in some quarters that the inception of the agreement was due to the visit of the German Emperor to King Edward in November. Lord George Hamilton's statement, however, that the initial diplomatic steps at Washington, in regard to the prospective coercion of Venezuela, had been taken independently by the British Government was not borne out by Lord Lansdowne's subsequent statement on March 2, from which it appeared that the operations were first suggested by Germany, and that the Government of the United States, even if, in a sense, it was "from the beginning taken into our confidence with regard to

every stage of this procedure," as Mr. Balfour declared in his speech of February 13, was only communicated with formally on November 11, when the British Government was finally committed to the joint blockade. The motives which had induced the Government to co-operate with Germany remained a subject of conjecture, especially in view of the earlier exhibitions by Germany of hostile opinion towards this country, and Lord Cranborne's defence in his speech of January 30, already mentioned, that "it would have been inconsistent with that temperate moderation which we are never tired of attributing to ourselves" if we had refused German advances, came in for much criticism at the hands of Mr. Arthur Lee, M.P. (in a letter to the *Times*, Feb. 3), and other supporters of the Government.

A general sense of relief was therefore experienced when it became known in the middle of February that the Venezuelan Protocol had been agreed to and that the blockade had been raised. The effect of the arrangement, so far as Great Britain was concerned, was to secure the payment of 5,500*l.*, in discharge of our "first-line" claims, on account of insults to the British flag and assaults on British subjects; the reference of secondary claims to a mixed commission, on which, if an agreement could not be arrived at, President Roosevelt would appoint an arbitrator; and the reference to the Hague Tribunal of the question whether the claims of the blockading Powers should enjoy priority over those of other nations having grievances against Venezuela. The prestige of the Government had suffered, however, and Mr. Walter Long's naïve description (Feb. 11) of the Ministerial policy as one of "muddling through," if not very felicitous, was felt to be not inaccurate.

A bye-election, in which a feeling of dissatisfaction with the Venezuelan policy of the Government undoubtedly had something to do with the adverse vote of the constituency, took place early in January in the Newmarket division, rendered vacant by the death of Colonel McCalmont, who had been elected in 1900 by a majority of 1,077 votes. The result was the return of the Liberal candidate, Mr. C. D. Rose, by a majority of 507. But more significance was attached to this bye-election by the Opposition, as being the first to be contested since the passing of the Education Act.

In fact, in domestic politics, the operation of the Education Act of 1902 was the subject of an amount of controversy almost unprecedented in the case of a measure which has once been inscribed on the Statute Book. This was partly due to the fact that the exclusion of London from the scope of the Act left the intentions of the Government as to the precise form of the proposed educational authority for the metropolis a subject of anxious speculation. But the dissatisfaction extensively felt among Nonconformists, and to some extent among High Churchmen, with the provisions of the measure was a still more potent cause. The welcome extended to it by most of

the bishops in their pastoral letters, and the hope expressed by the Archbishop of York that it would mean "the probable cessation of the thirty years' war" between Board Schools and Voluntary Schools, were not shared by a section of the High Church clergy. Their objections to the Kenyon-Slaney clause were succinctly expressed, and perhaps exacerbated, by Mr. Lathbury, the editor of the *Pilot*, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, wherein he stigmatised the Bill as "a laicisation of Church Schools," and regarded it as inconceivable that the clergy should long accept such a state of things as it involved.

On the other hand, the Liberal party, as a whole, also refused to acquiesce in regarding the Act as a settlement of the Education question, and were determined, as Lord Spencer put it in addressing the Northamptonshire County Council, to lose no parliamentary opportunity of getting the changes which they thought necessary. On this point the Liberal party appeared united, but on the immediate attitude to be adopted towards the administration of the Act marked differences of opinion made themselves apparent. Lord Spencer, as also Sir Henry Fowler at Bishop Auckland (Jan. 27), emphasised the duty of all Liberals, now that Parliament had passed the Bill, to do their utmost to make the best of it. The latitude left to the councils in the framing of their schemes for the constitution of the education authority, and to Voluntary School trustees in the appointment of foundation managers, seemed indeed to indicate the possibility of a policy of mutual conciliation, if not of a concordat. Much of the activity of the organisations which the agitation of the preceding year had either stimulated or called into being was, for example, devoted to indicating how the provisions of the Act might be adapted to secure the maximum amount of popular control. The Northern Counties Education League and the National Free Church Council both issued circulars recommending, among other points, that the appointments of experts on committees should not be made on the recommendation or nomination of outside bodies, but by the free choice of the council itself. Indeed, individual attempts were made so far to utilise the permissive elements in the Act as to arrive at a working agreement between Churchmen and Nonconformists, such as the suggestion of Dr. Llewellyn Davies in a letter to the *Times* (Jan. 16), that Dissenters, where there were more than a very few, should be eligible as foundation managers and qualified to vote as subscribers. Some High Churchmen were also of the opinion that their own grievance as to the Kenyon-Slaney clause might be overcome by leasing their schools to the local authority while reserving the right of the incumbent to give religious instruction on the premises outside school hours. The idea of this arrangement was, however, repudiated by Lord Halifax, the President of the English Church Union, in an address to that body, as involving

the surrender by the Church of the appointment of head teachers —“a matter of capital importance if they were to preserve anything like satisfactory religious education for the children.” Moreover, he objected that it would involve the religious education given in school hours being undenominational in character. But any such adaptation of the permissive features of the Act for purposes of a concordat was rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible, by the attitude of the Nonconformists. The Wesleyan body, indeed, who stood somewhat apart from other Dissenting bodies by the magnitude of their stake in Voluntary Schools, made a notable concession to the principle of public control by resolving, at a meeting of their three standing committees on January 30, that the trustees in their schools be recommended to frame their schemes so that of the four foundation managers two should be appointed by parents and subscribers. But the majority of the Nonconformists had no such direct stake in Voluntary Schools, and their attitude to the Act was in some quarters one of uncompromising hostility, an attitude which found a loud exponent in Dr. Clifford, and took shape in the formation of a “National Passive Resistance Committee,” in January, to encourage the refusal by individual citizens of that part of the local rate which was devoted to the administration of the Education Act. Moreover, a considerable section of Radicals, led by Mr. Lloyd-George, while condemning as suicidal in the interests of education the suggestion that local bodies should decline to administer the Act, were of the opinion that a method might be found to defeat the intentions of its authors. This method was conceived by Mr. Lloyd-George, who at a conference of Progressive members of Welsh local governing bodies at Cardiff, on January 20, moved and carried a comprehensive resolution, the main points of which were: The co-operation of authorities with a view to complete educational autonomy; the making of “adequate provision for the training of teachers free from sectarian domination”; the inclusion in no scheme of a provision for the representation of outside bodies not representative of the ratepayers; “sectarian schools” to have rate-aid only “(a) where the trustees agree to appoint half of the foundation managers from persons nominated by the educational authority, and (b) where the managers agree to appoint teachers from names submitted to them by the local authority without reference to any sectarian test or qualifications,—in such cases the educational authority should undertake to give special facilities such as are given in the British Colonies to the denomination concerned for private denominational teaching within the school to the children of such parents as desire it;” an inquiry into trusts and orders with reference to endowments and the appointment of foundation managers; the abolition of all fees; and a report on the staffing of all “sectarian schools.”

The interest of this programme, which was subsequently

adopted with singular unanimity by almost every County Council in Wales, might have been largely local but for the fact that it was also adopted by a conference of English Progressive members of local authorities, organised by a committee of Liberal Members of Parliament, which took place under the presidency of Lord Spencer in London on February 6. Considerable divergence of opinion was, in fact, exhibited over a resolution to the effect that "the local authority be recommended not to provide out of the rates any increased expenditure on sectarian schools, except in cases (1) where the trustees agree to appoint one-half of the foundation managers from persons selected by the local authority; (2) where the managers agree to appoint the teachers selected by the local authority without reference to any sectarian test or qualification; (3) where the teachers are not required to give instruction in any distinctively sectarian dogma. Provided that in such cases of transfer or agreement the local authority should undertake to give special facilities to the denomination concerned for private denominational teaching within the school to the children of such parents as desire it." This resolution was eventually carried, but not without the strong disapproval of such Liberals as the chairman and Mr. E. N. Buxton. Lord Spencer declared that as a Liberal and holding democratic views he attached the utmost importance to upholding the opinion of Parliament. They hoped they were not always going to sit in the cold shade of Opposition, and were they not raising a serious difficulty and danger if they set an example of defying what the majority in Parliament laid down? They might also do great injustice to a great body of children in certain schools if they prevented those schools from being made as efficient as possible.

The speeches made by Ministers and ex-Ministers before the opening of Parliament were of a somewhat desultory character, so far as they did not deal with the Venezuelan difficulty or the operation of the Education Act. The first speech of any importance in the new year was made by Lord Rosebery at a great Liberal meeting at Plymouth, on January 16. He began by giving the Government credit for Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa, and for the memorandum recently issued by the Admiralty respecting the three branches of the Naval Service (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902, p. 239). He was wholly incompetent, being in no degree an expert, to judge the memorandum as regarded its adaptability and practicability, but he heartily welcomed it because it was large, simple, bold, and free from the maddening intricacies of red tape. Proceeding to criticise the action of the Government on various points, he complained of the way in which the Garter had been conferred upon the Shah of Persia. It should have been given, Lord Rosebery contended, while the Shah was here, instead of being sent after him to Teheran at the cost of an expensive mission. At the same time he indicated the probable justification of the delay:

"The Shah," he said, "was supposed by many to have fallen under influences extremely hostile to Great Britain, but I suppose we may be inspired to hope from this mission that either he has freed himself from these influences, or that he has made some political concession to this country, which may be some equivalent for what we are doing on his behalf." Nevertheless, in Lord Rosebery's view, the incident threw "a lurid light" upon the causes of the enormous expenditure under which we were groaning at the present moment. The ex-Premier next repeated and defended his suggestion that Lord Kitchener ought to have been appointed Secretary of State for War, as the Hercules who alone could have carried out the needed military reforms. The opposition to his proposal he characterised as coming from old women. He saw no necessity for the head of the War Office being a member of the Cabinet. "As Secretary of State he might only be summoned to the meetings of the Cabinet which had to do with his department, and he might be definitely cut off from the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. It is in the power of the Sovereign to summon any Privy Councillor to any Cabinet for any particular purpose, and there is no reason why he should not have adopted that course in the case of Lord Kitchener. There are precedents for it, but I am not going to dwell upon them to-night. When you have a great reform to carry out, and when you have a great man at hand to do it, for God's sake drop precedent for a moment and come to business." It was, indeed, of no use to cry over spilt milk. Hercules had been sent to the Himalayas, and so they could not have him in Pall Mall. But future generations might yet mourn that this opportunity was not taken. As to the Venezuelan difficulty, he concluded that his Majesty's Government had consulted with the Government of the United States before taking the action it did, and that it must have had imperious motives for entering into the alliance with Germany; but these motives had not been made clear to the public. Passing to the Education Act the speaker sketched the history of the "wear and tear amendment" from his point of view, and made much of the Bishop of St. Asaph's objection to it as likely to give an impression that the Church was asking too much. In the House of Commons the amendment had only been carried by the aid of the "rebel Irish vote," as it was called whenever Irishmen voted for Liberal measures. They were told that all that was now past history, and that their object should be to make the Act work smoothly. Try as they might it could not be made to work smoothly, the less so that they would be engaged this year in as strenuous a fight as in the last over the coming Education Bill for London, and that the Act was as much disliked by many High Churchmen as by Nonconformists. In conclusion, Lord Rosebery declined to formulate a policy for the Opposition, and drew a final indictment against Ministers under three heads: they had burked the inquiry into the

Jameson Raid, they had plunged us into war without foresight and without preparation, and they had appealed to the country in 1900 on a false issue.

Sir Edward Grey addressed a meeting of his constituents at Lesbury, in the Berwick division of Northumberland, on Friday (Feb. 6). With regard to the question of Venezuela, he could not quite accept the statements of Ministers that there was no alliance with Germany. A few years ago Mr. Chamberlain himself made speeches which were generally understood to mean that the policy of the Government, of which he was a prominent and important member, was to get into closer relations with Germany. We had also to bear in mind that the present British Government had again and again engaged in co-operation with Germany in different parts of the world, and he did not think that the co-operation had been satisfactory. He wished this country to be on friendly terms with Germany, but not to cultivate her friendship at the expense of our good relations with France and Russia, still less at the expense of our good relations with the United States. Sir Edward also criticised Mr. Brodrick's scheme of Army Reform, of which he said he would sum up his view in this way: "What the Government is asking us to do is to pay largely for something which is not what we want, and which it is very doubtful whether we shall get, and which, if we ever do get it, had much better be exchanged for something else."

Mr. Bryce spoke at Aberdeen, on February 9, in much the same tone with respect to Venezuela. He also referred to the Macedonian question as likely at any moment to become acute. Austria and Russia had done their best to prevent an outbreak, but might be unable any longer to avert it. Those Powers had, moreover, framed a large and useful scheme of reforms to be presented to the Sultan. He would not accept it except under compulsion; and, even if it were accepted, the Powers would have much difficulty in seeing it carried into effect. Fortunately no sign of discord among the Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin had yet appeared. Britain, as one of the signatories, had a right to exert, and ought to exert, all the influence she possessed, impressing upon the Sultan the necessity, not only of accepting, but of promptly carrying out a scheme of reform drastic enough to remove the existing grievances, and therewith the danger of a European conflagration. The danger was real, and it was near. Let the Government do all that it could to avert it.

On February 13 the Prime Minister replied to Lord Rosebery's strictures on the Government's organisation of National Defence in a speech at Liverpool. In this connection he made an announcement of great importance. Within the last two months, he said, they had carried out a great revolution in the constitution of the Council of Defence. It was no longer a purely Cabinet Committee which occasionally took counsel

of naval or military experts. They had placed upon it, not merely the President of the Council and the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary for War, but—as permanent members—the Commander-in-Chief, the First Sea Lord, and the Directors of Military and Naval Intelligence respectively. Moreover, the Council would differ from ordinary Cabinet Committees in that it would keep records of its conclusions and of the reasons on which those conclusions were based.

“The results of our deliberations, for what they may be worth,” Mr. Balfour continued, “will be handed to our successors, to whatever party they may belong; so that what in a broad sense may be called the military policy of this country will have in it an element of continuity which it has never had, and our decisions, or our provisional decisions, perhaps I ought to say, upon the most complex and various questions which this Empire presents will no longer be considered by the War Office as distinguished from the Admiralty, by the Admiralty as distinguished from the War Office, and then fought out by correspondence between the two departments, but will be threshed out round the table by the most competent experts whose services we can command, associated with the most responsible Ministers belonging to the Cabinet.”

The vacant Archbishopric of Canterbury was filled by the appointment of Dr. Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, which was announced on January 9. This selection was in accordance with general anticipation, and the moderation of ecclesiastical temper and the statesmanlike wisdom of which the new Archbishop's past career had given proof, together with the genuine goodness which all who knew anything of him were well aware that he possessed, appeared to justify happy anticipations from his tenure of the Primacy of All England.

A subject of great and increasingly urgent interest to all dwellers in the metropolis—that of London Traffic—was announced (Feb. 7) as having been referred to a strong Royal Commission, over which Sir David Barbour was to preside. The Commission included experts on railway matters, representatives of Government departments and of the County Council, and other persons of high general and professional ability. Inquiry was to be made (a) as to the measures most effective for the improvement of locomotion and transport by the development and inter-connection of railways and tramways, on or below the surface, by increasing the facilities for other forms of mechanical locomotion, and by better provision for the organisation and regulation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, or otherwise; (b) as to the desirability of establishing some authority or tribunal to which all schemes of railway or tramway construction of a local character should be referred, and the powers which it would be advisable to confer on such a body.

CHAPTER II.

Opening of Session—The King's Speech—The Address in the Lords—Debate on the Address in the Commons: Discussions as to the Housing Question, Persia and China, the Unemployed, the London and Globe Failure, Ministerial Directorships, Army Reform, Irish Land Question, Alien Immigration—Lords' Debate on Venezuela—Problems of National Defence: Food Supply in War, a New Naval Base, the Reconstitution of the Council of Defence—Commons' Debate thereon—Lords' Debate on Army Organization—Outdoor Relief Bill and the Galway Election Writ in Commons—Civil Service Supplementary Estimates—The Board of Trade—Introduction of Naval Reserve and other Bills—Discussions on Trade Union Law and Hours in Shops—Lord Avebury's Shops Bill and the Prevention of Corruption Bill in the Lords—Commons: The Penrhyn Dispute; New Scheme for Military Education; Army Estimates, Discussed; the Kinloch Case—Church Discipline Bill—Navy Estimates, Discussed—Army Estimates further Discussed—The Licensing Question in the Country; Deputation to Mr. Balfour—Report on Irish University Education—The Political Situation: The Woolwich Election and the Labour Movement in Politics; the Law of Trade Union Liability, Mr. Asquith's Suggestions; Labour Representation Conference—Mr. Chamberlain's Return—Estimates for Civil Service and Revenue Departments—Mr. Chamberlain on his South African Mission; Native Labour in South Africa—Employment of Children Bill Read a Second Time—Ministerial Statements on Macedonia—Lords' Debate on the Council of Defence—The Irish Land Bill: Its Origin, Its Reception, the Special Annual Grant—Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill—Port of London Bill—London Education Bill—The Bagdad Railway—Easter Adjournment.

THE King opened Parliament in person on February 17 with a speech, the general tone of which was optimistic.

"My relations with all the foreign Powers," began his Majesty, "continue to be friendly.

"The blockade of Venezuelan ports, rendered necessary by outrages on the British flag and wrongs inflicted on the persons and property of British subjects by the Venezuelan Government, has led to negotiations for the adjustment of all the matters in dispute. I rejoice that a settlement has now been arrived at which has justified the blockading Powers in bringing all hostile naval operations to an immediate close. Papers on the subject have been laid before you.

"Negotiations have taken place for the adjustment of the questions which have arisen with regard to the boundary between my possession in North America and the territory of Alaska. A treaty providing for the reference of these questions to an Arbitral Tribunal has been signed and ratified.

"The condition of the European provinces of Turkey gives cause for serious anxiety. I have used my best efforts to impress upon the Sultan and his Ministers the urgent need for practical and well-considered measures of reform. The Governments of Austria-Hungary and Russia have had under their consideration what reforms it would be desirable that the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of Berlin should recommend to the Sultan for immediate adoption. I trust that the proposals made will prove to be sufficient for the purpose, and that I shall find it possible to give them my hearty support."

The King then announced that negotiations in order to arrive at a joint delimitation with the Turkish Government of the tribal country adjoining Aden were still proceeding, and mentioned

the advance into Somaliland and the co-operation of the Italian Government with British troops, "including a small corps of mounted infantry raised from the inhabitants of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony," to operate against the Mullah.

"The progress of events in South Africa," proceeded the King, "has been satisfactory. The visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to that portion of my dominions has already been productive of the happiest results; and the opportunity which it has provided for personal conference with Lord Milner, with the Ministers of the self-governing Colonies, and with the representatives of all interests and opinions, has greatly conduced to the smooth adjustment of many difficult questions, and to the removal of many occasions of misunderstanding."

Reference was made to the occupation of Kano and the consequent prospect of a delimitation of the boundary between Northern Nigeria and the adjoining possessions of the French Republic.

The King concluded the external survey with an expression of gratification at the marks of loyalty and devotion manifested at Delhi at the proclamation of his Majesty's succession to the Imperial Crown of India, at the coincident disappearance of "drought and agricultural distress in Western India," and at the fact that "the prospects both of agriculture and commerce throughout my Indian Empire are more encouraging and satisfactory than they have been for some years past."

Addressing the House of Commons, the King said that while the Estimates for the coming year had been framed with due regard to economy, the needs of the country and of the Empire made "a large expenditure inevitable."

His Majesty concluded with a programme of the legislation for the session.

"A Bill," he said, "will be laid before you which will, I trust, complete the series of measures which have already done much to substitute single ownership for the costly and unsatisfactory conditions still attaching to the tenure of agricultural land over a large portion of Ireland.

"Proposals will be submitted to you for completing the scheme of educational reform passed last session by extending and adapting it to the metropolitan area.

"Measures will be introduced for the purpose of carrying into effect engagements arising out of the Convention for the Abolition of Bounties on Sugar which has recently been ratified at Brussels; and for guaranteeing a loan to be raised for the development of my new Colonies in South Africa.

"A Bill will be laid before you for improving the administration of the port and docks of London, the condition of which is a matter of national concern.

"A measure amending and consolidating the licensing laws in Scotland is greatly desired in that country, and I trust will pass into law.

"Measures will also be proposed to you for improving the

law of valuation and assessment ; for regulating the employment of children ; for dealing with the sale of adulterated dairy produce ; for amending the law relating to savings banks ; and for reconstituting the Royal Patriotic Fund Commission."

In the Lords, the Address having been moved by the Duke of Roxburghe and seconded by the Earl of Leitrim, Lord Spencer rose, and began by expressing pleasure at "the good augury," as he regarded it, that no reference to our relations with Russia and China in the Far East had been thought necessary.

Adverting to the question of Venezuela, he rejoiced in the happy settlement of that dispute, which had caused so much anxiety. Many people in this country were very jealous now of anything that might affect our good relations with the United States of America. There was also a fear that we might, by co-operation with another Power, be led into considerable difficulties. Few people in this country would censure his Majesty's Government for trying to get satisfaction for British subjects who had been wronged ; but there was some doubt whether joint action in this matter might not bring about disastrous results. His Majesty's Government had, moreover, intensified the public anxiety by not having at an earlier period published all the communications which had been made between them and the two Powers—Germany and the United States.

After congratulating the Government on the reference of the Alaskan boundary dispute to arbitration, Lord Spencer remarked with satisfaction that it appeared from the French Yellow-book that Russia and Austria-Hungary had already made proposals to Turkey for the pacification of Macedonia, and he was glad to observe that his Majesty's Government were inclined to support these representations. We really knew, he thought, very little about the expedition in Somaliland. His Majesty's Government had not sufficiently gauged the power of the Mullah, and in consequence our forces had met with something very like a reverse. In this connection he desired to know the exact meaning of words used by the Prime Minister at Liverpool, when he said that the results of this expedition might be very far-reaching. Coming to the more pleasing incident of the visit of the Colonial Secretary to South Africa, Lord Spencer observed that, although it was not a desirable thing for the heads of our great offices to be continually going away from this country in order to gather information, yet there were exceptions to this rule. He admitted that this was a very exceptional case, and he admired the energy and ability of Mr. Chamberlain in his endeavour to bring things to a happy conclusion.

Referring next to the measures which the Government intended to introduce, Lord Spencer thought they showed great courage and were exceedingly sanguine in what they said with reference to the Irish land question. At the same time, he had noticed with some satisfaction what had occurred in Ireland during the last few months, and he was gratified to find that

two parties, seemingly irreconcilable, had worked together for a common end. As to the Education Bill for London, the party to which he belonged would endeavour to carry out the principles they had always advocated with regard to education. He concluded his remarks with the expression of a sincere hope that the Government would at the earliest opportunity give the House the fullest information as to their intentions with regard to the reform and reorganisation of the Army.

The Duke of Devonshire, in reply, after remarking on the uncontroversial character of Lord Spencer's speech as a whole, declared that the Venezuelan negotiations had proceeded up to a certain point so as to enable us and the other Powers concerned to relinquish the blockade ; but it could not be denied that certain elements of risk and danger still existed. As to the correspondence, it could not have been presented to Parliament at an earlier date, because the consent of other Governments to the publication of certain despatches had not been obtained. Any detailed discussion on this subject had, in his judgment, better be postponed to some future occasion, when the contents of the Blue-book would have been fully considered. If we had failed to assert our own claims, such a course would have been most unsatisfactory, not only to us, but also to the United States. Our co-operation with Germany was for a definite object, and it was not in the nature of an alliance. He ridiculed the notion which seemed to be entertained by some persons that Great Britain, Germany, Italy and other Powers ought to have made their claims separately and to have entered into separate negotiations with the Venezuelan Government. With regard to the Macedonian question, he might remark that the proposals made by Russia and Austria-Hungary had not yet been officially communicated to his Majesty's Government. The immediate dangers in Macedonia mainly affected those two Powers ; and it had naturally fallen to them, in the first instance, to devise proposals with a view to the restoration of order. In Somaliland, attacks not to be tolerated had been made by the Mullah on tribes under our, or Italian, protection ; and by arrangement between ourselves and the Government of Italy operations were being undertaken for the purpose of breaking the power, influence and authority of that Mahomedan potentate. This, he remarked, was a matter which affected Imperial interests of the very highest importance. He agreed entirely with the noble lord's remarks on Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa. Adverting next to the promised Bill relating to the tenure of agricultural land in Ireland, the Duke observed that, although the measure introduced last year was dropped, there had since been a great deal of discussion on the subject in Ireland, and with the fuller information which the Government now possessed they hoped they would be in a position this year to deal with the question in circumstances more favourable and more hopeful than those of any previous

occasion. Lord Spencer, he observed, had made a kind of protest against the hope which had been expressed that we might be spared in the discussion of the London Education Bill some of the controversy which had occupied so much time last session. He thought, however, it would be impossible to deal with education in the metropolis on principles different to those which were applied to the rest of the country. In conclusion, the Duke pointed out that the views of the Government on Army administration and reorganisation might be fully discussed on the introduction of the Army Estimates in the other House of Parliament.

In the Commons, the Speaker read a letter from the Lord Chief Justice conveying the official information of the conviction of Arthur Lynch, late Member for Galway, for high treason, and thereupon Sir G. Bartley gave notice that if a motion were made for the issue of a new writ for the borough of Galway he should oppose it.

The sessional orders were then reaffirmed after Mr. James Lowther (*Thanet, Kent*) had made his annual protest against the retention of the declaration that it is an infringement of the liberties of the Commons for peers to interfere at elections. He pressed his opposition to a division and was defeated by 270 votes against 68.

The Address having been moved by Mr. Gretton (*Derbyshire, S.*) and seconded by Captain Greville (*Bradford, E.*), Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) at the outset of his speech referred in graceful terms to the King's restoration to health, observing that his Majesty had addressed Parliament that day with all his wonted vigour, thereby showing that he had completely recovered from his serious illness in June and from his more recent indisposition. The whole country, he felt sure, would rejoice to know this. The first urgent question of foreign policy about which information was wanted was the Venezuelan affair. The Blue-book just presented to Parliament contained papers which ought, he held, to have been made public weeks ago. While he agreed that if British subjects, as in the case of the fishermen of Trinidad, suffered unjustifiable damage at the hands of a foreign Power reparation was due, he could not subscribe to the doctrine that it was our duty to take extreme measures in support of the claims of mere bondholders. Discussing the propriety of our joint action with Germany, he declared that he did not share the view that in no circumstances ought we to act in association with that Power. He believed that the majority of our countrymen had nothing but a friendly feeling for Germany, and he thanked the Prime Minister for deprecating (in his recent speech at Liverpool) international bitterness, jealousy and dislike. He objected, however, to the policy adopted by the Government of binding this country in adamant bonds not to desist from action against Venezuela until the settlement of the more important claims against that

country, except with the approval of Germany. He questioned the policy of close co-operation with Germany in a matter of this kind, because the German hand was sometimes rather rough and because there was an impression abroad that Germany was not as favourable as this country to the Monroe doctrine. He held that we ought to have gone to arbitration in the first instance. We should then have avoided "the mess" into which we had got, and we should have established a valuable precedent. In cases of this kind there ought, he thought, to be some proportion between the sum involved and the means employed to secure its payment. Turning to Somaliland, he argued that the official papers showed that our proceedings in that country were of a haphazard character, and that by carrying on the operations against the Mullah in an amateurish way we might find ourselves involved in serious difficulties.

With regard to Macedonia, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was glad to know that the Government were drafting remonstrances against the state of affairs in that country, and hoped that those remonstrances would be "stiff" and effective. He regretted that we did not yet know the nature of the scheme of reform to which it was understood that Austria and Russia had agreed. In South Africa the foundations of a new order of things were being built, and he prayed that they would be solid and sure. The Colonial Secretary was endeavouring laudably to ascertain what was going on, and all approved the conciliatory sentiments which he had expressed and his desire for the fusion of the two white races in a common citizenship. He asked whether Mr. Chamberlain was entitled to act on his own authority in Africa, and whether any one there had power to make promises on behalf of the new Colonies. He did not understand how any such promises could be made before self-government was granted to the Transvaal. With reference to the labour question, he insisted that we could not rid ourselves of our obligations towards the coloured races, and said that his followers would never sanction compulsory labour, whether the compulsion was direct or indirect. Dealing next with the subject of the Sugar Convention, he maintained that the arguments against ratification had lost none of their cogency. What, he asked, was the effect of the convention on treaties that contained a favoured-nation clause, and were we, under the convention, either to shut our ports against our self-governing colonies if they gave bounties, or to charge them with heavy duties?

Coming to domestic questions, the leader of the Opposition announced that if the character of the Education Bill for London was unsatisfactory the controversies of last session would be renewed. Of the promised measure dealing with Irish land no judgment could be formed in anticipation. He congratulated the people of Ireland on the friendly co-operation

on the land question of the representatives of classes who had so long been in antagonism. Having found fault with the Government for having left out of their programme such important subjects as local taxation and the reform of the law affecting trade combinations, he referred with anxiety to the growth of the national expenditure, and affirmed, as to the expenditure on the Army, that no one would maintain that the existing state of things was satisfactory. Describing Mr. Brodrick's scheme as one of "panic" reform, he declared that he had never met any one who believed in the army corps system. The first thing for us to do before sanctioning a vast expenditure on the Army was to ascertain what really were the military requirements of the Empire.

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), who excused himself from travelling over the very wide field traversed by the leader of the Opposition, explained, with regard to the Brussels Sugar Convention, that the view of the Government still was that it did not interfere with the most-favoured-nation clause. Russia, it was admitted, held a different view. In no circumstances would the Government consent to penalise sugar from our Colonies. Replying to a question put by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as to the right of the Transvaal to raise a loan, he pointed out that a Crown Colony was certainly in a position to borrow money. The Colonial Secretary, he assured the right hon. gentleman, had consulted his colleagues before coming to any important decisions, and they entirely endorsed his policy. With regard to the state of affairs in Macedonia, he expressed the opinion that what Europe wanted to see in that region was not an elaborate Constitution, but an improvement in the methods of administration. Defending our operations in East Africa, he declared that it was impossible to allow the fanatical Mullah to raid tribes which were under our protection. The British expedition, which had now been organised on a large scale, would, he trusted, put a stop to these inroads.

Turning to Venezuela, the Prime Minister explained that in delaying the publication of the papers until the end of the negotiations the Government had followed precedent; and, justifying our naval operations, he reminded the House that although our first-rank pecuniary claims were small, they arose out of insults to the flag and brutal assaults on British subjects. It was impossible for this country to acquiesce in the refusals of the Venezuelan Government to give us satisfaction or even to recognise the representations that were made on our behalf. The suggestion of the leader of the Opposition that the means taken to recover compensation should be in proportion to the sum at stake was not practicable, for one could hardly have a small blockade for a small claim and a large blockade for a large claim. As to the second-rank claims against Venezuela, they were not bondholders' claims, but claims based on the seizure of British property and on injury to British subjects during the

revolution. When Germany suggested that we should make common cause with her she had ample justification for acting against Venezuela alone. Had she so acted, he questioned whether it would have been advantageous either to ourselves or to Venezuela. If separate action had been taken Venezuela would have tried to play off one Power against the other and to produce as much international friction as possible. There was never at any time, he contended, any chance of a dangerous prolongation of the difficulty, for the first-rank claims against Venezuela were small in amount, and it was always contemplated that the second-rank claims should go to arbitration. The negotiations had, in his opinion, been carried on by us with great consideration, not only for the feelings of the American Government, but also for the feelings of Venezuela herself.

✓ In reply to criticisms by Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) on the composition of the Royal Commission on London Locomotion, Mr. Gerald Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, declined to accede to the request for a representative of the working classes to be added to the Commission, and explained that its duty would be to advise as to the most effectual methods of developing tramway and railway communication in London. The Government were aware that one of the arguments against the appointment of a Commission of this kind was the possibility that private enterprise might be checked; but they had nevertheless come to the conclusion that it was desirable to have a Commission.

Mr. Stevenson (*Eye, Suffolk*) dealt with the urgent need for effective action by the Powers for the amelioration of the condition of Macedonia, and Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), after adducing reasons in support of the view that it was dangerous and almost reckless on the part of this country to bind itself to act jointly with Germany in Venezuelan waters, called attention to the events that had led up to the Kano expedition, as to the justice of which there was some doubt in his mind. In reply, Mr. Austen Chamberlain (*Worcestershire, E.*) pointed out that the expedition was absolutely necessary in order to protect the Commission employed in delimiting the frontier between the British and French territories. The Emir of Kano had persistently opposed British administration, but the great mass of the people of Kano would regard us as deliverers, for our presence would be followed by trade development and the disappearance of the slave trade. The Government, he assured the House, retained full confidence in Sir F. Lugard, the Commissioner for Northern Nigeria.

On February 18 the first amendment to the Address, calling attention to the hardships suffered by the working classes by reason of the lack of proper housing accommodation, and representing the question as one which demanded immediate Parliamentary attention, was moved by Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*). Great interest was manifested in the debate,

which was marked by considerable unanimity as to the extent of the evil, and the discussion of remedies was largely of a non-party character. The mover said that it was far too serious a matter to be made a party question of, and therefore he asked that during the present session something might be done to redeem election pledges. By way of a beginning he suggested that legislative effect might be given to the recommendation to extend the period of repayment of loans and to the further recommendation of the joint committee to stiffen the rehousing obligations of railway companies and other bodies. Local authorities might be empowered to borrow cheap money for housing purposes. If railway companies were unable to do more in the way of running cheap trains they would soon be left high and dry by the electrification of municipal tramways. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*), who advocated the adoption of more or less drastic measures, including not only the limitation of the excessive compensation paid to the owners of insanitary areas, but the prevention of the hoarding of land till a fictitious value was obtained for it.

Mr. Claude Hay (*Hoxton, Shoreditch*), from the Ministerial side, joined in support of the amendment, and Mr. H. Samuel (*Cleveland, Yorks*) dwelt on the rural aspect of the question. Mr. Tritton (*Norwood, Lambeth*), as a London Member who knew from personal observation how the poor were herded together in London hovels, expressed great disappointment at the omission from the King's speech of the subject of housing, and Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) also enlarged on the terrible evils of overcrowding, remarking that if there was one man in England who would have liked to see a paragraph in the King's speech on the question it was the King himself. Public opinion, he believed, would welcome further legislation. Major Rasch (*Essex, Mid*), holding that the want of decent housing accommodation in agricultural districts accounted to a large extent for the depopulation of the country, urged the President of the Local Government Board to force District Councils to take advantage of the powers which had been conferred upon them. Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (*Newport, Shropshire*) complained that when landlords built good cottages for labourers and let them at low rentals they were sometimes treated ungenerously by assessment committees.

Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*), in a very earnest speech which commanded the applause of both sides of the House, after saying that this question was recognised throughout the country as one of great urgency, asked for an assurance from the Government that it would be taken in hand this session. A Bill conferring greater powers on local authorities and removing the obstacles to the exercise of the powers which they already possessed would, he felt certain, pass without difficulty.

After speeches by other Members making various suggestions for the improvement of the existing law, Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Local Government Board, announced that he would introduce a Bill which, while it would effect no drastic reforms, would improve the law in several important directions. He should probably ask Parliament to extend the time for the repayment of loans raised for housing purposes to eighty years. Another change which he proposed to make would facilitate the purchase of insanitary property by local authorities. Power would be given to the authorities to refer the question of the value of such property to a jury. This, it was thought, would be more effective than the present practice of proceeding by arbitration. Some other useful alterations in the law would also be made. The very important question of transit to and from the suburbs, and of workmen's trains, was to be dealt with, as the House knew, by a Royal Commission. He maintained that there was no justification for the charge that the Government had shown themselves indifferent to the housing problem, and he praised our great municipalities for the efforts which they had made to meet the difficulties which that problem presented. They were of such a character, however, that he feared they could only be dealt with comprehensively by very drastic measures which no Government would be likely to propose. In the circumstances his amendments of the law must be modest.

Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) hoped the Minister would not be too modest in his legislation, for small Bills dealing with great questions often postponed the adoption of real remedies. Insanitary houses ought, in his opinion, to be treated as public nuisances.

Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) suggested that the period for the repayment of loans should be extended to 100 years. Mr. J. C. Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) held that the legislation promised by the Government was wholly insufficient, and that power should be given to acquire land in rural districts on which to construct houses for the people. Mr. S. F. Ridley (*Bethnal Green, S.W.*) warned the Government that legislative amendments could do but little to relieve the congestion in the East End of London as long as the influx of pauper aliens was allowed to continue. On a division the amendment was only negatived by 205 votes against 166.

The next amendment represented that it was "essential that adequate measures should be taken to safeguard and promote the commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China and Persia." The mover, Mr. Joseph Walton (*Barnsley, Yorks*), complained that British promoters of railways in China were not adequately supported by their Government; and he laid great stress on the importance of preserving the independence and integrity of Persia, where our trade was being threatened by Russia, whose influence was steadily in-

creasing. Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*), who said he was informed that Englishmen were now excluded from the construction of railways in Persia, asked questions with reference to the commercial treaty between Russia and Persia, which, he understood, was prejudicial to British and Indian mercantile interests. Mr. Keswick (*Epsom, Surrey*) spoke in terms of warm approval of our last treaty with China.

Viscount Cranborne (*Rochester*), Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, explained that although the amendment contained what was practically a truism the Government must oppose it, as it was not customary to accept amendments to the Address. The policy of the Government with regard to Persia, he said, had not changed during the last year. They did not see why our interests and those of Russia in Central Asia should clash, for the field was a large one. In any case, it should be remembered that our position in Persia was materially strong, our maritime ascendancy in the Gulf being so great that we might regard with comparative calmness the action of other Powers. The understanding between Russia and Great Britain that they would respect the integrity of Persia had never been repudiated by either country. As to railway construction, we had rights as well as Russia. The commercial treaty between Russia and Persia was, he feared, calculated to hamper British trade; but the Government had taken serious note of the fact, and were making representations on the subject. In carrying out their policy of commercial development the Government had sent a special mission to Persia. Their policy certainly could not be described with truth as a passive policy. At the same time it was not a hasty policy. Hasty action would be a great mistake.

Turning to China, the Under-Secretary denied that there was any reason for taking gloomy views of the position and prospects of British trade. There was no special ground of complaint about the position of affairs at Niu-Chwang, and, as to any Chinese arrangements with Germany, he said that the Chinese had assured the British Government that nothing that had occurred would be allowed to interfere with the rights of Great Britain in the Yang-tsze Valley. As to the Chinese indemnity, it was a gold debt, and the Government could not consent to convert it into a silver debt. With regard to Wei-hai-wei, it might at some future day be again advantageously treated as a naval base; but we were in a situation, temporarily at any rate, to dispense with it as such, for the reason that we had increased enormously the strength of our position in the Far East by the agreement with Japan.

Mr. Norman (*Wolverhampton, S.*) having predicted that serious troubles would ensue if the indemnity were not treated as a silver debt, and having described Sir James Mackay's treaty as a failure, Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*), who agreed with the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs that there was no reason

to despair of our trade with China, questioned whether the commercial treaty would ensure the wished-for immunity from *likin*. In China, he observed, we were continually securing paper advantages, but they seldom came to anything. Turning to the position of affairs in Persia, he expressed the opinion that the independence of that country was gradually disappearing. The financial bonds were closing round her, and if we restricted our policy to respecting Persia's integrity the time would come when we should find that there was nothing left for us to respect. The same thing might be said with regard to the railways. Russia had certain railway rights, and we were told that we had correlative rights; but the time might come when Russia would have all the railways and we should be left in the lurch. He held that there was room for both Russia and Great Britain in Asia, but those Powers must agree as to the spheres of their respective operations. At present Russia seemed to be absorbing Persia by "peaceful penetration." Things were changing rapidly in that part of the world, and we ought to make our position quite clear while there was still time. He would like to know definitely whether the Government had adopted the view that our strategical position was absolutely secured by our supremacy in the Persian Gulf.

The Oriental amendment having been withdrawn, a domestic question which had been occupying a considerable amount of public attention, especially in London, was raised by Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*), who moved an amendment regretting the omission of any proposals such as would have empowered the Government and local administrative authorities "to acquire land for cultivation and to set up undertakings" whereby the unemployed might be "profitably set to work." The mover, in the course of his speech, declared that being a Socialist he did not expect there could be any final solution so long as production for profit dominated our commercial system. But he thought that immediate practical remedies might be found in the two directions indicated in his amendment—in particular in schemes of reclamation and afforestation. He estimated the number of unemployed at the present time at no less than 400,000.

On the resumption of the debate on February 20, Mr. Burns (*Battersea*), who seconded the amendment, referred to the sad processions of the unemployed in many of our big cities, and asked the President of the Local Government Board to reissue at once, as a temporary expedient, the circular of 1892, and to call upon local authorities to begin sanitary and other works, so that employment might be given to those who were in want of it.

A useful contribution to the debate was made by Mr. Jesse Collings (*Bordesley, Birmingham*), who enlarged on the desirability of encouraging local authorities to acquire land for the purposes of cultivation by the people. The principle had

been recognised in the Small Holdings Act. Unfortunately that measure had been taken advantage of by very few county councils. In Worcestershire, where it had been applied, most successful results had been achieved. This should stimulate local authorities to avail themselves of the Act; and he appealed to them earnestly to do so. If they took his advice much produce which now had to be imported would be grown at home.

Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*) advocated the extension of labour bureaux, and the employment of wastrels on farms managed by local authorities. Men supposed to be "unemployable" were doing very good work on the Salvation Army farm in Essex, and there was no reason why the experiment made there should not be equally successful elsewhere. He thought, if local authorities could not cope with the problem of the unemployed without greater powers than they possessed, their hands should be strengthened by legislation. Parliament would then have done all that could be expected, and if these extended powers were not used by the local authorities the voters would have the remedy in their own hands. Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), speaking in support of the amendment, advocated the grant to urban local authorities of compulsory powers to acquire land.

Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*) said that, although, unhappily, there had been signs in the metropolis and in two or three other large centres of population of some increase of destitution, there was no evidence that this state of things was of sufficient gravity to justify the Government in taking extreme drastic measures. There was no doubt a serious want of employment, but things would, he hoped, improve with the improvement in the weather. The estimate advanced of the numbers of the unemployed was, he had good reason to believe, exaggerated. The figure of 400,000 given by Mr. Keir Hardie was too large. In West Ham there were many unemployed owing to the diminution of work at the docks, and in the North of England many men who were usually employed in the shipyards were doing nothing. But the supporters of the amendment would hardly suggest that these men could be benefited by putting them upon land acquired by local authorities. Dealing with the suggestion that more labour bureaux should be established, he said that the experience of his department was that the working-classes did not resort to these bureaux to any large extent. In an extension of the bureau system, therefore, a solution of the problem before them was not likely to be found. Another suggestion was that the Government should employ those who were out of work in afforestation; but he questioned whether many of the unemployed would care for such a laborious occupation. He knew for a fact that many of the people who had paraded the streets had been offered work and had declined to do it. These men, accustomed to one class of work, could not be employed on the land in occupations which would be quite new to them.

All these suggestions were too crude. With regard to the proposal that the circular of 1892 should be reissued, he said that the inspectors of his department, with one exception, opposed the plan. They believed that the local authorities were fully alive to the needs of the situation and that the circular ought only to be reissued in circumstances of a very grave character. He did not know of any new powers which it might be desirable to confer on local authorities; nor, as far as he knew, was there any sovereign remedy for the state of things which all deplored. His department, he assured the supporters of the amendment, would continue to watch the condition of labour in the country very closely.

The amendment was rejected, after other speeches, by 201 votes against 161.

It may be convenient to remark here that the interest excited in this question did not terminate with the debate. A few days later (on Feb. 27) a conference was held at the Guildhall, under the presidency of Sir Albert Rollit, M.P. Nearly 600 delegates attended from various local bodies throughout the country, including the Corporation and the London County Council, trade unions and masters' associations. Eventually there was proposed a comprehensive resolution to the effect that the Prime Minister should be asked to receive a deputation from the conference to urge: "(1) The establishment of a special department of the Board of Trade to deal with recurring periods of depression and distress, to disseminate information, and devise and promote measures for the temporary and permanent utilisation of the unemployed labour of the nation; (2) the introduction forthwith of any legislation required, or the taking of any other necessary steps, to provide work for the unemployed—(a) by carrying into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Port of London, and (b) by promptly granting loans and any other facilities on the application of local authorities to enable them to carry out various public works and otherwise provide useful employment; (3) that boards of guardians be empowered to give relief to the unemployed during special periods of industrial depression without disfranchisement to the recipients; and (4) that all work already decided on in connection with the military, naval, postal and other departments of the Government should be put in hand at the earliest possible moment." This was carried with amendments and additions, providing that in place of a special department of the Board of Trade a Minister of Industry should be appointed with a seat in the Cabinet, and suggesting that the employment provided by local authorities should not exceed forty-eight hours per week, and be paid for at the trade union rate of wages, that the relief granted by boards of guardians in cases of distress from want of employment should be in the shape of useful work, and that the exemption from disfranchisement should be made retrospective so far as the winter 1902-3 was concerned.

To return to the proceedings on the Address, an animated debate took place on February 19 on the subject of an amendment moved by Mr. Lambert (*South Molton, Devon*), asking the House to express regret that no prosecution had been instituted against the directors of the London and Globe Finance Corporation. Having gone at length into the circumstances of the failure of the corporation, as disclosed in the report of the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, and having reminded the House that that official expressed the opinion that fraud had been committed, he mentioned that in one of the companies concerned a member of the Government was a sleeping partner.

Any suggestion that social or personal considerations might have weighed with the Attorney-General (Sir R. Finlay) in deciding not to prosecute was repudiated with great warmth by the latter, who remarked that, although he had decided not to set the criminal law in motion, it was open to anybody else to do so. In fact, it was understood that a fund was being raised for the purpose. That being the case, he must refuse to make any detailed statement, lest it should prejudice the parties who might undertake the prosecution. At the proper time he would state fully the reasons for the course which he had taken. Before deciding that he would not direct the Public Prosecutor to institute proceedings he had taken the best advice he could obtain.

The debate turned on questions of a legal character, it being admitted by the Solicitor-General (Sir E. Carson) that, in his belief, a "false balance-sheet" had been issued, but denied that in the present state of the law a prosecution could in such a case be confidently undertaken. Lawyers on opposite sides of the House, such as Mr. Duke (*Plymouth*) and Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), supported the Attorney-General, because the House had no evidence in its possession which would justify its overruling his decision, his honour being questioned by nobody; but Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*) quoted from a recent statute a comprehensive section, enacting that "if any person in any return, report, certificate or balance-sheet, makes a statement false in any material part, knowing it to be false, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour." The most satisfactory feature in a somewhat unsatisfactory debate was the statement by Mr. Balfour that in the case of such "scandalous frauds" the law was at fault and must be amended; and he undertook, on behalf of the Government, that that would be done. On a division the amendment was negatived by 166 votes against 115.

It may be remarked here that the "deep and profound indignation" among the public—of which Mr. Balfour admitted the existence—was allayed shortly afterwards by the delivery of a judgment in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, by Mr. Justice Buckley, a great authority on company law, granting the application by Mr. John Flower, a creditor, for an order under the Companies Act, 1862, direct-

ing the Official Receiver, as liquidator of the London and Globe Finance Corporation, to institute proceedings against Mr. Whitaker Wright, the managing director of the company. As a result of this decision a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mr. Whitaker Wright, who was apprehended in New York on March 15.

The question of commercial morality arose in another form in the debate which ensued the same evening on an amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. MacNeill (*Donegal*), condemning the holding of directorships by members of the Government. In this debate Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) pointed out that Ministers who were directors of companies might be placed in very disagreeable positions, and asked for an assurance that the practice of Ministers holding directorships would be discontinued. Mr. Balfour declined to give such an assurance, and argued that it would be absurd to exclude business men from the Government. The result of pushing the principle of the amendment to its logical conclusion would be to make public life poorer rather than purer, since, owing to the insecurity of office, men of business would hesitate to join a Ministry. The matter, he maintained, should be left to the honour and discretion of the individual. The amendment was rejected by 147 to 109.

A brief discussion, which was described by Mr. Arnold-Forster as an attempted anticipation of the debate on the Navy Estimates, took place on an amendment by Sir W. Allan (*Gateshead*), calling attention to "the unsatisfactory state of the Navy," a description which the Secretary to the Admiralty repudiated in detail. On its withdrawal, an amendment by Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*), condemning the extension of deer forests in the crofting counties of the Highlands, was negatived by 158 against 98, after a brief discussion.

A full-dress debate of considerable importance and interest took place on February 23 on the subject of Army reform. It was remarkable for the independent and in some cases indignant treatment of the Government's army corps scheme by a group of Conservative Members. Public dissatisfaction had already been effectively expressed by such influential organs of opinion as the *Times* and the *Spectator*, both of which had discussed the problems of national defence in articles of real constructive ability. The general point of their criticisms was not so much to demand a reduction of Army expenditure as to call for its improved distribution, particularly in strengthening the Intelligence and Education Departments. It was widely felt that in the army corps scheme the primacy of the Navy had been lost sight of, and that in attempting to create a large expeditionary force of professional soldiers, too little thought had been given to the improvement of the Auxiliary Forces. The attitude of the group of critical Conservative Members, prominent among whom were Mr. Beckett, Mr. C. Lowther and Mr. Winston Churchill, was one of marked

hostility to Mr. Brodrick, between whom, as head of the War Department, and the Government they were careful to discriminate.

An amendment to the Address, regretting that the organisation of our land forces was unsuited to the needs of the Empire, and declaring that "no appropriate gain in strength and efficiency had resulted from the recent increases in military expenditure," was moved by Mr. Beckett (*Whitby, Yorks*), who argued that the army corps scheme of the Secretary for War was unsound in principle and ruinous in practice. He believed that for an expenditure of 20,000,000*l.* we might have an Army more suited to our needs than the present organisation, which cost 30,000,000*l.* He questioned whether the military authorities approved Mr. Brodrick's scheme, which had sprung, he suggested, from the War Secretary's brain, just as Minerva sprang fully equipped from the head of Jupiter. This scheme, he maintained, would not remove the defects in our military system which the war in South Africa revealed, and it involved a huge expenditure which would have no adequate results. The Secretary for War had disregarded the salutary principle that the protection of the country was the business of the Navy in the first place, and in the second of the citizen Army. He regretted that the Volunteers had not received more encouragement from the War Office, and condemned the new regulations under which they had been brought. The increase of expenditure on the Army was out of all proportion to the increase of the population and of our trade, and it exposed us to the risk of a reaction resulting in a dangerous parsimony. In any case, if the total sum spent on the Army and Navy was to be 60,000,000*l.*, the greater part of it ought to go to the Navy. The army corps, which existed so largely on paper, could no doubt be defended as perfect organisations as long as they were not asked to go anywhere and to do anything. It was only in South Africa that an army corps could be established with advantage. The new system increased the difficulty of obtaining recruits, and, as a matter of fact, the army corps were being filled with what had been described as expensive trash. As this was a national issue, he hoped that national interests would be allowed to override those of party, and that the crack of the Ministerial whips would not be heard if the House proceeded to a division. The amendment was seconded by Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*), who laid special stress on the failure of the Government to deal properly with the problem of the Volunteers. "The Volunteers," he maintained, "were dwindling away for lack of sympathetic treatment." Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), in supporting the motion, criticised various details of military administration. There had been, he argued, a great under-statement of the actual cost of the land forces of the Empire, which, including those of India and the colonies, and the forces under the Foreign and Colonial Offices, cost more

than 50,000,000*l.*, as compared with which the naval expenditure was only some 31,000,000*l.*. All other European countries were increasing their expenditure on their fleets as compared with their Army expenditure, while we, whose safety depended upon the Navy, were doing the exact opposite.

Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), Secretary for War, in the course of a vigorous reply, sought to show that his critics did not agree as to the changes that should be effected. One school of thought, for example, held that our Army for foreign service was too large, while another held that it was too small. He could not rely on divergent exhortations and inconsistent advice. The experience of the war, bitter as it was, appeared to have been soon forgotten; the straits to which we were put in 1899 and 1900 had apparently slipped from the memory of Members. In February, 1900, the leader of the Opposition declared that the Army was not large enough, although at the time 120,000 men were in South Africa or on the way there, and although they were soon to be followed by 130,000 more. Yet now he, as Secretary for War, was impeached for proposing to have ready 120,000 men for service abroad in certain contingencies. As to the Volunteers, it was necessary that they should be trained in time of peace, for an Army without organisation was a mob. He assured the House that no demands would be made on the Volunteers that would be likely to lead to a considerable permanent diminution of the force. As to the army corps, they were only organisations of forces already existing, and his scheme was not responsible for any large increase of expenditure. In the last six years 54,000 men had been added to the Army; but this was not done under his scheme, which was responsible only for an addition of 5,000. The merits which he claimed for his proposals were those of organisation and decentralisation. The scheme was far advanced, but, of course, not yet in perfect working order. Of the 4th Army Corps Lord Grenfell would assume command on April 1. On the subject of recruiting he was able to supply reassuring figures. Our normal number of recruits used to be 35,000; in 1900 and 1901, exceptional years, it rose to 45,000 and 46,000; but last year it rose to 51,000. Of these recruits only 16 per cent. were "specials." The result was that in every department of the Army, the infantry excepted, we were over strength. In view of these satisfactory figures as regarded recruiting he had been able to raise the standard of height in some branches of the service and to stop all recruiting of "specials" for infantry. After explaining what had been done already in the direction of decentralisation, he said that in a few years delegation would be the key of our Army system—a very satisfactory change. The Military Intelligence Department had been strengthened, and would be extended. Complaint had been made that the cost of the Army had increased by 10,000,000*l.* and that there was no corresponding increase of strength or efficiency. He would tell the House how the money

was spent. There was the pay, etc., of the 54,000 additional Regular troops and of 11,000 Colonial troops; 11,000 horses had been purchased; 1,250,000*l.* had been absorbed by the Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers, and the expenditure on stores and clothing and non-effective charges accounted for considerable sums. It was items like these that the House would have to cut down if it desired to reduce the amount of the Estimates. The three years' service system, with the increase of pay, he believed would be economical in the end; for it would lead to the formation of a large Reserve, so that it would become possible to have a minimum number of men with the Colours. Defending the standard of numbers which he had set up, he remarked that the weaker a country's Army was the greater became the danger of foreign complications; and he declined to take the view that the danger of Russian interference on the North-Eastern frontier of India was merely a bugbear. He appealed to the House, in considering this vastly important subject, to allow policy to prevail, and to put aside for the time being all prejudice against the War Office.

Mr. Yerburgh (*Chester*) and Mr. C. Lowther (*Eskdale, Cumberland*) expressed themselves in favour of the amendment, but would not vote against the Government, Mr. Lowther remarking that he in common with many other Members on that side of the House felt in a difficulty. He was convinced that, if a division was taken on the policy of the Secretary for War, there would be a very large majority against him; but the fate of the Government was also involved. Colonel Legge (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) strongly supported the scheme, and Colonel Kemp (*Heywood, Lancs*) as strongly opposed it.

In the course of the debate, Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*), who disclaimed any desire to oppose the Government on this occasion from party motives, insisted that the army corps scheme was wasteful and dangerous, because it aimed at something which was not required or suited to the needs of the Empire. Had the Government, he asked, ever formulated a settled policy of national requirements? Had they ever considered what part the Navy and the Army would play in war respectively? There was no sign that they had thought out the needs of the Empire. As far as he could see, the Government proposed to keep at home a larger force than could be wanted; and in Great Britain this force could not be trained. He was in favour of having a citizen army to repel raids, believing that if the people's patriotism were appealed to they would respond nobly and would flock to the Militia and Volunteers. Then let there be a clear separation between the citizen army and the Regular Army. The latter ought to be small, compact and efficient, with a large staff whose members might be entrusted with the duty of training the Auxiliary Forces. Where, he wondered, was a large Regular British Army likely to be wanted in future? It was incredible

that we should ever be at war with the United States; and, for his part, he believed India to be impregnable against any attacks by Russia. A great Army was, therefore, not wanted for the West or the East. In the case of a European war it was clear that we must rely on the Navy. Two years ago the House and the country were rushed into the acceptance of the Army scheme, but since then there had been time to reflect and the scheme had been condemned. The country was becoming alarmed about the national expenditure. That alarm was the force behind this amendment. Needless expenditure ought not to be incurred, for there was a danger lest the people might be brought to think that the obligations of Empire were too big.

In the resumed debate on January 24 Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*), in a speech of somewhat mordant humour, drew a comparison between the army corps as they appeared in the Army List and in the recently issued White-paper, and concluded therefrom that the whole scheme was "a humbug and a sham." He denied that the strength of our Army had increased in proportion to the growth of military expenditure from 18,000,000*l.* to 30,000,000*l.* He argued that "the linked battalion system" had broken down and should be modified in view of actual facts. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), who followed, denied that the system had broken down, and declared that it had been successful. He thought, however, that the Secretary for War took too serious a view of his army corps. After deprecating comparisons between the expenditure on the Navy and the expenditure on the Army, he said he recognised that the Navy had the first claim upon us and must be maintained in full efficiency. Our military expenditure promised to exceed the patience, endurance, and possibly the resources of the people. The first thing that must be done was to ascertain what really were the military requirements of the country; and he trusted that this matter would be taken in hand by the Cabinet Council of Defence. The addition of officers representing the combatant departments to that council was a new departure, the expediency of which he questioned, as it was calculated to diminish the responsibility of the Cabinet in respect of the nation's expenditure. Having drawn attention to the difficulty of cutting down Army expenditure when once it had been sanctioned, he impressed upon the Government that the country expected them to recognise fully the claims of the Auxiliary Forces, which should be trained efficiently, but not overburdened. Lord Stanley (*Westhoughton, Lancs*), Financial Secretary to the War Office, who deprecated its condemnation before it had been tried, informed the House that the army corps scheme had the "unqualified approval" of Lord Roberts. He gave the assurance that the War Department had endeavoured to put as light a burden as possible on the Volunteers; but it was essential that they should have an adequate training.

The discussion was continued by Members on both sides of

the House, including Sir J. Dickson-Poynder (*Chippenham, Wilts*), who from the Ministerial benches strongly attacked Mr. Brodric's scheme. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) described the debate as epoch-making and one which would remain "a landmark in our administrative policy long after the six army corps have vanished into the thin air which is their native element." The composite problem of national defence had been approached from the military side only, while the Navy, which ought to have had a prominent voice in the matter, had not been consulted.

Mr. Balfour replied on the whole debate in a successful speech, in which he taunted the supporters of the amendment with disloyalty, and sought to reduce the issue between them and the Government to a comparatively small question of numerical organisation. The real question at issue was this—Was the Army too large or not? and to this he addressed himself. The Navy in our Imperial strategy was, of course, the leading and most important element; but it was irrational to infer from this that we ought always to spend a great deal more upon the fleet than upon the Army. He agreed that in the main we must rely on the Volunteers for home defence. That, indeed, was the very ground upon which the Government had proceeded in constituting their scheme. The part which the Regulars would play in the 4th, 5th and 6th Army Corps would be largely that of stiffening the Auxiliary Forces, for which, he declared, the Government had done more than any of their predecessors. It was absurd for any one to say that they had undervalued the citizen soldier element in the country. In fact, this would hereafter be looked upon as a great epoch in the history of the citizen army. Justifying the organisation of three army corps for foreign service, he pointed out that, though the fleet could do much, it could not do everything. It must be supplemented by an Army, as all the great writers on sea power recognised, in order that it might be possible to take offensive action on shore in time of war. For the defence of India a reinforcing Army was absolutely necessary. A war between Russia and Great Britain was, he believed, in the last degree improbable; but remote contingencies must be provided for. It was not the problem of home defence which ought to determine the strength of the Regular Army, but the demands that might be made on the services of the Army in countries far remote. There was no military authority, as far as he knew, who had studied the question who took the optimistic and sanguine view that India was naturally impregnable. The strategic position of Russia, he reminded the House, had improved year by year; and, whatever final judgment might be passed on this great problem by the Council of Defence, no authority would say that in the event of a war with Russia we should not want the services of all the forces which the Government were providing. He regretted that the complexity of the

military problems with which the Government had to deal should be increased by the changing temper and passions of the public and of the House of Commons. While the South African War was in progress people clamoured for more troops and organisation. Was this the lesson of the war—that we ought to have fewer troops and no organisation? The Government must refuse to reduce the strength of the Army below the level which they deemed necessary; but should it be thought right at a future time to make a change in the direction of reduction and economy it could, of course, be done.

The amendment was then rejected by 261 votes against 145—eighteen Unionist Members voting in the minority.

An Irish debate, characterised by much good feeling and remarkable unanimity of opinion, took place on February 25, on an amendment asking that advantage should be taken of the “unexampled opportunity” supplied by the Irish Land Conference agreement for putting an end to agrarian troubles and conflicts between classes in Ireland, and that “the fullest and most generous effect” should be given to the report of the Conference in the Irish land purchase proposals announced in the Speech from the Throne. The mover, Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*), described it as “a friendly warning” to those who were engaged in the task of framing the Irish Land Bill. He thought the Irish Members might fairly ask the Chief Secretary to say that he was making an honest attempt to give effect to the general conclusions of the Land Conference. He spoke of the Conference as a unique event. The landlords had recognised that the days of their ascendancy had gone for ever, and the tenants had recognised that the indefinite continuation of the land war would bring about the industrial ruin of the country. Under the compromise that had been arrived at the landlords were to receive such financial treatment as would leave them their net second-term rentals and enable them to live in the country, while the tenants would be empowered to buy their holdings at a fair price. The difference between the sum which the tenants could fairly be expected to pay and the sum which the landlords could accept was to be made good by the State. He warned Ministers that any attempt to make the farmers pay the difference would be vigorously resisted and would ruin the whole scheme. The representatives of the tenants had gone to the extreme limit of conciliation. The policy of using the State credit for land purchase operations in Ireland had, he reminded the House, been accepted for a number of years, and it had been abundantly proved that this was a safe policy. He trusted that Parliament would not, by refusing to make a comparatively small grant out of the Exchequer, throw away the chance which now presented itself of bringing peace to Ireland. The settlement of the land question would not dispose of the demand for Home Rule, but it would remove many of the causes of turbulence and discontent.

Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Irish Secretary, made a guarded but sympathetic reply, in which, while declining to commit himself to a pronouncement upon the report, he declared the work of the Land Conference to be of inestimable value. The *rapprochement* between landlords and tenants might almost be regarded as a portent. Mr. J. Morley (*Montrose Burghs*) urged the Government and the House to view the proposals of the Conference from the standpoint of national policy. He estimated the amount which the Exchequer would have to provide to carry out the recommendations of the Conference for the proposed free grant at a capitalised sum of 22,000,000*l.*, in addition to a total loan expenditure of about 100,000,000*l.*; but this would not be required all at once, and in time the reduction which it would become possible to effect in the cost of Irish administration would recoup us to a great extent for the free grant which we were asked to make. In the course of the debate which followed the Conference proposals were supported on the one hand by Irish Unionists such as Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, S.*) and Mr. J. Gordon (*Londonderry, S.*), on the other by Nationalists such as Mr. W. O'Brien (*Cork*), who, however, valued the compromise as likely, in his opinion, to remove the last serious obstacle in the way of Home Rule by creating a united Ireland. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), Mr. John Burns (*Battersea*) and Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) also spoke in favour; Mr. Haldane, however, reserving his freedom of action in regard to the burden on the Exchequer. From the Opposition front bench Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) contended that as successive Governments must share the responsibility for the intolerable position to which the Irish land system had been brought, Parliament was bound to put aside purely economical considerations, and to deal with the matter in no niggardly spirit. At the same time he urged that the leaders of the landlords and the tenants, respectively, and the Government should remember the importance of moderation in regard to the proposed grant from the Exchequer. In the end the amendment was withdrawn.

Three amendments of minor importance concluded the debate on the Address. The first, on which nineteen speeches were made, was moved by Mr. Price (*Norfolk, E.*) and seconded by Dr. Farquharson (*Aberdeenshire, W.*), and represented that the absence of cattle disease in Canada justified the repeal of the law of 1896, which excluded Canadian store cattle from our markets. Mr. Hanbury (*Preston*), President of the Board of Agriculture, opposed the amendment without reservation. The Act in question, he reminded the House, did not apply exclusively to Canada; it prohibited the importation of stores from all our Colonies and from all foreign countries. The policy of the law was not affected by the fact that Canada was free from disease at the present moment. Foot-and-mouth disease might break out at any time; and therefore the importation of stores which,

when imported, were distributed all over the country was always dangerous. He hoped that our ports would be closed for ever against store cattle. The supply of stores sent over by Canada was never large, and it paid the Colony better to export fat cattle for slaughter at the ports. He denied that the Colony had a grievance, and stated that 99 per cent. of the farmers of Great Britain were opposed to the change which the supporters of the amendment advocated. Upon the graziers of this country no hardship was inflicted, for they were getting a satisfactory supply of stores from Ireland. The amendment was negatived by 190 votes against 38.

The next debate was chiefly remarkable for the censures passed by Ministerial Members on what they regarded as the supineness of the Government in dealing with the problem of destitute alien immigration, which was declared in an amendment, moved by Sir C. E. Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), to be a "grave national danger." In reply, Mr. Gerald Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, pointed out that a Royal Commission was inquiring into the matter. Mr. J. Lowther (*Thanet, Kent*) charged the Government with having broken the pledge given some sessions ago to introduce legislation. The country had made up its mind, he said, that it would no longer be the midden-heap and dust-bin for the rest of the world. Sir J. Blundell Maple (*Dulwich*) spoke strongly in the same sense, and ridiculed the suggestion that the Board of Trade possessed insufficient information to enable it to prepare a Bill. These and other expressions of dissatisfaction from the Conservative benches were put an end to by the assurance from Mr. Law (*Blackfriars, Glasgow*), the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, that the Government fully realised the seriousness of the question, and were most anxious to be in a position to consider it. When the Commission handed in their report the Government would consider with the utmost speed whether it was possible to do anything by legislation. Sir H. Vincent thereupon withdrew his amendment.

A brief and languid debate then took place on an amendment moved by Mr. Caine (*Camborne, Cornwall*) to the effect that as 30,000 troops of the Indian Army had been used in China and South Africa, where India had no direct interest, a corresponding number of troops could be dispensed with, and the military expenditure of India reduced. This was negatived without a division, after a reply by Lord George Hamilton, and the Address was then agreed to (Feb. 26) without a division.

During these debates in the Commons on the Address the House of Lords sat but little, but on March 2 a debate of somewhat posthumous interest on Anglo-German diplomacy in the Venezuelan affair took place. It was opened by Lord Tweedmouth, who called attention to the contents of the recent Venezuelan Blue-book, and moved for further papers. His principal points were that an inadequate statement of the British

claims had been given to the country, and that down to November 11, 1902, the Government omitted to inform the United States that we were about to co-operate with Germany in applying pressure to Venezuela. Lord Lansdowne explained that the Government had not made known to America their intention of taking action against Venezuela until November 11, 1902, as he knew that Germany had communicated its intention on December 11, 1901, and the American Government had replied saying that it was no part of the Monroe doctrine to prevent any American State from being punished for misconduct, whereupon the German Government gave the American Government an assurance that it had no intention of occupying permanently any part of Venezuelan territory. There had also been frequent informal communication between the British and American Governments on the subject, and the attitude of the latter had been invariably friendly and considerate. Lord Rosebery indicated the opinion that people who went, or lent money, to some States might, to the great convenience of the European Foreign Offices, receive notice that they would do so at their own risk. He thought it was not in accordance with the comity of nations that the British Government should feel the pulse of Washington through the medium of the German Government and postpone their own formal communication to the Washington Government until they had framed their measures of coercion. He could not believe that the United States would be satisfied by an approach of this character. The Duke of Devonshire ridiculed Lord Rosebery's suggestion as to the treatment of certain uncivilised States, and blamed him for attempting to show that the British Government had disregarded the tenderest sentiments of the American people. After some minor speeches the matter dropped.

It will be convenient at this point to deal connectedly with the problems of National Defence in the form in which they attracted public discussion both within and without the Houses of Parliament in the month of March. Many events conspired to make such questions unusually predominant at this time of the year. The dissatisfaction felt at certain phases of the conduct of the recently concluded war in South Africa, and the suspicion aroused by German diplomacy in the Venezuelan question, took shape in unofficial efforts to encourage the reform of our services and the improvement of the National Defences. Reference has already been made to the activity of the Press in these matters, and to the formation of a group of Ministerial critics in the House of Commons. An association was also formed, under the presidency of the Duke of Sutherland, to deal with the problem of our food supply in time of war, and a very influential and representative deputation waited on the Prime Minister on March 5, to ask for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into that subject. The speakers were Mr. Chaplin, M.P., the Lord Mayor, Mr. Runci-

man, M.P., Admiral Sir John Hopkins, Major Bridges Webb (chairman of the Baltic Mercantile Shipping Exchange), Mr. Herbert Tritton (president of the Institute of Bankers), Sir Robert Herbert, Mr. Thomas Ashton (chairman of the Operative Cotton Spinners), and Mr. J. Macdonald (secretary of the London Trades Council). In reply, Mr. Balfour said that the Government were not likely to underrate the importance of the subject. He believed, indeed, that the effect of a future war on the markets might be exaggerated. For one thing, he was quite sure that corn was not, according to the law of nations, contraband of war, and he believed that a country with which we might be in conflict would pause before risking the enmity of neutral nations by a breach of the law. But an inquiry was to be desired, if only because it would probably allay some unfounded fears. It might also suggest lines of action which would mitigate what he regarded as the greatest evil which they had to fear, namely, the rapid rise of prices certain to follow on the outbreak of war, with the consequent distress of our working population. Two warnings and two only he would give to the deputation, to the public, and even to the Commission. We must be careful not to adopt a course which would inflict upon us in time of peace the very evils we dreaded in time of war; and, again, we should do ill to establish a Government machinery which would hinder the natural commercial machinery with which the country was supplied. In conclusion, Mr. Balfour expressed a hope that he might have the advice of some of those present as to the precise scope of the inquiry to be made.

Another useful example of the same kind of lay activity in regard to national defence had been afforded by a conference held on the eve of the opening of Parliament (Feb. 16) under the presidency of Mr. Haldane, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to discuss the "desirability of creating a North Sea Squadron and of establishing a naval base on the East Coast." The conference embraced members of all parties, including both lay and service men, eager to emphasise the primacy of the Navy, and among the speakers were Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, Sir Charles Dilke, Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle, and Sir William Allan, M.P. The general feeling of the meeting seemed to be not only that the proposed measures were urgently required in view of the continuous increase of the German Navy, but that it might even be wise to reduce our military expenditure, if necessary, in order to strengthen the fleet. Much satisfaction was therefore felt when Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons on March 5, informed Sir J. Colomb that the committee appointed by the Admiralty in 1900 had reported that the most advantageous position for another naval establishment would be in the estuary of the Forth. The Board of Admiralty had approved the recommendation, and the Government had decided to establish a naval port and base on the

north side of the Firth of Forth at St. Margaret's Hope. Mr. Balfour was naturally at pains to avoid giving this determination any special international significance by pointing out that the step in question had been recommended by the committee as early as the beginning of 1902.

On the same day Mr. Brodrick gave much satisfaction to those Army reformers who feared that the War Office was vainly attempting to secure the efficiency of the Auxiliary Forces by demands which made those forces unpopular and led to numerous resignations among the officers, by announcing that the Government had advised the King to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the pay, terms of service and efficiency of the Militia and Volunteer forces, and to report whether any modifications of the existing conditions of service were necessary.

Under all these circumstances great interest was aroused by an explanation from the Prime Minister, also on March 5, of the precise meaning of the "great revolution" in the constitution of the Council of Defence which he had already foreshadowed in his speech at Liverpool on February 13. In calling attention to the appointment of the Committee of Defence and moving that the growing needs of the Empire necessitated the establishment of the committee on a permanent footing, he desired to take the opportunity to explain in what respects the present Defence Committee differed from that which it had replaced. The general practice of the old Defence Committee was merely to take up the points referred to it from time to time by the Cabinet. The new committee had a much more ambitious scope; and it would be its duty to survey as a whole the strategic needs of the Empire, to deal with the complicated questions which were essential elements in the general problem, and to revise from time to time their own previous decisions, so that the Cabinet might always have at its disposal the latest information on all important points. As far as possible nothing was to be left over for consideration in the stress and strain of a crisis. The old Defence Committee was in the strictest and narrowest sense a committee of the Cabinet; it kept no records and it admitted no outsiders to its counsels. Experts appeared before the committee, but only as witnesses. The conclusions of the new Defence Committee would be embodied not only in resolutions, but in reasoned documents for the information of successive Cabinets. This was important, in order to ensure continuity in the military and naval policy of the Empire. Before now the opinions of different Boards of Admiralty and of successive Commanders-in-Chief had varied, and when such changes of opinion occurred it would be most useful to have ready access to the grounds for the views expressed in the first instance. Waste of time, trouble and much inconvenience would be avoided by this means. No Government, he pointed out, would be bound by the decisions of its predecessors.

In its constitution the new committee would differ fundamentally from that which it replaced. There would be a fixed nucleus of members consisting of the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Secretary for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the First Sea Lord, the Commander-in-Chief, the head of the Naval Intelligence Department, and the head of the Military Intelligence Department. When questions arose involving the expenditure of public money the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be invited to take part in the committee's deliberations, and the Secretary of State for India and the Foreign Secretary would also at times serve on the committee. Other members of the Cabinet and even other members of the Government would not be excluded from the committee when their advice was required; but as a rule they would act as witnesses rather than as members of the committee. He was convinced that a Committee of Defence ought to contain a strong Cabinet element. That was important constitutionally. The old system under which the Army and the Navy settled matters for themselves without consultation was very faulty. The new Defence Committee would bring the representatives of the departments together. He explained that he regarded this change as tentative and experimental, and in conclusion he warned the House not to expect too much from the labours of the committee. It should always be borne in mind that the surprises of war could not be foreseen.

In the discussion which ensued, general approval of the scheme outlined by the Prime Minister was expressed by Members on both sides of the House, the only criticism of importance being the expression by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman of a fear that the inclusion of the chiefs of the Army and Navy might weaken the sense of Cabinet responsibility, and a suggestion from the same quarter, supported by Mr. Arthur Lee (*Fareham, Hants*), that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be a permanent member of the committee.

On the same date a debate on the Government's Army scheme took place in the Lords, which covered much the same ground as the earlier debate on the Address in the House of Commons. Lord Carrington moved to resolve "that in the opinion of this House his Majesty's Government should reconsider their scheme of military organisation, having regard to the experience of the war in South Africa, and to the naval and military requirements of the Empire." The speaker confined himself largely to a criticism of Mr. Brodrick's defence in the other House, contending that the net surplus of recruits last year was only 2,000. Though it was true that 50,000 men had been added to the Army in five years, it seemed to be forgotten that we had lost 70,000 Volunteers. He criticised the army corps scheme as striking at the root of the whole Volunteer system. A somewhat desultory debate ensued, in the course of which the Government's scheme was defended by Lord

Hardwicke; by Lord Selborne, who contended that the army corps could form a great reserve, and could provide the reinforcements required for India in time of need; and Lord Lansdowne, who affirmed, in opposition to views expressed by Lord Spencer, that no smaller number of troops than that provided by the Government would be adequate, in the best military opinion, to meet the great liabilities of the Empire. On a division the motion was negatived by 51 votes against 15.

Military matters did not entirely monopolise the attention of the Commons during the week which followed the voting of the Address. We can, however, only briefly indicate here the character of debates which took place on matters of comparatively minor importance. Two measures introduced by private Members were debated on February 27. The first of these was the Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, which directed Boards of Guardians, when granting out-door relief to a member of a friendly society, not to take into consideration any sum received from the society as sick-pay, unless it exceeded 5s. a week. This Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Sir Edward Strachey (*Somerset, S.*), was welcomed by Mr. Long, President of the Local Government Board, who said that he hoped it would become law. He did not agree with the Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, who thought the measure would weaken the administration of the Poor Law. The Bill, he held, was based on the principle that pauperism should be combated by encouraging thrift and self-reliance. It was read a second time without a division.

Thereafter Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) brought forward his County Courts Jurisdiction Extension Bill, which raised the maximum sum that could be sued for in these local courts from 50*l.* to 100*l.* The Attorney-General said that this Bill had been brought to the notice of the House earlier than he had anticipated. In the circumstances he did not ask Members to vote against the measure, but he could give no pledge as to his treatment of it in the subsequent stages of its progress. The Bill, which received the support of Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), was then read a second time and referred to the Grand Committee on Law. As reported thence, it was regarded as unworkable by the Attorney-General in the Commons, and by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Alverstone in the Lords, but nevertheless obtained an overwhelming preponderance of support in both Houses, and became law.

A debate of some interest on a point of constitutional law took place in the Commons on March 2 on a motion by the Attorney-General for the election of a Member for Galway city, in the room of Arthur Lynch, who had been adjudged guilty of high reason. Lynch, whose case had excited much interest but little sympathy, was tried and sentenced to death (the sentence being subsequently commuted), after an almost purely technical defence, in the King's Bench Division of the

High Court on January 23, for having taken an oath of allegiance to the South African Republic and borne arms against the Queen during the South African War. A good deal of indignation was felt, very naturally, against the defiant attitude adopted by Lynch in allowing himself to be nominated and returned as Member for Galway city, although owing to his immediate apprehension on setting foot in this country he had, of course, not succeeded in going through the formalities of taking his seat in the House. This feeling found an echo in the opposition offered to the Attorney-General's motion by Sir G. Bartley, who, supported by Mr. Malcolm, Lord Hugh Cecil and other Conservative Members, moved an amendment that the writ be not issued during the present session. The Attorney-General (Sir R. Finlay), who explained that it was under the Forfeiture Act of 1870 that Lynch was disqualified for sitting in the House, expressed the hope that the House, notwithstanding its reasonable resentment, would be guided in this matter by principle and precedent. It might be dangerous to establish a new precedent, and to disfranchise a constituency because it had returned to Parliament a person whose views and conduct were obnoxious to the vast majority of Members. Having called attention to the cases of Smith O'Brien, O'Donovan Rossa, John Mitchel, Michael Davitt and Daly, the dynamiter, he pointed out that the constituencies which returned these men were not punished, and that the proceedings necessary before the seats which they vacated could be filled up were initiated in several of these cases by the Government. Sir G. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), in moving his amendment, argued that the House had the right to suspend a writ for bribery and corruption, and it should be able to exercise the same right when a borough showed that it was largely in sympathy with treason. In reply Mr. Balfour reminded the House that even in the extreme case of Mr. Wilkes it did not go to the length of disfranchising Middlesex. If the House wished to disfranchise constituencies which might elect men who were adjudged to be traitors, it should give effect to its desire deliberately and lay down a rule of general application. Controversies between Parliament and the constituencies, he reminded the House, had never redounded to the advantage of the former.

The House was decidedly of this opinion and the motion was carried, the amendment being rejected by 248 votes against 45.

The House then went into Committee of Supply to consider the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, on which an inevitably desultory discussion took place. Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) moved to reduce the vote of 69,600*l.* for East African Protectorates in order to call attention to the annual growth of our unproductive expenditure in those regions. His protest was endorsed by Sir R. Reid, who estimated that altogether during the financial year we should have spent 313,600*l.*

in British East Africa, and pointed out that in three years we had doubled our expenditure upon administration in the Protectorate. Lord Cranborne (*Rochester*) replied that we could not divest ourselves of the obligations which the ownership of these Protectorates entailed. It was, he maintained, our duty to develop them. The policy which had taken us to East Africa had been ratified by Parliament after Parliament, and was not originally adopted on commercial grounds, but partly on humanitarian grounds and partly for high political reasons. He put the value of the combined trade of British East Africa and Uganda for 1902-3 at about 1,000,000*l.* Sixty-three per cent. of this trade was with Great Britain and India. He explained in detail the items of the excess expenditure provided for by the vote, and warned the House that further outlay would be necessary in the future. The speech of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs drew from Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*) a not unnatural complaint that the information now conveyed ought to have been given to the committee before the discussion began. The practice of presenting enormous Supplementary Estimates was, he said, increasing to such an extent that it had become next to impossible to put any check upon expenditure.

A supplementary vote of 292,807*l.* for education was the subject of a statement by Sir W. Anson (*Oxford Univ.*), Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, to the effect that in the school year there had been a very satisfactory increase in the number of children attending schools and in the average attendance. He ascribed this satisfactory state of things partly to the operation of Robson's Act and partly to the effect of the Act of 1900, which empowered School Attendance Committees to issue by-laws requiring children to attend school up to the age of fourteen years, and which raised the amount of the fine for non-attendance.

The resumed consideration of the Supplementary Estimates on March 3, on a vote including the expenses of the Colonial Conference, gave occasion to an inquiry from Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) as to the intentions of the Government in regard to the resolution adopted at the conference in favour of the principle of preferential trade within the Empire. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, on behalf of the Government, could only reply that all the proposals of the conference were being "seriously considered" by his Majesty's Ministers. A vote of 1,076,000*l.* for Sundry Colonial Services, including a sum to cover the maintenance of a part of the South African Constabulary, whom it was intended gradually to dispense with, drew from Members on both sides of the House, including Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*), a protest against the presentation, contrary to the usual practice, of a Supplementary Estimate to meet future demands.

The vote was, however, ultimately carried by 215 to 148. At the evening sitting (March 3) Mr. Hoult (*Wirral, Cheshire*) called

attention to the disabilities to which our commerce and trade were subjected under the administration of the Board of Trade; and moved that the constitution of the Board had become obsolete, that a department presided over by a Minister of Commerce and Industry, having the status of a principal Secretary of State, should be substituted for the present office, that all matters more particularly appertaining to commerce and industry should be entrusted to this new department, and that an inquiry should be forthwith instituted with a view to the rearrangement of the duties and functions of existing departments. The motion received the support of such commercial authorities as Mr. D. A. Thomas (*Merthyr Tydvil*) and Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*), but was viewed with distrust by two Liberal ex-Ministers, Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) and Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean*), both of whom objected to an increase in the number of Ministers of Cabinet rank, and thought that the end desired could be attained either, as Mr. Bryce argued, by strengthening the Board of Trade by legislative conferment of specific powers, or, as Sir Charles Dilke contended, by a redistribution of duties between various Government departments, with due regard to the interests of labour. A sympathetic speech was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who recognised that there was a general desire that the status of the Board of Trade should be raised, and that as constituted at present it was no doubt an anomaly, though it by no means followed that the department was inefficient. He announced that, in view of the strength of opinion manifested in favour of change, and as there was undoubtedly a great deal of overlapping between departments, the Government were prepared to grant an inquiry. The status both of the Local Government Board and of the Board of Trade would be inquired into, and also the advisability of a redistribution of work as between those offices. He could not say as yet what form the inquiry would take, but the Government were not in favour of referring the matter to a Select Committee of the House.

Both the resolution and an amendment moved to it by Sir C. Dilke were then withdrawn.

On March 4 four Government Bills were introduced at the afternoon sitting and read a first time. The first, which passed into law, without alteration, by the end of June, was a Bill to amend the law relating to the Naval Reserve forces, and was introduced by the Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Arnold-Forster, who stated that it was the outcome of the proceedings of the committee presided over by Sir E. Grey. It was proposed by this measure to make a change in regard to enlistment for the Royal Navy. It would give the Admiralty power to employ men in the Navy for a shorter term than twelve years on condition of their completing that term in the Reserve. It would also empower the Admiralty to employ more than 30,000 men in Class A of the Royal Naval Reserve. Lastly, it would sanction the enrolment of Royal Naval Reserve

Volunteers to serve as blue-jackets and stokers and with the Royal Marines. These Volunteers would be liable to serve in time of war in any part of the world.

The Lord Advocate (Mr. Graham Murray, *Bute*) then introduced a Bill — which also reached the Statute-book — to amend the Licensing Acts for Scotland. He said that, speaking generally, it extended to Scotland the provisions of the English Act passed last year, but it went further than that Act, because it attempted to grapple with the question of the licensing authority. Under this Bill all burghs with a population below 7,000 were to be treated as merged in the counties to which they belonged, and would no longer have separate licensing authorities. (Before leaving the House of Commons this provision was altered so as to give Royal and Parliamentary burghs with a population of 4,000 separate licensing Courts.) County Councils were to have power to divide counties into licensing districts. The licensing authority in these districts was to consist as to one-third of county councillors and as to two-thirds of justices. There was to be one appeal court for every county, constituted on the same lines. In burghs with a large population the existing magisterial jurisdiction would be retained. The burghs were to be represented in the appeal courts and would be grouped together for the purpose, but for burghs having a population above 20,000 there would be separate appeal courts. The Bill also contained provisions directed to the abolition of certain abuses, *viz.*, treating by *bonâ-fide* travellers, liquor selling from grocers' carts, and bogus clubs for drinking purposes.

A Bill amending the law with regard to the sale of adulterated butter was then brought in by Mr. Hanbury (*Preston*), President of the Board of Agriculture. It obtained a second reading, and was considered by the Standing Committee on Trade, but failed to become law.

Of very considerable social interest was the Bill next introduced by Mr. Akers-Douglas (*St. Augustine's, Kent*), Home Secretary, to make better provision for regulating the employment of children. It proposed to empower County and Borough Councils to make by-laws fixing the age limit for the employment of children and prohibiting their employment in specific occupations which were dangerous to their health or morals. The employment of children in certain dangerous work—for example, the carrying of heavy weights—was to be discontinued. The by-laws of the County Councils would not apply to children who were already protected by the Factory or Mines Acts. The Bill also sanctioned the issue of by-laws for the regulation of street trading by children under sixteen, and prohibited together their employment in the streets under the age of sixteen. The by-laws would require the sanction of the H. C. before coming into operation. A first reading was given of course to all the above legislative projects.

(Hours of Closing) Bill, for which he claimed that it adhered more closely to the recommendations of the Lords' Select Committee than the measure which stood on the paper in the name of Lord Avebury.

This gave rise to a curious situation, in which the Lord Chancellor felt it his duty to intervene at once, because of the difficulty Peers would experience in having to consider two Bills on exactly the same subject at the same time. He believed, he said, that this was almost unprecedented; but it seemed to him that while Lord Ribblesdale had, by the exercise of Parliamentary tactics, obtained precedence of Lord Avebury, the latter was certainly entitled to precedence because of the great attention he had paid to the subject. He therefore moved the adjournment of the debate, which, having been carried, though only by 35 against 33 votes, Lord Avebury moved the second reading of his Shops (Early Closing) Bill which, he said, was introduced in pursuance of a resolution passed unanimously by the House of Commons. It was proposed that the shopkeepers in any locality should be authorised to memorialise the local authority, and that the local authority should then be empowered to close the shops, with one or two specified exceptions, at the hour named; and that with the same safeguards the local authority should be empowered to enact a half-holiday. The Bill had twice passed through second reading in the House of Commons without opposition. Its provisions had been approved by two House of Commons committees, and all the amendments suggested by the Home Office had been introduced. The promoters, however, owing to the House of Commons rules, were never able to get a day for the third reading.

Lord Spencer, who had doubted if the procedure they were pursuing was in order, and desired to give Lord Ribblesdale the same opportunity for discussion as Lord Avebury, moved the adjournment of the debate, but was prevailed on to withdraw that motion.

After the Archbishop of Canterbury had spoken earnestly in favour of the Bill, Lord Belper remarked that when it went into Committee it might be necessary for the Home Office to introduce some amendments, but in the meantime he desired to say on behalf of the Government that they gave their approval to the Bill and supported the second reading.

The Bill was then read a second time without a division. It passed through its subsequent stages, and, after the defeat of a hostile motion by Lord Wemyss by 45 to 21, was read a third time, on April 28. The Commons, however, though they had repeatedly affirmed its principle, did not find time to consider it before the prorogation.

The House of Lords had previously (on March 10) passed the second reading of a measure in the interests of commercial morality, the necessity of which had long been generally ad-

mitted. This was the Prevention of Corruption Bill, the second reading of which was moved by the Lord Chancellor, who observed that it had passed through the House of Commons last session, though it failed to become law owing to the pressure of other business. The measure related to secret commissions, of which a great many people knew much more now than they did when the subject was first brought forward in Parliament by the late Lord Russell of Killowen. At present the system prevailed to a large extent in nearly all trades and professions. The Bill would enact that if any agent corruptly and without the knowledge of his principal accepted from any person any gift or consideration as an inducement or a reward for doing or forbearing to do any act in relation to his principal's business he should be guilty of a misdemeanour. A similar offence would be committed by any person who corruptly gave or offered to an agent such an inducement or reward; and also by any person who knowingly gave to an agent any receipt, account, or document which was false, erroneous or defective. Offenders would be liable on conviction on indictment to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding one year, or to a fine not exceeding 500*l.* There was a proviso that a prosecution for an offence under this Act should not be instituted without the consent of one of the law officers of the Crown. This Bill also failed to become law.

Nothing of great importance occurred in the Commons until March 9, when questions of National defence again engaged the attention of Members on the motion for going into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates. The evening sitting of the day (March 5) on which Mr. Balfour made his notable statement concerning the reorganisation of the Committee of Defence was, however, occupied by a motion dealing with the long-standing industrial dispute at the Penrhyn Quarries. Mr. W. Jones (*Arfon, Carnarvon*), in moving the adjournment of the House to discuss the differences between Lord Penrhyn and his workmen, urged the President of the Board of Trade to put the Conciliation Act of 1896 into force by appointing a person to act as conciliator. Mr. Bryn Roberts (*Eifion, Carnarvon*), Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), Sir J. Brunner (*Northwich, Cheshire*), and other speakers on the Opposition benches followed on the same line; but Mr. Gerald Balfour, the President, pointed out that it was impossible to force a conciliator on an unwilling party, and it was certain that Lord Penrhyn would not accept the services of a conciliator. Ultimately the motion for adjournment was negatived, but only by 157 against 127, and the subject, it will be seen, was raised again on a formal motion from the front Opposition bench a few weeks later.

A practical, if humble, contribution to the solution of the liquor problem was attempted in the shape of a Bill, backed by Members of both parties, to provide that if an innkeeper, when asked for board, lodging, or refreshment, should, without

lawful excuse, refuse to supply the reasonable demands of travellers he would be liable to a fine not exceeding 40s. for the first and 5l. for the second offence. The second reading of this measure, which was known as the Innkeepers' Liability Bill, was moved (March 6) by Sir W. B. Gurdon (*Norfolk, N.*), and it was eventually referred to the Grand Committee on Trade, a hostile amendment by Major Jameson (*Clare, W.*) having been rejected by a majority of 114. Another Bill touching, locally, on one aspect of the liquor problem was the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Saturdays (Ireland) Bill, which provided for the closing of public-houses in Ireland at nine o'clock on Saturday nights. On this measure, which also engaged the attention of the House on March 6, Nationalist opinion was divided. In the end, after the mover, Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*), had received the backing of Mr. W. Redmond (*Clare, E.*) and of the Solicitor-General, Sir E. Carson (*Dublin Univ.*), the Bill was read a second time by 101 to 76. In its support the opinions of a committee appointed in 1888 and of a Royal Commission of 1896 were adduced. Neither it nor the Innkeepers' Bill, however, left the Commons.

On March 9 an important announcement on the subject of the education of military officers was made by the War Secretary, Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), the question having been raised, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates, in a resolution moved by Colonel Long (*Evesham, Worcestershire*). It was, Mr. Brodrick held, desirable to admit the representatives of the educational world to the counsels of the War Department, and for this purpose he proposed to bring to the assistance of the new Director-General of Military Education and Training an Advisory Board. This body was to consist of the heads of Woolwich, Sandhurst, the Staff College and the Ordnance College, of two representatives of the Universities, a representative selected by the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, another selected by the Headmasters' Conference, another by the Royal Society, and two members nominated by the Secretary of State, in accordance with the recommendation of the Military Education Committee. The syllabus of examination would be left in their hands. There would be one and the same examination for Woolwich and Sandhurst for the Army and the Militia. Much better military training would be required of cadets than heretofore before they were admitted to the Army. In future the course at Sandhurst would consist not of one year but of two, as at Woolwich. It had already been remodelled and made more practical. A cadet, unless he distinguished himself, or at any rate applied himself to his work, would not get his commission. Both Sandhurst and Woolwich cadets would go into camp for a month or six weeks in summer. Candidates for the Army through the Militia were to be attached for three or four months between trainings to Line battalions, and would have to be reported on by the battalion commanders. For University candidates, whom he was anxious to encourage,

he had prepared a scheme which would enable them to enter the Army on equal terms with other candidates. A student would have to pass Moderations at Oxford or some equivalent examination at another University before he was twenty, and he would also have to do six weeks' training with a Regular unit at Aldershot or elsewhere. He would then be given a provisional commission. Before he was twenty-two he would have to take honours at the University and to go through another six weeks' training. He would then receive a commission dating back two years. The Universities would be asked to include in their honours examination two or three military subjects—*e.g.*, military topography and military history. Replying to a question, the War Secretary said he hoped in time to increase the number of commissions given to Colonial candidates, but this could not be done yet. Dealing with the question of the training of officers after they had entered the Army, he pointed out that at present a Laodicean officer who had been in the Army for two years had as much right to promotion as an officer who showed conspicuous zeal. Then officers with social influence had been more fortunate in the past in obtaining pleasant "billets" than officers who were merely competent and able. The time had come, Mr. Brodrick held, to put an end to this state of things. Under the remedial scheme which it had been determined to introduce an annual course of training had been prescribed for each unit, and the three senior officers of a battalion were to classify, when the period of training was over, the other officers according to their general efficiency and their power of training and leading men. It would be in the power of any commanding officer to bring before a brigadier the name of any officer deserving accelerated promotion. Officers of indifferent attainments would not get the same promotion or the same leave as others. The present A and B examinations for promotion he regarded as practically worthless; and they were to be replaced by more practical tests. A system of confidential reports concurred in by the three senior officers would be encouraged. After two years of inefficiency an officer would be required to send in his papers. As the training of the officers improved so would that of the men. The House should recognise, Mr. Brodrick ended by saying, that as long as the linked battalion system continued to exist it would be impossible to have the full training which was to be desired for our Regular and Auxiliary Forces; at the same time, when these reforms had been carried out a great step would have been taken in the right direction.

The reforms thus indicated received the general approval of Members on both sides of the House, although Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling District*) contended that more ought to be done to reduce the expenses of officers in the Army in order to afford facilities for the admission into the commissioned ranks of other than the leisured classes.

| Votes. | | Net Estimates. | | Difference on Net Estimates. | |
|---|--|----------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------|
| | | 1903-4. | 1902-3. | Increase. | Decrease. |
| A | I.—Numbers. | Total Numbers. | Total Numbers. | | Numbers. |
| | Number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India - - | 235,761 | 420,000 | — | 184,239 |
| | II.—Effective Services. | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1 | Pay, etc., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) - - | 9,647,000 | 18,947,870 | — | 9,300,870 |
| 2 | Medical Establishment: Pay, etc. - - | 530,000 | 1,025,000 | — | 495,000 |
| 3 | Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc. - - | 907,000 | 1,381,000 | — | 474,000 |
| 4 | Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances - - | 480,000 | 585,000 | — | 105,000 |
| 5 | Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances - - | 1,280,000 | 1,287,000 | — | 7,000 |
| 6 | Transport and Remounts - - | 1,838,000 | 11,242,000 | — | 9,404,000 |
| 7 | Provisions, Forage and other Supplies (including South African Compensation Claims) - - | 6,895,000 | 16,066,000 | — | 9,171,000 |
| 8 | Clothing Establishments and Services - - | 1,822,000 | 3,970,000 | — | 2,148,000 |
| 9 | Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair - - | 4,820,000 | 8,329,455 | — | 3,509,455 |
| 10 | Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services - - | 1,920,000 | 2,186,293 | — | 266,293 |
| 11 | Establishments for Military Education - - | 134,500 | 120,800 | 13,700 | — |
| 12 | Miscellaneous Effective Services - - | 62,000 | 103,890 | — | 41,890 |
| 13 | War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - - | 331,500 | 333,405 | — | 1,905 |
| | Total Effective Services | 30,667,000 | 65,577,713 | — | 34,910,713 |
| | III.—Non-Effective Services. | | | | |
| 14 | Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc. - - | 1,638,000 | 1,786,000 | — | 148,000 |
| 15 | Non-Effective Charges for Men, etc. - - | 1,745,000 | 1,747,000 | — | 2,000 |
| 16 | Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - | 195,000 | 195,000 | — | — |
| | Total Non-Effective Services | 3,578,000 | 3,728,000 | — | 150,000 |
| | Balances irrecoverable and Claims abandoned - - | — | — | — | — |
| | Total Effective and Non-Effective Services - - | 34,245,000 | 69,305,713 | — | 35,060,713 |
| NOTE.—The provision for Ordinary and Extra-ordinary Services was as follows:— | | | | | |
| | | 1903-4. | 1902-3. | | |
| For Extra-ordinary Services:— | | £ | £ | | |
| South African Compensation Claims - - - - | | 2,000,000 | — | | |
| Other Special South African Expenditure - - - - | | 2,000,000 | 39,650,000 | | |
| China Expedition - - - - | | 250,000 | 350,000 | | |
| Somaliland Expedition - - - - | | 250,000 | — | | |
| Reserves of Stores and Clothing (Special programme) - - | | 2,157,000 | 1,822,000 | | |
| | | 6,657,000 | 41,822,000 | | |
| For Ordinary Services - - - - | | 27,588,000 | 27,483,713 | | |
| Total - - - - | | 34,245,000 | 69,305,713 | | |

Later in the evening the question of the Volunteer Forces and the serious reduction in their number which had recently taken place was raised by Mr. Lambton (*Durham, S.E.*), in a resolution asking the House to affirm the importance of strengthening their organisation. Various contributions to a solution of the problem were made by Members, including a demand by Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) that the Auxiliary Forces should have a separate organisation of their own appropriate for their purpose—that of home defence. The serious fact of the diminution in the number of Volunteer officers, and its association, in large measure, with the financial burden now devolving on them, were acknowledged by Lord Stanley, Financial Secretary to the War Office (*Westhoughton, Lancs.*); and Mr. Brodrick, who spoke later, also referred to the want of general efficiency in several of the corps, although the expenditure on the Volunteers had been almost trebled in thirty years, with a rise in numbers of only about one-fifth. In these circumstances steps, such as the enforcement of camps, appeared necessary to secure increased efficiency. The whole subject was to be referred to a Royal Commission, very shortly about to be appointed, on the condition of the Auxiliary Forces.

In accordance with previous custom, the reader is presented with the annexed abstract of the Army Estimates for the year 1903-4, and means of comparison with the previous year.

In his explanatory memorandum the War Secretary (Mr. Brodrick) gave the following table, showing, in summary form, the comparison between the figures for the year 1902-3 and the Estimates now offered :—

| | 1903-4. | 1902-3. | Increase. | Decrease. |
|--|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Normal Services | 27,588,000 | 27,483,713 | 104,287 | — |
| Temporary Services (Reserve of Stores and Clothing, Special programme) | 2,157,000 | 1,822,000 | 335,000 | — |
| Ordnance Factories Vote | 255,000 | 355,000 | — | 100,000 |
| | 30,000,000 | 29,660,713 | 339,287 | — |
| War Services (South Africa and China) | — | 40,000,000 | — | — |
| Special Expenditure in connection with South Africa (including payment of Compensation Claims), China and Somaliland | 4,500,000 | — | — | — |
| | 34,500,000 | 69,660,713 | — | 35,160,713 |
| Numbers | | | | |
| Vote A :— | | | | |
| Permanent Establishments | 221,561 | 219,700 | 1,861 | — |
| Temporary Establishments (due to War, etc.) | 14,200 | 200,300 | — | 186,100 |
| Total | 235,761 | 420,000 | — | 184,239 |

The close of the war in South Africa, Mr. Brodrick explained in his memorandum, while enabling a great reduction to be made in the Army Estimates, still left upon the votes a sum of nearly 7,000,000*l.* in excess of the normal Army Services.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Of the total of - - - - - | £34,500,000 |
| Compensation claims in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony absorbed - - - - - | £2,000,000 |
| Extra cost of the increased garrison in South Africa, numbering nearly 30,000 in all, and maintained on a higher scale than peace footing - - - | 1,150,000 |
| Transport charges, temporary war pensions, etc. - - - | 850,000 |
| Charges in connection with the Somaliland Expeditionary Force and China, each £250,000 - - - | 500,000 |
| | <hr/> £4,500,000 |
| Beyond this the extra reserves of stores and clothing ordered in 1900, after the report of the Mowatt Committee, required - - - - - | 2,157,000 |
| The Mowatt Scheme (involving an expenditure of about £9,000,000 on Estimates) would then be completed, with the exception of a balance of about £250,000 to be provided in 1904-5. | |
| The Ordnance Factories Vote amounted to - - - | 255,000 |
| | <hr/> £6,912,000 |
| The total due to Normal Services was thus reduced to - - - | <hr/> <u>27,588,000</u> |

The reduction from War to Peace Establishments, although it had proceeded with great rapidity for the last nine months, still left us, in consequence of the high recruiting figures of last year, with a surplus of men on the Home Establishment. It had therefore been necessary to take a margin of 14,200 men pending the absorption of the surplus.

After pointing out that the establishment of British troops remained approximately the same as in the previous year—a reduction having, however, been effected in the establishment (both men and horses) of the Regular batteries allotted to home defence—the War Secretary's memorandum went on to remark that while the normal figure of the Estimates showed an increase of about 100,000*l.* over last year's figures, large economies had been made enabling provision to be made for the manœuvres, for which an additional sum of 170,000*l.* was spread over various votes, and for additions under Works, Education, and Training of Auxiliary Force Officers, increases to Intelligence, Medical and Remount Departments, etc. The memorandum concluded with a brief survey of each of the votes, showing how the various decreases and increases were caused.

On March 10 Mr. Brodrick followed up this memorandum by the usual statement in the House of Commons on the motion to go into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates. His speech was largely a defence of the existing system as one which could not be abandoned without danger to national interests. He challenged the advocates of economy to say what items ought to be knocked off the Estimates. The employment of an enormous number of only partly trained men, he warned the

House, would not be economical in the long run. He hoped, therefore, that it would not be assumed that we ought to reduce seriously the number of our well-trained Regulars and to substitute an indefinite number of Volunteers. The forces on the home establishment had certainly increased considerably since 1897; but it should be borne in mind that the demands of the Empire had also grown since then. Having glanced at the proposal that an army corps should be kept in South Africa, and argued that this would be a very costly policy, he proceeded to justify the vote by giving details of our military needs. On the establishment we had 207,000 men; the Army Reserve would be 60,000 in a few weeks, and before four years had passed would grow to 100,000. Therefore, the troops we should have at our disposal would be 307,000 men. If an expeditionary force were needed, 120,000 men would go abroad. Adding to these the 51,000 employed in colonial garrisons, there would then be 171,000 men out of this country. From 20,000 to 22,000 sick and inefficient men must be deducted from the total. When these and other deductions had been made there would be left 56,000. From this number would be supplied the drafts for the expeditionary force. He calculated that only 36,000 Regular troops—certainly not an excessive number—would remain in this country and be available for the purpose of “stiffening” the Auxiliary Forces.

Having said that the Government were determined that the Militia, which did so much for us in Africa, should be kept up, Mr. Brodrick combated the argument that if the Auxiliary Forces were only given the opportunity of organising themselves they could dispense with the co-operation of Regular troops. It was, he held, of the highest importance that the Auxiliary Forces when on service should have the support of Regulars; and especially was this true in regard to artillery. These were the reasons which justified the demand for the number of troops named in his Estimates. Coming to the question whether any reduction could be made in the money vote, he pointed out that the items in the Estimates for stores, for expenses in South Africa, and for the Somaliland Expedition were not normal expenditure, and were not expected to reappear in the Estimates next year. There would then, however, be an increase under the head of pay, and money would also have to be provided for the interest on loans for barracks and for the Militia Reserve. He deprecated any hasty reduction of expenditure, for it almost invariably led afterwards to increased outlay accompanied by unsatisfactory results. When the Reserves had reached the number of 100,000 would be the time to reduce the number of men with the Colours.

Meeting the objection that the amount spent on the Intelligence Department was insufficient, the War Secretary assured the Committee that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was willing to grant whatever sum might be necessary to enable the very

important work of this branch of the War Office to be carried out effectively. Before long additional officers would be appointed. While he had always been of opinion that the department ought to be strengthened, he should be surprised if, when the War Commission reported, they did not hear more about the misuse of information supplied by the department than about a deficiency of intelligence. (This anticipation, it may be interjected, was fully borne out by the event.) Turning to the War Office itself, he referred to the recommendations of the Clinton Dawkins Committee, and gave a list of the proposals which had been adopted. They embraced the relief of the War Office by the enlargement of the responsibility of general officers commanding; the substitution of inspection for report; and, if not exactly the establishment of the War Office Board recommended by the Committee, yet the setting of the War Office Council on a regular and business-like footing. Whatever objections might be entertained in some quarters to the army corps organisation, its results, as a measure of decentralisation, were wonderful. Mr. Brodrick went on to claim that the reorganisation of the Army Medical Department sufficed alone to make that year a memorable one. Whereas under the old system it was impossible to obtain the full number of candidates for the medical service, now there were three times as many candidates for admission as there were vacancies. A medical staff college had been established in London, where officers on leave would be able to make themselves familiar with the most recent developments of medical science; and improvements had been effected in other directions. The army nursing service had been put upon a new footing; and there was no danger, he hoped, of a repetition of what had been described as the scandals of the late campaign. Changes had been introduced in the Remount Department, which would not be "caught napping" again, the lessons of the war having been taken to heart.

Coming to the question of officers' expenses, the War Secretary said the desire that a young officer should be able to live on his pay could not be realised. Even in continental armies under compulsory service a young man must have some private sources of income. Much had been done already to reduce the essential expenses of service in the Cavalry; and, in addition, Lord Roberts had urged upon commanding officers the desirability of fixing a limit to expenditure in their regiments. With regard to the question of stores, he was able to give satisfactory assurances, and he expressed a hope that the reserves which had been accumulated would not be depleted by any future economically-minded Minister. Replying to the critics who declared that our expenditure on the Army was too large, he said their outcry did not surprise him, as it was almost inevitable that there should be a reaction after the war. He trusted, however, that Parliament would not repeat the futile and extravagant policy, adopted after the Egyptian War and

on other occasions, of cutting down expenses suddenly. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), who followed, largely avoided detailed criticism, arguing that the size of our Army depended on national policy. The debate on Mr. Brodrick's statement (which occupied the sittings of March 10, 11 and 12) was, however, chiefly remarkable for the criticism it provoked from the group of Members on the Ministerial side of the House who had been identified with Mr. Beckett's amendment to the Address, and who now supported a motion by Mr. Guest (*Plymouth*) to reduce the number of men by 27,000, that being approximately the amount of the increase in the Infantry since 1897. The criticisms of Members, including Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*) and Mr. Arthur Lee (*Fareham, Hants*), were particularly directed to questioning the necessity for an expeditionary force of 120,000 men for abroad. Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) said that he should not only vote for the increase in naval expenditure, but also for the future increase which he saw to be inevitable, but he held it necessary to check any increase in Army expenditure that had not an assurance of good results. Mr. Brodrick, in his reply, said that the proposed reduction would entirely destroy the present system of Army organisation. Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) asked for a small Army for foreign service, and a specially equipped Auxiliary Force for home defence. He thought the emergency of a struggle on the Indian Frontier would be better provided for by stationing a single army corps in South Africa. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman supported the amendment, and made suggestions for reductions. Mr. Balfour, in reference to the Indian Frontier, said that the Government had to consider, as regarded the Army, a parallel case to that which the Admiralty considered when they said that the fleet should be able to cope with two Powers. It was possible that one of those Powers might be able to attack India. Mr. Guest's amendment was, in the end, defeated by 245 to 154, and the vote was then agreed to. Thirty Unionists voted in the minority, while nearly the whole Irish party abstained.

The vote of 9,647,000*l.* for pay was also ultimately (March 12) agreed to by 202 to 53, but not without a good deal of further discussion, in the course of which Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) protested against what he regarded as the unwarranted optimism of the War Secretary on the subject of recruiting. The recruiting returns, he contended, did not justify Mr. Brodrick's expectation that he would find his minimum of 50,000 annually. That number, however, was indispensable for his scheme. The recruiting returns were, in fact, the foundation of the scheme, and they left him for this year a margin of 753 men only. Mr. Churchill asserted that even this number had only been secured by the lowering of the tests, and not by increased pay. A quaint feature of the debate was the support given to Mr. Brodrick by Major

Jameson, the Nationalist Member for Clare, against the presumption of the " budding Wellingtons and sucking Napoleons, who after three months' service in South Africa wanted to rule the War Office."

In the course of this consideration of the Estimates an animated debate took place at the evening sitting of March 11 on a matter of military discipline, which had already come before both Houses in the form of questions to Ministers, in connection with what was known as the Kinloch case. It may be explained that Colonel Kinloch, the commanding officer of the 1st Battalion of the Grenadier Guards, had been placed on half-pay by the Commander-in-Chief on the ground that he was responsible for the lax state of discipline in his regiment, disclosed by complaints of relatives of junior subalterns, who for social or military offences were tried by an irregular court-martial of senior subalterns and submitted to castigation of a peculiarly degrading nature. Colonel Kinloch's case was warmly taken up by influential friends, including Mr. Bromley-Davenport, M.P., who alleged that he had been tried unheard for condoning practices of which he was not aware, and the controversy was transferred from the Press, where it had been waged with much vigour, to the Houses of Parliament. The action taken by Lord Roberts was, however, essentially vindicated, in the opinion of most men, by Mr. Brodrick's answers to questions addressed to him by Mr. Bromley-Davenport in the House of Commons on March 5, in the course of which he stated that the decision arrived at by Lord Roberts was formed on Colonel Kinloch's own statements and on the results of his command. The whole question, apart from its bearing on the subject of the training of officers, was chiefly of importance in so far as it raised the dual issue of regimental responsibility and of the right of officers to regard their commissions as a vested interest of which they might not be deprived without established proof of actual misfeasance. This aspect of the case was discussed, not without a descent to personalities, in an animated debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*), declaring that when an officer is removed from the Army or placed on half-pay, for some specific act or omission concerning which a charge can be framed under the Army Act, an option should be given to such officer of having his case heard by court-martial. Mr. Bromley-Davenport (*Macclesfield, Cheshire*), who supported the motion, complained of the treatment which Colonel Kinloch had received at the hands of Lord Roberts, who had not, so Mr. Bromley-Davenport maintained, exercised his discretion judicially in this case.

In reply, Mr. Brodrick stated that great social influence, amounting almost to social terrorism, had been brought to bear upon the War Office with the object of inducing the Commander-in-Chief to hush up the scandal affecting the 1st

Battalion of the Grenadier Guards. The War Secretary, who was interrupted several times by Mr. Bromley-Davenport, Lord H. Cecil and other Members, went at length into the disagreeable facts of the case. He explained the view of the Commander-in-Chief to be that Colonel Kinloch's behaviour did not disclose any very strong disapproval of the corporal punishment inflicted on ensigns by the senior subalterns, and that Colonel Kinloch had been guilty of grave errors of judgment. In this same regiment one or two drummer-boys had been flogged, contrary to the King's regulations. When the junior subalterns of a regiment were living under a reign of terror and when drummer-boys were flogged it was, he maintained, impossible to retain confidence in the commanding officer. The accusation against Colonel Kinloch was that he did not discharge his duties efficiently. In such cases the Commander-in-Chief must have a power of dismissal. Turning to the general question raised by the motion, he explained that courts-martial could not be held whenever an officer felt aggrieved. Trial by court-martial, for example, could not properly be resorted to in the case of an officer who was dismissed because his nerves had broken down or because he had committed errors of judgment. Officers in such cases must be dismissed by the authorities, because men's lives could not possibly be entrusted to their care. Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) maintained that whenever a definite charge could be preferred against an officer he should be accorded a trial; and Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (*Newport, Salop*) affirmed that junior subalterns received the "kindest advice" from seniors if handed over to them. The motion was then rejected by 185 votes against 57.

After these prolonged military debates the affairs of the Church were for a few hours under the consideration of the House of Commons. Public attention had just been strongly attracted towards the question of ecclesiastical order by the proceedings at Lambeth Palace on March 11, when a deputation of over 100 Members of Parliament, introduced by Sir John Dorington, waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury to urge the expediency of enforcing stricter discipline upon the clergy. The Members present were all, or most of them, moderates and opposed to Disestablishment, but they objected to Roman practices and to "the emphasis laid on sacerdotalism." The Archbishop in reply made a long and impressive speech, in which he asserted that illegal practices were slowly disappearing, and that the Bishops had never, except in two cases which he justified, vetoed the prosecution of those clergy who kept them up. He would leave the matter in their hands, confident that the few cases in which the law was defied would be met by "stern and drastic" action. The real difficulty, he maintained, did not arise so much with the clergy as with the laity, who were occasionally most reluctant to give up practices, such as incense, to which they had been accustomed. The Archbishop

spoke with regret of the reluctance of the upper classes to take Orders, and finally agreed with the deputation that the clergy and laity of the Church must be brought "more into touch right through."

It was under these circumstances that, on March 13, Mr. Austin Taylor (*Liverpool*) moved the second reading of the Church Discipline Bill, which aimed at providing a simplified and accelerated procedure by which due observance of the law of the Established Church might be secured, with or without the concurrence of the Bishop of the diocese in the action taken. One of the main objects of the Bill, he explained, was to abolish committal to jail for contumacy on the part of a clergyman and to substitute deprivation of his benefice as a punishment. It also proposed to abolish the veto of the Bishop, which, he contended, debarred the laity from seeking redress for their grievances. The fundamental basis of the measure, Mr. Taylor claimed, was the right of the laity to have services in their parish churches which should conform to the law.

Mr. Cripps (*Stretford, Lancs*), who had introduced an alternative measure, opposed Mr. Taylor's Bill because it would detract from the power and responsibility of the Bishops. His own view was that the Bishops' responsibility ought to be increased, and that an inexpensive method of effective episcopal intervention ought to be provided. These were the principles upon which his Bill was based.

After speeches by Mr. Lawson Walton (*Leeds, S.*), who contended that ever since the Bishop of Oxford, in 1879, refused to sanction a prosecution the episcopal bench had consistently discouraged proceedings for alleged violations of doctrine and ritual, and by Mr. V. Gibbs (*St. Albans*), who agreed with Mr. Cripps, Mr. Taylor's Bill received the warm support of Sir William Harcourt. He contended that this matter was not one for compromise between the clergy and the Bishops, for the laity had a right to demand that the law of the Church should be observed. The laity ought to have access to the properly constituted legal tribunal without the impediment of the Bishop's right of veto, which had been abused in the past. The only proper course to take was to provide against frivolous and vexatious suits, and then to open the doors of the law in ecclesiastical matters, as in civil matters, to all the subjects of the realm. That was what the people were entitled to, and if the right was not conceded the Church should be disestablished.

Mr. Balfour, who was careful to explain that he was not speaking on behalf of his colleagues collectively, this not being a Government question, assured the House that he was as conscious as anybody of the dangers to which the Church was exposed by the action of the extremists on both sides. It had been difficult for the present Bishops to deal rapidly with a state of things that ought not to have been allowed to grow up. A point to be borne in mind was that when

legal proceedings were instituted the whole cost under the present law was thrown upon the Bishop, whose income was not more than sufficient to meet the normal calls that were made upon it. An amendment of the law with regard to this pecuniary liability of the Episcopal Bench might well be made. Dealing with the question of the Bishop's veto, the abolition of which he described as the essential feature of the Bill, he pointed out that no case in which the right of veto had been abused by a living Bishop had been brought before the House. If the veto was not misused he failed to see how its abolition could improve the position of the Church. There ought to be proof of misuse before it was abolished. The issues in these religious disputes were rather spiritual than legal, and in dealing with spiritual questions it was upon the ecclesiastical authority that reliance should be placed. Illegal practices in the Church must be put down, but that must be done without alienating any great body of Church opinion. He reminded the House that a new Archbishop, in whom the country had the greatest confidence, had just been appointed. In the first month of the most reverend Prelate's tenure of office the House was surely not going to reduce the episcopal functions almost to a nullity. If the earnest protest against Romanising practices registered by the House in 1899 had been fruitless, it might perhaps have been necessary to plunge at any risk into this great controversy. But, while less had been done than the House perhaps had a right to expect, much had been done. He admitted that they ought to try to find some machinery by which the enforcement of the law of the Church might be rendered easier, but as the supporters of the Bill before the House objected to his idea of referring both Bills to a Select Committee, he could not vote for the measure in question. Eventually a division was taken, and the second reading of Mr. Taylor's Bill was carried by 190 votes against 139. The preponderance of feeling in the House in favour of drastic measures for putting down extreme Ritualism was thus shown to be substantial. But it was not strong enough to impose itself on a Prime Minister who, though far enough from being a Ritualist, recognised the difficulties and dangers connected with attempts to maintain discipline in a Church by methods foreign to its genius and essential principles. Mr. Taylor's Bill never reached or even approached the Statute Book.

Going back to National Defences, there may now be presented the annexed abstract of the Navy Estimates, showing the increases and decreases as compared with the corresponding votes of the previous year.

In his explanatory statement accompanying the Navy Estimates, the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Selborne) began by observing that the expansion and reorganisation of the Admiralty mentioned in his memorandum of last year was

| Votes. | | Net Estimate. | | Difference on Net Estimates. | |
|--------|--|----------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| | | 1903-4. | 1902-3. | Increase. | Decrease. |
| | I.—Numbers. | Total Numbers. | Total Numbers. | Numbers. | |
| A | Total Number of Officers, Seamen, Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - - | 127,100 | 122,500 | 4,600 | — |
| | II.—Effective Services. | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1 | Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen and Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - - | 6,312,800 | 5,962,000 | 350,800 | — |
| 2 | Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - - | 2,292,500 | 2,023,500 | 269,000 | — |
| 3 | Medical Establishments and Services - - - - - | 259,000 | 246,500 | 12,500 | — |
| 4 | Martial Law - - - - - | 15,500 | 17,700 | — | 2,200 |
| 5 | Educational Services - - - - - | 116,100 | 101,700 | 14,400 | — |
| 6 | Scientific Services - - - - - | 69,400 | 65,600 | 3,800 | — |
| 7 | Royal Naval Reserves - - - - - | 297,500 | 286,900 | 10,600 | — |
| 8 | Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc. :— | | | | |
| | Section I.— <i>Personnel</i> - - - | 2,991,800 | 2,661,500 | 330,300 | — |
| | Section II.— <i>Matériel</i> - - - | 4,786,700 | 4,812,700 | — | 26,000 |
| | Section III.—Contract Work - - - - - | 9,571,500 | 7,665,800 | 1,905,700 | — |
| 9 | Naval Armaments - - - - - | 3,206,100 | 3,356,400 | — | 150,300 |
| 10 | Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad - - - | 1,502,000 | 1,100,000 | 402,000 | — |
| 11 | Miscellaneous Effective Services - - - - - | 409,500 | 368,000 | 41,500 | — |
| 12 | Admiralty Office - - - - - | 306,400 | 294,300 | 12,100 | — |
| | Total Effective Services - | 32,136,800 | 28,962,600 | 3,352,700 | 178,500 |
| | III.—Non-effective Services. | | | | |
| 13 | Half-pay, Reserved and Retired Pay - - - - - | 784,300 | 782,100 | 2,200 | — |
| 14 | Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities and Compassionate Allowances - - - | 1,186,300 | 1,160,700 | 25,600 | — |
| 15 | Civil Pensions and Gratuities - | 350,100 | 350,100 | — | — |
| | Total Non-effective Services - - - - - | 2,320,700 | 2,292,900 | 27,800 | — |
| | Grand Total - - - - - | 34,457,500 | 31,255,500 | 3,380,500 | 178,500 |
| | Net increase - - - | | | £3,202,000. | |

steadily proceeding on the principles therein laid down. The organisation of the Controller's Department as a whole had been strengthened, as a result of the report presented by Admiral Sir Charles Fane's Committee; the Controller himself had received a naval assistant, and in that and other ways had been relieved of the burden of details, responsibility for which had been entrusted to his subordinates. In the sphere of work of the Director of Naval Construction a new sub-branch had been formed under an officer, styled the Superintendent of Construction Accounts and Contract Works, whose position towards the Director of Naval Construction was analogous to that of the Superintendent of Naval Ordnance Stores to the Director of

Naval Ordnance. The result was that, while the Director of Naval Construction would be freer than he had ever been to devote his whole energies to the work of designing ships and of generally supervising their construction in accordance with his designs, the duty of the detailed superintendence of contract and financial work connected with construction would devolve on this new officer. The department of the Engineer-in-Chief had also been strengthened. "The Engineer-in-Chief," Lord Selborne remarked, "is not only the responsible adviser of the Board of Admiralty on all questions of naval engineering, but he is also the official head of the engine-room branch of the *personnel* of the Navy. These two duties do not seem to me to be necessarily connected, and in view of the constantly increasing importance of what are really the functions of a Director of Naval Engineering the time will, in my opinion, come when it will be more convenient to separate them."

After referring to the proposed Advisory Committee of experts on marine engineering, the First Lord went on to announce that the reorganisation of the Naval Ordnance Store Department as an integral branch of the Naval Ordnance Department had worked admirably. The policy of separation of naval from military ordnance stores was being steadily pursued. The representation of the Navy on the Ordnance Committee had been strengthened by the addition of an officer of the Royal Marine Artillery, and the Rear-Admiral Vice-President of the Ordnance Committee had become an Associate Member of the Explosives Committee.

After alluding with satisfaction to the organisation of the Transport Department of the Admiralty, Lord Selborne proceeded to deal with the Naval Intelligence Department, and took occasion to remove the impression prevalent in some quarters that this department was starved by the Treasury. He further announced that while the organisation of the war mobilisation of the fleet was of course part of the duty of the Naval Intelligence Department, the full scheme of the Board included also the elaboration of the war organisation of the Admiralty itself under the responsibility of the Secretary of the Admiralty, and aimed at securing that each department of the Admiralty should, at the same time as the fleet was mobilised for war, be able to mobilise itself immediately for war administration, and that as little as possible should be left for decision when war broke out. "Every department," he added, "will expand automatically and know exactly how to carry on without referring to the Board for instructions."

The increase in the staff of the Works Department required to carry out the enlarged programme of Works had made it necessary to appoint a committee to investigate the conditions of entry and service for civil engineers, and on their recommendation certain changes were being made which should render the Works Department service sufficiently attractive to secure

the entry by competitive examination of the best class of young men who were entering the engineering profession. Turning to the question of *personnel*, the First Lord recalled his statement of last year as to his special responsibility for devising a remedy for the future for the absence from the Flag List of a due proportion of younger officers, and announced that the Board had already taken steps in this direction. The question was one of the most complicated that could be conceived, because any change in any direction affected the career of such large numbers of officers and, unless fully thought out in advance, was liable to produce unexpected and undesired results. To assist them in elucidating this complicated problem the Board had appointed a committee consisting of Viscount Goschen (Chairman), Admiral Sir Michael Culme Seymour, Bart., G.C.B.; Sir Francis Mowatt, G.C.B., Permanent Secretary of the Treasury; Rear-Admiral E. S. Poë, M.V.O.; Captain Sir G. Warrender, Bart., R.N., C.B.; and Sir Richard Awdry, K.C.B., Accountant-General of the Navy. He reserved for a future occasion the examination of the report of this committee, which had only just been received. Dealing with the problems of training for officers, the First Lord, who paid a high tribute to the work done at Greenwich, briefly recalled the principles underlying the recently issued special memorandum. The new departure of sending fourth-term cadets to sea in the *Isis* had been an unqualified success. As to the training of the men of the Navy, the detailed plan was being steadily elaborated. It would be first of all introduced in the Portsmouth command, and would provide, among other things, that in the future an able seaman, before receiving his rating as such, must possess some mechanical knowledge and a fair knowledge of the simpler duties of the stokehold. On the same principles all obsolete instruction would be eliminated from the course on the boys' training ships, and elementary instruction in the use of mechanical appliances substituted for it. Much more time would also be devoted than hitherto to the instruction of the boys in gunnery. In old days the physical training of the seamen was provided for in the best possible way by their work on the masts and yards. This was no longer the case, and it had been necessary to provide an adequate physical training by other means, and an appendix to the memorandum gave some details as to the gymnastic training which was being organised. The numbers voted for the current year were 122,500 officers and men (active service ratings). This establishment would undoubtedly have been fully reached by the end of the financial year, and for next year the numbers proposed were 127,100, the increase including 262 officers.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on Naval Reserves, presided over by Sir Edward Grey, it was proposed that 625 of the stokers and 375 of the seamen should be non-continuous service men. Legislation would be proposed to Parliament to enable the Board of Admiralty to make it a

condition of enlistment for non-continuous service that after a limited period of service in the fleet the men so enlisted should join the Royal Fleet Reserve for the unexpired portion of twelve years. The First Lord trusted that as a result of the very valuable labours of this committee a principle and standard in respect of the manning of the Navy would be adopted by the Board which would receive the seal of the concurrence of Parliament; but, in view of the constant demands that were made in various quarters that additional ships should be placed in commission, Lord Selborne pointed out that the number of the active service ratings must continue to increase disproportionately to the growth of the Reserves unless a fairly constant ratio were observed in peace time between the ships in commission and the ships in reserve. "For in time of peace," said Lord Selborne, "a ship in commission could only be manned by active service ratings, the Reserves—except for training in ships of the Home Fleet—not being available for that purpose."

Dealing with the question of gunnery, the First Lord announced that it had recently been decided to award a medal (carrying with it a bonus), to be worn on the right breast, to the captains of the guns, seamen or marines, in each ship, who were judged by the captain to be the best shot in that ship during the year with each nature of gun, conditionally on their attaining a minimum standard to be approved by the Admiralty. But he deprecated the stress often laid on the grant of monetary prizes as allowing too little for the patriotism of the men, and also as implying that comparisons could be justly instituted between the conditions under which different ships and men on them, respectively, did their shooting.

In regard to construction, the First Lord stated that all the money voted for the year 1902-3 would have been earned and spent by the 31st March. The amount proposed in the Estimates for 1903-4 for New Construction was 10,137,000*l.*, of which 1,150,000*l.* would be devoted to the commencement of new ships. The corresponding amounts for the current year were 9,058,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* respectively. The Board had considered carefully the report of the committee on the past arrears in shipbuilding, and they had taken every opportunity of profiting by its recommendations. Lord Selborne then continued:—"Between April 1, 1902, and March 31, 1903, inclusive, the following ships will have been completed and passed into the Fleet Reserve:—Battleships,—*London, Venerable, Russell, Montagu*; First-class armoured cruisers,—*Bacchante, Good Hope, Drake, Leviathan, King Alfred*; Sloops,—*Odin, Merlin*; four destroyers, three torpedo boats, six submarines; Repair ship,—*Assistance*; Distilling ship,—*Aquarius*.

"On April 1, 1903, there will be under construction: Eleven battleships, nineteen armoured cruisers, two second-class cruisers, four third-class cruisers, four scouts, two sloops, nineteen destroyers, eight torpedo boats and three submarines. And it

is expected that between April 1, 1903, and March 31, 1904, inclusive, the following ships will have been completed and passed into the Fleet Reserve: six battleships, eleven armoured cruisers, one second-class cruiser, two sloops, four destroyers, eight torpedo boats and three submarines.

"It is proposed to commence during the financial year 1903-4:—three battleships, four first-class armoured cruisers, three third-class cruisers, four scouts, fifteen destroyers and ten submarines."

"Much progress," Lord Selborne added, "will have been made by March 31 next in the policy of reconstruction announced in my statement of last year, as will be seen from the following list: Completed,—Battleships (*Royal Sovereign* class),—*Empress of India*, *Resolution*, *Revenge*, *Royal Oak*; First-class cruiser,—*Powerful*; Second-class cruisers (*Talbot* class),—*Doris*, *Venus*, *Dido*, *Isis*. In hand,—Battleships,—*Barfleur*, *Centurion*; First-class cruiser,—*Terrible*."

Owing to the great pressure of work in the dockyards it had been decided to allow the contractors who were building the ships to complete them in all respects ready for commission, by which means all the shipbuilding firms who constructed war vessels would gain further experience and be better prepared to undertake naval work. The completion of these ships would entail an increase of the Controller's Naval staff in order to ensure that the ships were fitted in every way in accordance with the usual custom of the service, and to avoid any alterations or additions at the dockyards after final delivery. The policy of relieving the congestion of repairs in the dockyards by sending ships to be repaired by the private firms which built them had been largely followed, and the Board proposed to continue that policy, as being for the advantage of the Navy.

Dealing with the subject of subsidised merchant cruisers, which had been brought to the front by the reports of the inter-departmental Committee, over which Lord Camperdown presided, and of the Committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., was chairman, and by the creation of the great American shipping combination, Lord Selborne remarked that such ships could never be a substitute for his Majesty's cruisers, but they would have their special uses. It did not seem to the Board right that any ship should be in existence which, in case of war, no ship at the disposal of the Board could reasonably expect to catch, and they were accordingly glad when, for this reason among others, his Majesty's Government decided, should Parliament approve, to give such a subsidy to the Cunard Company as would enable them to build two steamers of superior speed to anything afloat, which would be entirely at the disposal of the Admiralty in time of war. Before the current agreement, in respect of subsidised merchant cruisers, with the various steamship companies expired two years hence, the Board would have to consider their policy

in respect of ships of no special speed in the light of the reports of the two committees just mentioned.

In regard to the vexed question of types of boilers, Lord Selborne repeated a previous announcement to the effect that, for the present, the policy of the Board would be to adhere to a combination of four-fifths watertube, of certain types recommended by the Boiler Committee, and one-fifth cylindrical, boilers. While admitting the difficulties which had been caused to the fleet by the adoption of the Belleville boilers, the First Lord contended that these difficulties were not peculiar to this type, but largely due to the novelty of its adoption. Although the Board agreed with the Boiler Committee in considering other types of watertube boilers to be much preferable, they also shared the committee's view that to replace these boilers by others in the ships which already had them would be an unjustifiable, because an unnecessary, expense. Only experience could decide in the conflict of opinion as to the watertube boiler, but, in his (Lord Selborne's) opinion, it had "come to stay."

Allusion having been made to the experiments with the turbine system of machinery and in the use of oil fuel—so far without decisive results—the concluding paragraphs of the memorandum dealt with the distribution of the fleet. It had been decided to sever the West Coast of Africa from the Cape Station and to form a new squadron to be called the South Atlantic Squadron, which would serve the South-East Coast of America and the West Coast of Africa, and use Gibraltar and Sierra Leone as its bases. The policy of changing the composition of the Home, Channel, and Mediterranean Squadrons of battleships so that, like the China Squadron, they should be composed of homogeneous classes of ships was steadily progressing, and would be continued in the coming year. Both the Mediterranean Fleet and the Channel Squadron had now two armoured cruisers apiece of the *Cressy* class, and the Cruiser Squadron, which had lately been placed under the command of a Rear-Admiral, would, Lord Selborne hoped, be composed only of 23-knot vessels—viz., two of the *Drake* and four of the *Monmouth* class. Two additional Rear-Admirals had been appointed to the Mediterranean, one for service with the Cruiser Division of the fleet and one as senior naval officer at Gibraltar.

The Fleet in home waters had been reorganised and placed under the orders of a Vice-Admiral in command, with a Rear-Admiral as second in command. His duties and responsibilities in respect of home waters were analogous to those of the Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, except that they would in no way overlap or impinge upon the authority of the Commanders-in-Chief of the three home ports within their respective commands. The Home Fleet was quite independent of the Channel Squadron; it had as its nucleus of battleships the Home Squadron, consisting of the former port guardships, which had been withdrawn from this service, and it had its

headquarters at Portland. This squadron, in combination with the coastguard battleships and cruisers, composed the Home Fleet, which assembled three times in each year for joint exercises. Under the orders also when required of the Admiral commanding the Home Fleet would be the several destroyer flotillas along the coast, which were at present organised each under its own captain and commander, with a stationary parent ship, and supervised by an inspecting captain of destroyers, who was responsible for the general organisation of the whole. Sheerness Dockyard would be specially organised to undertake large refits and repair work for destroyers and torpedo-boats. The Admiral-Superintendent of Naval Reserves, whose duties would be largely increased in the future by the growth of the Reserves, would have separate and independent functions, and would no longer command a sea-going squadron. Proposals, it was added, would shortly be submitted to Parliament for the acquisition of the land necessary to establish a fourth naval base and depôt in the Firth of Forth.

This explanatory memorandum, of which the main features have been given, was followed up, on March 16, by the usual general statement in the House of Commons, by the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster), on the motion for going into Committee of Supply. He described the magnitude of the Estimates which he had to present as unparalleled either in peace or war. It was a distressing fact that the bitter competition and rivalry among nations should render this enormous unproductive expenditure necessary. The Estimates showed an excess over those of last year amounting to more than 3,000,000*l.*, and the *personnel* showed an increase of 4,600. The votes for *matériel*, shipbuilding, guns, and gun mountings had increased by 2,000,000*l.*, or by 2,271,224*l.* if the appropriations in aid were added. For their new programme the Admiralty were taking 451,000*l.* more than was taken a year ago, and they were proposing to spend 1,150,000*l.* on new programme work during the coming year. In respect of *personnel* a good deal was being done of an exceptional character. For example, there was the addition of the Fleet Reserve, of which Class B was to be increased by 2,300. The Royal Naval Reserve was also to receive an addition. Mr. Arnold-Forster proceeded to deal at length with the steps which the Admiralty were taking under the new training scheme to secure the homogeneity in a ship's company that existed in the days of sailing ships. Under their new scheme the Admiralty were dealing not only with officers, but with every other branch of the Navy. For example, sixty warrant officers were to be promoted to commissioned rank this year, and pensions appropriate to their rank were being given to chief petty officers. By the creation of the new rating of mechanics, stokers had been supplied with an avenue to promotion, and boys were to be trained in the dockyards as artificers. The Corps of Royal Marines had

now risen to 50,000 men, and an increased stringency of inquiry into character had resulted in improved *morale* without diminishing the recruiting returns.

Turning to the question of *matériel*, he explained that the number of ships struck off the so-called effective list was smaller this year than last, because there were now fewer vessels deserving condemnation than there were a few years ago. The Admiralty had withdrawn seven battleships, three sloops, ten gunboats and one torpedo-boat. Mr. Arnold-Forster then summarised the recent and prospective work of the Admiralty in respect of ship-construction as set forth above (pp. 61-62), mentioning that the four new "Scouts" to be commenced in 1903-4 were to be "very fast." Enlarging on the merits of the plan of having repairs effected in contract yards, he pointed out that the experience gained by the contractors would be invaluable to us should we ever be engaged in war. Turning to the subject of guns, he stated that there had been steady progress in the direction of increasing the total gun fire power and effective gun fire of our ships. The protection of the guns of the *Royal Sovereign* class was being completed, and new and more powerful guns were being put into the *Barfleur* and the *Centurion*. New 6-inch guns were being placed into all the *Talbot* class of cruisers. Experiments were being made in powder with a view to obtaining greater velocity. He informed the House that in future the mountings of the 12-inch guns were to be so made as to be interchangeable, and that this standardising would result in economy. Having referred to what had been done with regard to the distribution of our fleets, he said that not only their numbers but their quality had been increased. The Mediterranean Fleet, for example, had two additional battleships, an additional cruiser, and an additional destroyer. We had now homogeneous squadrons in the Channel and Mediterranean, and the Home Fleet would shortly be homogeneous also. The arrangements for the coaling of the Fleet had progressed steadily, and the Admiralty were storing patent fuel throughout the world. On the question of the intellectual equipment of the service, he assured the House that it was not being neglected, but was engaging the attention of the Admiralty more and more.

The proposals embodied in Mr. Arnold-Forster's statement were not allowed to pass without a challenge from Members who were dissatisfied with the new training scheme. Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*) moved an amendment urging its reconsideration, and argued against the plan for educating naval students to perform executive functions, to act as engineers and also as marines, as demanding too much of the naval officer.

Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*), who seconded the amendment, objected strongly to the proposal that little boys of twelve years of age should be educated by the Admiralty, as committing

them too early to a naval career, which many would, in fact, not pursue. Another demerit of the scheme, in his view, was that only people who were fairly well off would be able to keep their sons at the Admiralty school for the long period which was contemplated. The payment of about 100*l.* a year for five years for the education of a boy would be a very serious matter to the class which had hitherto provided the bulk of our engineer students.

Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) further objected to the scheme as striking at the principle of competition for the public service and encouraging patronage. He should prefer a scheme under which the age for entrance to the Navy would be seventeen years.

On the other hand, Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) approved the First Lord of the Admiralty's proposals, laying stress on the importance of educating boys who were destined for the sea in a naval atmosphere. He should dislike greatly to see boys of twelve exposed to the ordeal of a competitive examination; but, in its absence, there must be, he maintained, no secrecy whatever about the nominations.

In his reply, having mentioned that two cruisers would be attached to the new Naval College at Osborne, Mr. Arnold-Forster said that while the entrance examination for the college would be a qualifying examination only, a boy would have to pass serious examinations at successive stages of his education. He denied that the retention of the system of nomination was, in the circumstances, anti-democratic. If there was not to be open competition, which was undesirable for very young lads, the nominative system could not be avoided. As to expense, he pointed out that the difference in cost between education in the *Britannia* and at Keyham College, to which poor parents now sent their sons, was small. In the United States the system of nomination prevailed. He asked Members to believe that the Admiralty were fully conscious that nothing ought to be done which might prevent the sons of the less well-to-do classes from entering the Navy. The services of Professor Ewing had been secured as Director of Naval Education. The amendment was eventually negatived by 200 votes against 57, and after the House had gone into Committee the vote for 127,100 officers, men and boys was ultimately agreed to.

The debate was resumed (March 17) on the vote for pay, criticism being chiefly directed towards suggesting means of relieving the gross burden of naval expenditure, either by an international understanding for the reduction of armaments, as was suggested by Mr. Buchanan (*Perthshire, E.*) and Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries*), or by inducing the Colonies to recognise in some way their obligation to share the burden, as was suggested by Mr. E. Robertson. Mr. Arnold-Forster explained that the chief cause of the increase in our naval expenditure was the great size of our battleships and cruisers, which was largely

determined by the competition of other Powers. Noticing the suggested international arrangement for a reduction of naval expenditure, he agreed that if an arrangement of the kind were possible it would be pure gain to all countries; but he questioned its feasibility, and reminded the committee that a suggestion of this character made on two occasions by Lord Goschen when at the Admiralty had met with no response from abroad. Clearly we could not take the lead in any reduction of naval strength.

As to the question of colonial contributions, Mr. Arnold-Forster used striking language. "The persistent apathy" of the Colonies, he said, in this matter created a "real danger" of a reaction in this country—of the growth, that was to say, of a "feeling that it was impossible to bear this burden any longer." Such a reaction, if it occurred, would have serious consequences. Yet to bring pressure on the Colonies was impossible. He was not of opinion that the plan of separate Navies for the Colonies would advance in favour. If Australia were to establish a Navy on the most economical lines, its cost could not be less than 1,000,000*l.* a year, a sum far in excess of any contribution which had been suggested as suitable from that Colony towards the cost of the Imperial Navy.

In a further reply Mr. Arnold-Forster assured the committee that good shooting in the Navy had greatly increased in recent years. Long-distance firing was practised now to a much larger extent than formerly, and in the Mediterranean remarkable results had been obtained. At the present moment the gunnery of the British Navy was unsurpassed by that of any other Navy in the world.

A motion by Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) to reduce the vote was negatived by 252 to 27, and the vote was agreed to.

A very curious evidence of the general absence of interest in the early months of the year in a subject which was to dominate attention in the later months, is afforded by the fact that at the evening sitting of March 17 a count-out took place, before any Minister had risen to reply, on a resolution moved by Mr. M'Arthur (*Liverpool, Exchange*), and seconded by Mr. Evelyn Cecil (*Aston Manor*), setting forth that "recent developments of fiscal and commercial policy in foreign countries, tending to the exclusion of British trade from areas in which it had previously been established, called for the serious consideration" of the Imperial and Colonial Governments in concert.

On March 18, when consideration of the Army Estimates was resumed in Committee of Supply, Mr. Vicary Gibbs (*St. Albans, Herts*) moved a reduction of 3,000 men in order to call attention to the large proportion of undesirable recruits who were enlisted. He laid stress on the importance of having men of good character, of good physique, and of fair education in the Army. Of the 51,000 men recruited last year 8,000, he contended, were "specials" and 1,000 were illiterates. The

result of his speech was to obtain the important announcement from Mr. Brodrick that in future no "specials" were to be taken, and that the men's characters would be inquired into. This, the War Secretary held, would prevent waste, and as a result it might be possible to carry out his Army scheme with fewer recruits than 50,000 a year. The same sitting witnessed a very vigorous and much applauded protest by Mr. Elliot (*Durham*) against the temper and attitude of some Conservative assailants of the War Office, one of whom, Mr. Beckett (*Whitby, N. R., Yorks*), had, in supporting Mr. Gibbs's motion, renewed the general line of attack which marked a previously recorded debate. Mr. Elliot maintained that their proposals to reduce the strength of the Army were perversely at variance with their former strain of criticism. Mr. Brodrick naturally welcomed this championship, and retaliated on his assailants in a fashion which drew down on him Lord Hugh Cecil's remonstrances for his "discourtesy," while Mr. Asquith contributed a few satirical observations on "these little domestic jars."

The holding of the usual Licensing Sessions at the beginning of the year brought into marked prominence the progress of the moderate temperance movement, as seen in the vigorous pursuit of a policy of reduction of licences by the magistrates in various places. The movement for reduction, which, however, could hardly be regarded as a concerted one, received a strong impulse from the example of the Birmingham Licensing Committee, who, under the chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, had induced the wholesale brewers to consent to an agreement for the surrender of a certain number of licences, the dispossessed licence-holders being compensated out of a fund provided partly by an assessment of the enhanced value of the remaining houses. In many districts, however, notably at Liverpool, such co-operation was not forthcoming, and the magistrates in some cases declared that, failing the agreement of the Licensed Victuallers' Associations, they would reduce licences in the exercise of their own discretion. The National Defence League of Licensed Victuallers issued a protest on behalf of the trade, claiming full compensation to all the interests involved in such cases. The action of the magistrates had been based upon the decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of the Farnham justices, the effect of which was that Licensing Committees were not judicial bodies, and might therefore not only decide upon the issue of particular licences, but might carry out a policy, and in pursuit of it themselves investigate cases and act as opponents of applications, whether through chief-constables or otherwise. The legal aspect of the question came before the House of Lords on March 16, when Lord Burton put three questions to the Lord Chancellor. The point of Lord Halsbury's statement, which was in agreement with his own ruling in the well-known case of "*Sharpe v. Wakefield*," was to the effect that licensing justices sat as a judicial body, and that they were therefore not

entitled to extinguish licences wholesale, as had recently been done.

The question was not allowed to rest here, and two days later (on March 18) a deputation, representing all the branches of the liquor trade in England and Wales, waited upon the Prime Minister at the House of Commons, to protest against the recent action of various benches of magistrates in suppressing licences without any allegation of misconduct on the part of the licence-holders. Mr. Balfour made a distinctly sympathetic reply, in the course of which he deprecated the policy complained of for two reasons—in the first place, because it hardly gave a fair chance to the Act of the previous year to work, and, secondly, because of the insecurity it had created in every branch of the liquor trade and the gross injustice inflicted on a large number of individuals. Moreover, the absence of continuity of policy in a body like a bench of magistrates was a public misfortune. Quarter Sessions might, and he hoped would, reverse the most extravagant of the decisions come to at the Brewster Sessions. As to the Government's intentions, the situation was too novel for an immediate declaration, but they were fully alive to the seriousness of what had occurred, regarding it, as they did, as being, in many cases, however well intended, but little short of injustice and confiscation.

This declaration by the Prime Minister was the subject of considerable criticism, and bade fair to have important results, but for the time being nothing further of consequence occurred, though it may be noticed here that the question of compensation was further discussed a few days later (March 23) at a very influential and representative conference on the licensing question, held at the Guildhall, Westminster, under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and attended by most of the surviving members of the Royal Commission on Licensing, and by chairmen of Quarter Sessions. The resolutions recommended that, in order to facilitate, where desirable, a considerable reduction of licences, provision should be made for compensation from a fund raised from the trade in exciseable liquors, in cases of licences stopped otherwise than for misconduct.

During the second week in March the long-expected report of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland was made public. Six Commissioners agreed in, but six others more or less widely dissented from, the leading recommendations. That was that the Royal University should be converted into a federal teaching university, with four constituent colleges—i.e., the existing Queen's Colleges and a new college for Roman Catholics to be established in Dublin, a college with a Roman Catholic atmosphere. It was also advised that "the endowment and equipment" of this college should be "on a scale required by a university college of the first rank"; and that an increase of endowment be given to the Queen's College at Belfast.

Attendance on lectures in one or other of these colleges should be obligatory on all students. The university examinations should be conducted by the professors of each college, with the assistance of external examiners, but each college should have a large measure of autonomy as regarded the regulation of its courses of study.

The month of March was characterised by an unusual degree of political activity outside Parliament. On the 4th Mr. Balfour, as the principal guest at a dinner of Nonconformist Unionists, made a speech in which he surveyed the position of the two great parties in the State, and in commenting on the various programmes of the Opposition said that in the middle party which Lord Rosebery was trying to form he saw neither security for Imperial interests nor security against Home Rule. The main political interest of the month lay, however, not so much in Ministerial pronouncements as in the evidences afforded of the trend of political opinion. Two bye-elections supplied undeniable proof of that dissatisfaction of the country with the Government's policy which had already been vigorously manifested by a group of Members on their own side; but the chief electoral event of the month—the return of Mr. W. Crooks as Member for Woolwich by a majority of 3,229 over the Conservative candidate in a constituency which, steadily Unionist, had been held at the last election by a majority of 2,805—furnished much food for reflection to both political parties. Mr. Crooks, although receiving Liberal support, stood as a Labour candidate, and his return, which was described by the *Times* as something in the nature of “a portent,” was but one of a series of indications that Labour would have to be reckoned with as an independently organised forcé in English politics. A National Labour Representation Committee, consisting of representatives of the trade unions and kindred bodies, had already been formed to promote direct labour representation in the House of Commons. This movement derived its chief strength from the dissatisfaction existing among trade unionists at a series of judicial decisions, culminating in the Taff Vale case (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901, p. 195), by which trade-unions were held pecuniarily liable for the damage done by illegal conduct of their members, in furthering strikes on their behalf. Mr. Asquith, in an interesting speech delivered to the Eighty Club on February 6, had admitted the confused state of the law on the subject, and had offered as a solution a tolerant interpretation by our judicial tribunals of the law of agency and an amendment by Parliament of the law of conspiracy. In this latter connection his suggestions were summed up under three heads. First, the free power of effective combination which Parliament had deliberately conferred should not be allowed to be destroyed or whittled away; secondly, a clear line of demarcation should be drawn between legitimate pressure and every form of violence,

or of incitement to violence; and, thirdly, the same rule must be applied to all trade combinations, whether of employers or of employed.

The trade unions meanwhile took the matter into their own hands, several unions—notably the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants at their special conference in January—authorising their executive committees to act upon the declared principles of the Labour Representation Committee by promoting the candidature of suitable railway men as representatives of Labour in Parliament, while at the same time (in January) a Bill was drafted by three special Labour committees, making drastic proposals for the amendment of the law. At the evening sitting of the House of Commons on March 5, a short discussion took place on a motion by Mr. Pemberton (*Sunderland*) for a committee of inquiry into the law affecting trade unions, but owing to the restrictions imposed by the fact that Bills on the subject were on the paper for a future day the discussion was almost entirely pointless and profitless. Rather more than a fortnight earlier (Feb. 21) a largely attended Labour Representation Conference, consisting of delegates from trade unions, trade councils, the Independent Labour party and the Fabian Society, passed, by a majority said to represent 659,000 to 154,000 votes, a resolution insisting that Labour candidates and Labour Members of Parliament, when elected, should “strictly abstain from identifying themselves with the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties,” thus holding themselves entirely free to shape their own policy for the single purpose of “securing the social and economic requirements of the industrial classes.” The Executive Committee of the conference agreed to the establishment of a fund for the payment of Labour Members of Parliament, and for assisting in paying election charges.

Apart from the Woolwich election, however, the Liberal party secured a notable victory at Rye (March 18), when Dr. Hutchinson, who had been defeated in 1900 by 2,489 votes, was returned by a majority of 534, while in the Chertsey Division of Surrey Mr. Fyler, the Conservative candidate, only succeeded in holding the seat by a considerably reduced majority. The figures of these, as of preceding bye-elections, pointed, however, more to a rally of Liberals at the polls than to a defection of Conservatives, while in the case of Chertsey the unity of the Liberal party was neither real nor apparent, considerable comment being excited by a somewhat confident letter from Mr. Perks, M.P., a Nonconformist Liberal, who declared that the Liberal party had to make its choice “between the Nonconformist alliance and the Irish alliance.” Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, however, in a speech delivered at Leeds on March 19, announced that Liberal principles remained unchanged on the needs of Ireland.

A fresh interest was imparted to the political situation by

the arrival at Southampton, on March 14, of Mr. Chamberlain on his return from his mission to South Africa. The record of his tour, which had been closely followed by the Press in this country, will be found in the section dealing with Africa, and some of its results will be dealt with in their proper place in the subsequent Parliamentary debates. On landing, Mr. Chamberlain delivered a brief but optimistic speech, and six days later he was presented at the Guildhall with an address of congratulation from the citizens of London. In the course of his reply Mr. Chamberlain expressed good hopes of the future of South Africa. He had received from the leaders of their late opponents the most absolute, the fullest, and the most definite assurances that they accepted the situation, and were willing to co-operate with the Government in restoring prosperity to the country; and that, in the memorable words of his friend, General De la Rey, they would be as loyal to the new Government as they were to the old. It would, of course, be unreasonable to expect that this great change should be completed in a moment. Such a war as that through which they had passed, and the circumstances attending upon it, must have left some bitter memories behind, not on one side only; but he rejoiced to think that those memories were already being effaced. The material prosperity of the new Colonies was practically assured, and it was a significant fact that the value of land had generally increased from 50 to 300 per cent. since the conclusion of the peace. He hoped that those Colonies would very shortly share our free institutions, that they would show pride in their possession, and that they would be willing to accept a fuller part in all the responsibilities and burdens that Empire entailed. On our side a policy of vacillation and weakness must give place to a continuous policy, which should not be the sport of party, but represent the deliberate will of the whole nation.

Mr. Chamberlain had not to wait long for an opportunity to address the House on the results of his South African mission, for on March 19 the Vote on Account of 20,225,000*l.* for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments was considered in Committee of Supply, and, the Colonial Office vote being put down first, opportunity was afforded for some pertinent questions on the subject of South African affairs.

Before proceeding to that interesting topic, however, the reader must be presented with the usual abstract of the Civil Service Estimates for the ensuing financial year, which had been in the hands of Members since the beginning of March. The subjoined table of the Estimates for the Civil Services exhibits the comparison with the previous year, the difference between the gross and net figures being due to the sums appropriated in aid of the different votes from various sources—fees, stamps, sales of stores, etc.

| Class. | | 1903-4. | | 1902-3. Grants in Session of 1902. | |
|--------|---|------------|-------------|--|-------------|
| | | Gross. | Net. | Gross. | Net. |
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| I. | Public Works and Buildings - | 2,646,508 | 2,557,712 | 2,382,786 | 2,292,013 |
| II. | Salaries, etc., of Public Departments - | 3,180,144 | 2,589,692 | 3,201,756 | 2,621,664 |
| III. | Law and Justice - | 4,678,815 | 3,939,579 | 4,597,137 | 3,862,773 |
| IV. | Education, Science and Art - | 14,562,224 | 14,531,824 | 13,098,905 | 13,087,687 |
| V. | Foreign and Colonial Services - | 2,312,955 | 2,120,998 | 4,374,134 | 4,263,939 |
| VI. | Non-Effective and Charitable - | 689,668 | 689,521 | 680,885 | 680,740 |
| VII. | Miscellaneous - | 138,227 | 131,707 | 239,122 | 230,922 |
| | Total - | 28,208,536 | 26,561,033† | 28,524,675 | 26,939,738† |

The total of the net sums which Parliament was asked to vote amounted as above (*) to £26,561,033
Deduct—Estimated Receipts (Cash and Stamps) not appropriated in aid of separate votes - 1,270,870
Estimated Net Expenditure for the Seven Classes, 1903-4 £25,290,163

† The Amount of the Net Estimates for Civil Services, 1902-3, was £26,448,145
Add—Supplementary Estimates for Civil Services for 1902-3, included in the Appropriation Act, 1902 - 489,076
,, Transfer to Vote 8, Class I., from Army Votes, £4,087 } - 4,287
,, Transfer to Vote 2, Class IV., from Army Votes, £200 }
£26,941,508
Deduct—Reduction on Estimate for Privy Seal Office - 1,770
Total - £26,939,738

These Estimates were accompanied by an explanatory memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. W. Hayes Fisher). He pointed out that the Estimates for Civil Services, 1903-4, amounted to a net total of 26,561,033*l.* The net total of the original Estimates for 1902-3 was 26,448,145*l.* These figures showed an increase for 1903-4 of 112,888*l.* But it had to be remembered that the original Estimates for 1902-3 included a special grant of 1,800,000*l.* in aid of the revenues of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and that no corresponding provision was required in 1903-4. If that exceptional service were excluded from the expiring year's Estimates, the increase of the Estimates for 1903-4 over those for 1902-3 amounted to 1,912,888*l.* This increase arose mainly on Class IV. (Education, Science and Art), provision being made in that Class for a half-year's payments on account of the new Grant for Education in England and Wales under the Act of last session, and also for a half-year's payment of an additional Aid Grant for Scottish Education. The total increase in cost of the Services included in Class IV. amounted to 1,494,137*l.*; and it followed that the total net increase on the other Classes

of the Civil Service Estimates, excluding the special grant, was 418,751*l.*

The net increase in the Estimates for 1903-4 over the amount voted for the expiring year was, however, only 1,421,295*l.*, since in the above Abstract and throughout the detailed Estimates comparison was made, according to the usual practice, between the amount of the Estimates for 1903-4 and the total amount of the grants for 1902-3, which were voted by Parliament in the session of 1902, and included in the annual Appropriation Act. Thus the figures for 1902-3 comprised, besides the original Estimates of the year, Supplementary Estimates, amounting to a total of 489,076*l.*, which were voted in the summer of 1902. Certain minor adjustments had also been made, as explained in the note appended to the Abstract, resulting in a total of 26,939,738*l.*, or (again excluding the grant of 1,800,000*l.* to the South African Colonies) a total of 25,139,738*l.*, as being the amount voted in 1902.

In Class I. (Public Works and Buildings) there was a net increase of 317,499*l.* Among the items contributing to this result was 19,000*l.* (net) for Osborne House—largely due to the adaptation of part of it as a Convalescent Home. The principal increase, however, was in the vote on Revenue buildings, which had risen from 371,000*l.* to 564,000*l.*; this, it was explained, would enable the Office of Works to take in hand a large number of Postal and Telegraph Buildings, urgently required by the Postmaster-General, the execution of which had been postponed owing to financial exigencies; 185,470*l.* was provided for eighty proposed new works, as compared with 19,000*l.* for sixteen new works in 1902-3. In Class II. (Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments) there was a net decrease of 31,972*l.* Among the reductions were 20,000*l.*, due to the cessation of expenditure in connection with the 1901 census, and 51,000*l.* (net) on the Stationery Office Estimate. The increases included an addition to the vote for the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) of over 23,000*l.*, due mainly to educational requirements. In Class III. (Law and Justice) there were few savings to be recorded, and the Estimates showed an increase of 76,806*l.*; English Prisons being responsible for an increase of 54,968*l.*, due largely to the increased cost of victualling under the new dietary. The Royal Irish Constabulary also showed an increase of 22,817*l.*, due mainly to improvements in conditions of service, made in accordance with the recommendations of the recent Departmental Committee.

In Class IV. (Education, Science and Art) there was a quite abnormal increase of 1,494,137*l.*, due, as already explained, to the operation of the Education Act, 1902. When, however, the Act was in full working, it was anticipated that the annual charge in respect of grants under it would amount to 2,200,000*l.*; but the School Board Grants (315,000*l.*) and the Voluntary

School Grants (say 636,500*l.*) would disappear—so that the net additional charge for grants on the vote in future years would be about 1,248,500*l.* In the Estimates for 1903-4 provision of 1,100,000*l.* was made in respect of half a year's working of the Act under the sub-head for Aid Grants in respect of Elementary Education (the total increase on which was 793,077*l.*), but only 318,277*l.*, or about half the provision which would otherwise have been required, was inserted in respect of Voluntary School Grants. The net additional charge on these Estimates might therefore be taken at about 781,000*l.* Another cause of the large increase on the vote was the anticipated growth in the number of scholars in average attendance, to meet which additional provision of 179,134*l.* was made for Annual Grants for Public Elementary Schools, and 131,670*l.* for Fee Grants. In addition, from the same cause, and also because there had been a general increase on the School Board rate in districts receiving the grants, the sub-head for grants to School Boards had also been increased by 97,500*l.*; while the sub-heads relating to training of teachers, etc., required an additional 103,782*l.* A saving of about 40,000*l.* had, however, been effected by an alteration in the sections of the Code, under which deficiencies of grants were made good in certain cases. Part of this saving had been diverted to meet the estimated extra cost of the training of teachers, and part (13,000*l.*) was devoted as a lump sum, under Sub-head A of the Vote, to provide for the extra cost (which could not yet be accurately estimated) of administering the new Act. Scottish Public Education showed an increase of 151,116*l.*, a large part (106,000*l.*) of which was due to the general Grant-in-Aid (half-year's grant) to Scotland, corresponding to the new grant under the English Education Act, 1902.

Class V. (Foreign and Colonial Services) showed a net decrease on the original Estimates for 1902-3 of 1,734,941*l.*, principally owing to the disappearance of the special item of 1,800,000*l.* for South African Constabulary, the final Imperial contribution to this service having been made by a Supplementary Estimate of 1,000,000*l.*, voted this year. British Protectorates required 50,500*l.* more, of which 25,000*l.* was for Somaliland, due to the necessity of providing for repayment to India of the cost of buildings taken over on the transfer of the Protectorate in 1898. Further annuities, amounting to 20,500*l.*, were provided for repayment of capital expenditure upon the Uganda Railway; 115,000*l.* more was asked for Northern Nigeria, to meet the need for additional military forces, political officers, public works and telegraphs. The grants in the session of 1902 included a Supplementary Vote of 250,000*l.* for the West Indian Sugar Industry. Including this, the net decrease under Colonial Services was 1,848,526*l.*; 87,000*l.* was inserted as a Grant-in-Aid of Cyprus, as against 30,000*l.* this year, the increase being rendered necessary by

deficiency of revenue. The Grant-in-Aid of the Pacific Cable showed a decrease of 25,000*l.* owing to the fact that the earnings of the cable during the year were expected to amount to 73,000*l.*, while the credit sub-head was increased by 85,000*l.* on account of the estimated receipts from Colonial contributions in respect of the expenses met out of the Vote for 1902-3.

The following table embodies a statement of the Estimates for Revenue Departments :—

| No. of Vote. | Service. | 1903-4. | 1902-3. (Grants in Session of 1902.) | Net estimates, 1903-4, compared with Net Grants, 1902-3. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------|---|--|
| | | Net. | Net. | Increase. |
| I. | Customs - - - - - | £ 913,000 | £ 904,500 | £ 8,500 |
| II. | Inland Revenue - - - - - | 2,200,500 | 2,146,770 | 53,730 |
| | Total, Customs and Inland Revenue | 3,113,500 | 3,051,270 | 62,230 |
| III. | Post Office - - - - - | 10,067,500 | 9,778,987 | 288,513 |
| IV. | Post Office Packet Service - - - - - | 786,790 | 778,915 | 7,875 |
| V. | Post Office Telegraphs - - - - - | 4,549,430 | 4,194,078 | 355,352 |
| | Total, Postal - - - - - | 15,403,720 | 14,751,980 | 651,740 |
| | Grand Total - - - - - | 18,517,220 | *17,803,250 | 713,970 |

* Total Original Net Estimate, 1902-3 - - - - - £17,791,250
Add—Supplementary Estimate, Customs - - - - - 12,000

£17,803,250

The greater part of the increase in the Customs Estimate was due to provision for the additional staff rendered necessary by the revival of the duty on corn, etc.

When the House (on March 19) went into Committee of Supply on the Vote on Account, Mr. Chamberlain, in reply to a number of questions by Mr. Bryce, made an exhaustive statement on the subject of his mission to South Africa. Amongst other things, he reported that the work of repatriation was proceeding with marvellous success, about a hundred thousand people having been already placed upon the land. In reply to further questions, he stated that the money actually expended, or to be expended, in connection with the South African settlement amounted to 15,000,000*l.* As to the question of self-government, he hoped that at no distant date elective members would be substituted for nominated members on the semi-representative Legislative Councils of the two new Colonies, and that finally full self-government would be conceded. But it must be remembered that self-government was the government of the majority—possibly a majority of one—and that the majority could impose its will on the minority. Crown Colony

government was not, as some supposed, an arbitrary system, but one under which the minority could be protected. It was because they recognised this that the chief Boer generals preferred that Crown Colony government should be continued for the present. In the interests of the Colonies themselves it was desirable that a certain time should elapse before full self-government was granted.

Proceeding to deal with the labour question, Mr. Chamberlain said that the charge that the mine-owners were desirous of introducing forced labour, and even slavery, from the meanest motives and with the most sordid objects, was deeply resented in South Africa. There was not the slightest foundation for the charge, and there was no demand for forced labour in any shape or form. As to taxation, it was lighter than the tax paid by the natives under the Boer Government. Under the late Transvaal Government the total taxation borne by a native was 4*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, whereas now it was only 2*l.* If, however, a native had more than one wife he had to pay additional taxation. He repudiated the charge, made by Mr. Lloyd-George and others, that the real object of this tax was to force the natives into the mines, in order to give the mine-owners cheap labour below market rates. Kaffir labour cost 50*s.* or 60*s.* a month, against 30*l.* a month for white labour. This made it impossible to work the low-grade mines with white labour. He pointed out, however, that the prosperity of the Transvaal must, for many years, depend on the gold industry; that the low-grade ore should be worked, as well as the more profitable mines, and that to that end cheap labour was essential. Before the war about 100,000 Kaffirs worked in the mines; now there were about half that number at work. This reduction was partly due to the fact that wages were lowered. It had been recognised, however, that the reduction of wages was a mistake, and the old rate was now being paid. He suggested that the mine-owners should make the work in the mines more attractive. If that were done more Kaffir labour would probably be obtained. Defending the proposal to import natives into the Transvaal from districts north of the Zambesi, he said that of course every precaution would be taken to safeguard their interests. From the various sources available in South Africa, he believed that very considerable additions would be made to the labour supply on the Rand, but whether it would be sufficient must be left to the future to decide. As to Indian or Chinese labour, no proposal had been made to him on the subject, nor, so far as he knew, was any proposal likely to be made. There was a strong feeling in South Africa against the introduction of Asiatic labour.

The question of native labour in South Africa had occupied the public mind intermittently from the beginning of the year, and the declaration of a leading capitalist interested in South Africa that his class were determined at all costs to keep out

the Trade Unionist movement, as "the trail of the serpent," had led to an animated controversy in the *Times* at the beginning of February, in the course of which Sir William Harcourt protested vigorously against any introduction of forced labour on the Rand. On March 23 Lord Lansdowne made an interesting announcement on the subject at the Foreign Office to a deputation representing various missionary societies which waited on him to protest against the proposed exportation of native labour from Central to South Africa. The Foreign Secretary said the Government had never contemplated that there should be anything like indiscriminate or unrestricted movement of labour from Central to South Africa. They had kept in view the considerations urged by the deputation, and determined that if the experiment in that direction was to be tried at all it should be conducted under the most careful restrictions. They proposed that not more than 1,000 labourers should, in the first instance, be taken from British Central Africa; that they should be employed only within the Rand district of the Transvaal; and that they should be under the protection of regulations expressly framed to prevent any abuse. The experiment would be watched with the utmost care, and if it had any of the disastrous effects anticipated by the deputation it would not be carried farther.

Much interest was accordingly manifested in the debate in the House of Commons, on March 24, which was opened by Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean*), who moved, as an amendment to the motion for the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, that his Majesty's Government, before acting, in the case of Crown Colonies or Protectorates in South Africa, on any agreement as to native labour or native taxation come to by the recent Inter-Colonial Conference, should place the proposals before Parliament.

Speeches strongly deprecating the proposed exportation of native labour from Central Africa were made by Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*), Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Cleveland, N.R., Yorks*) and Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*). Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), accounting for the deficiency of native labour in the mines, ascribed it to the determination of the owners before the war broke out to reduce the wages of the Kaffirs. It was true, he believed, that since 1902 they had raised the wages again; but it would be long before they could get rid of the bad effects of their previous policy. In fact, the mine-owning companies had seriously injured their own interests by exhibiting too much greed, and refusing to pay the same rate of wages as other industries found it possible to give. A paralysis had come over the gold industry; the rich mines were over-capitalised; and the low-grade mines, which were developed for the purpose of sale, had been sold, and the people who had invested in them had been "sold" as well. These were the circumstances which explained the discovery that the mines

could not pay fair wages. He cited an "industrial manifesto" which was presented to Mr. Chamberlain during his tour, and which set forth that there was not enough pressure on the native to make him labour, and that more legal and moral pressure should be exerted to make a larger number of natives work for longer periods. This, he contended, was nothing if not a demand for forced labour. He denied that there had been a diminution of native taxation since the war, and he warned the Government that any serious interference with the institution of polygamy might cause dangerous irritation. Any scheme for the importation of Chinese labour he should strongly deprecate, believing that it would be repugnant to the feelings of every man in this country. He hoped that in this matter of native labour the Government were not going to treat the mine-owners as their advisers. This was a question which ought not to be settled by the interested parties.

Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, deprecated the distrust, not to say detestation, manifested towards the capitalists, and pointed out that a hard and fast distinction could not be drawn between the mine-owners and the rest of the British and Dutch population, as the development of all the industries of the Transvaal depended upon the success of the mines. The question of native labour ought not to be approached with prejudice, as it should be remembered that it affected not only the mines, but also every branch of industry and agriculture. He was absolutely opposed to anything in the nature of forced labour; but he was not prepared to say that the native should not be induced to work. As he had impressed on the mine-owners, it would be well to tempt the natives to undertake work by teaching them to appreciate the little comforts and luxuries which money would enable them to obtain. For his part, he did not believe that the natives would make much advance in civilisation until their eyes had been opened to the necessity and dignity of labour. The number of labourers in the new Colonies was practically as great as it ever was; but many natives had left the mines to work elsewhere, there being a large demand for labour on the railways and on the farms. Then enforcement of the restrictive laws with regard to the sale of alcoholic drinks had removed one incentive which formerly induced the Kaffirs to work; and another factor to be reckoned with was that many of them were now in possession of money earned during the war. If, however, the services of every available labourer south of the Zambesi were secured there would not be, in his opinion, enough labour for the full development of the Transvaal. It was the policy of the Government to get as many of the mines as possible into working order, in order to promote the prosperity of the country. The amount of wages to be paid was a question of supply and demand, and the native, being a free agent, could make his own terms. Before the men whom it was proposed to import

from Central Africa left their own country all the facts could be put before them, and they would not go to the Rand unless they were persuaded that it would be to their advantage. The same precautions would be taken in their case as were always taken in the case of coolie labour out of India. There was, he repeated, no question of forced labour before the House, or of Asiatic labour, to both of which the vast majority of people in South Africa were opposed. If, however, the view which they now entertained were to change, this country would be powerless to interfere, for it was the policy of the Government to treat the Transvaal as if it were a self-governing Colony. Justifying the tax on native wives in excess of one, he observed that polygamy in South Africa was evidence of wealth. He asserted that the consolidated tax of 2*l.* was, on the whole, a reduction of the burden previously borne by the native, and that it was a reasonable contribution towards the cost of administration. This tax was to a certain extent, no doubt, an inducement to the native to labour, but not necessarily in the mines. The white inhabitants of South Africa, he ended by saying, were just as Christian, humane and virtuous as ourselves, and resented strongly the imputations of superior philanthropists at home. He therefore appealed to the House, in discussing the question of native labour, not to wound by carping criticism the susceptibilities of our fellow-subjects across the ocean. The amendment was withdrawn, and the Bill was then read a second time.

The same evening (March 24) witnessed the second reading, on the motion of the Home Secretary (Mr. Akers-Douglas), of a Government measure of much interest, the Employment of Children Bill (see p. 42), as to which Mr. Asquith expressed great satisfaction, pointing out that it would protect children who were engaged in employments to which the Mines Acts and the Factory Acts did not apply. There were, he said, about 150,000 such children in the country. The Bill was read a second time after a short debate, and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade.

Having been carefully examined by it, it passed easily through the remaining stages of its course in the Commons, and was successfully piloted through the Upper House in the last fortnight of the session. This Act empowers County and Borough Councils to make by-laws regulating the employment of children, as to their age and sex, as to their hours of labour, as to the suitability of particular occupations, and as to the conditions under which street trading by children may go on. It also prescribes general limitations as to hours, and forbids the carrying of heavy weights by children, or their taking part in other physically injurious forms of labour, and forbids the employment of children under ten in places of public entertainment. The by-laws made under the Act have to be confirmed by the Home Secretary, who must consider any objections made to them by persons affected, and, if necessary, may hold a local

inquiry. The weakness of the Act as a measure of social reform lies, of course, in its very largely optional character; but it seemed reasonable to hope that it would lead gradually to a very general elevation of the standards of practice in regard to juvenile employment.

On March 20 a private Member's measure of some economic importance came before the House in the shape of the Rating of Machinery Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. Chapman (*Hyde, Cheshire*). The object of the measure was to enact that assessment committees, when valuing manufactories or business premises for the purposes of rating, should not enhance the value of a hereditament by taking into account the removable machinery which it contains. The mover laid stress on the fact that the principle of the Bill had been affirmed by the House on several previous occasions, and pointed out that while removable machinery was rated in some parts of the country it escaped assessment in others. It was desirable, he maintained, to have a uniform system throughout the Kingdom. The Bill, which was approved by the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, would have the effect of preventing litigation between rating authorities and manufacturers. Mr. D. A. Thomas (*Merthyr Tydvil*) raised the objection that this legislation would in many places shift a burden hitherto borne by manufacturers on to the shoulders of the poorer ratepayers, and this argument was relied on by other opponents of the Bill. Sir W. Houldsworth (*Manchester, N.W.*), who spoke in support of the Bill, said that what manufacturers complained of was that the present law admitted of different interpretations, and Mr. Cripps maintained that a particular kind of personal property ought not to be selected for taxation.

After further speeches, Mr. Grant Lawson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, stated that the attitude of the Government in this matter was strictly neutral, like that of their predecessors. He had this to say, however, that if the Bill became law the Government would not supply the deficiency which would be caused in local funds by the liberation of removable machinery from the liability to indirect assessment. On a division, which was entirely on non-party lines, the second reading was carried by 157 votes against 119; but the Bill made no substantial subsequent progress.

On March 23, on the report of the Vote on Account, the President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Hanbury), who was showing much energy in the work of his department, gave some interesting information as to the nature of the correspondence committees which he proposed to appoint. They would enable the Board to obtain easily and immediately information of a local character. He proposed to appoint some twenty committees for the different districts of Great Britain, and each committee would consist of fifteen or sixteen men, who would represent the district, and particularly the interests of the

smaller farmers. Except for travelling expenses, no payment would be made to the members of the committees.

In the course of the month of March the miserable condition of Macedonia and the question of its possible amelioration briefly engaged the attention of both Houses. By the Bishop of Hereford, who spoke on the subject in the House of Lords on the 13th, a cordial tribute was paid to the earnest tone which, as appeared from a recently published Blue-book, had been taken by the Foreign Secretary in regard to the imperative necessity for the removal of the intolerable grievances still suffered by so many of the Balkan populations. Lord Lansdowne expressed the general view of well-informed Englishmen when he said that while agreeing with Lord Newton, who had opened the discussion, that recent regrettable events in Macedonia had to a certain extent been due to the "mischievous activity" of the Bulgarian committees, "that activity would not have produced the results which had actually followed if the soil had not been prepared by long-standing misgovernment and maladministration by the Turkish Government." With regard to the scheme of reforms recently accepted by the Porte at the instance of Russia and Austria, Lord Lansdowne spoke in terms of qualified hopefulness. His Majesty's Government, he intimated, accepted that scheme in principle, and would give it their earnest support, reserving, however, to themselves the right of suggesting subsequently any necessary modifications should its results not prove satisfactory. On March 23, in the House of Commons, Lord Cranborne, Under Foreign Secretary, gave a good character to the new Inspector-General of Reforms in Macedonia, Hilmi Pasha, and urged the importance of his being allowed time and freedom to do his best. The clause of the Austro-Russian reform scheme which secured him three years' tenure of office was therefore an important merit in that scheme, and it was essential that the insurrectionary committees, whose conduct Lord Cranborne strongly condemned, should not be encouraged by any expression of sympathy from here to interrupt its working.

An obscure question affecting the relations of England with the Porte, not as a European but as an Asiatic Power, was dealt with by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Lords on March 30, when, in reply to Lord Reay, he made a statement of considerable fulness as to recent frontier friction and trouble in the hinterland of Aden. Our right to exercise influence over the tribes in that territory, Lord Lansdowne said, had never been seriously challenged by the Turkish Government. In 1885, however, there was a considerable Turkish encroachment on the territory of the Amiri tribe. In 1900, again, a Turkish subject occupied the fort of Ad-areja, within the territory of the nine tribes, and it became necessary to send a British force to expel the intruders. Then followed various encroachments upon the Amiri tribe until, in 1901, the Turkish Government on their own accord proposed that the boundaries of the nine tribes should

be delimited by a joint commission. We gladly fell in with the view of the Turkish Government ; but no sooner had the commission been appointed than the local encroachments began again, and other points within the tribal territory were occupied by the Turks. The post at Ad-areja was reinforced, and a Turkish military cordon was drawn across the country in such a way as to render it impossible for the work of delimitation to proceed. In the circumstances his Majesty's Government felt it to be their duty to press the Turkish Government to withdraw their troops without the boundary of the tribal territory, and to restore the Amiri chief to his rightful position. For this purpose it was necessary to send out a considerable force. During the greater part of last year negotiations proceeded. However, the instructions which were issued from Constantinople were not acted upon, and it became necessary to bring these matters seriously to the consideration of the Turkish Government. He was glad to say that within the last few days he received information that the Turkish troops had been withdrawn from the tribal territory, and that the work of delimitation was actually proceeding on the Amiri border. It was the intention of his Majesty's Government that the boundary fixed by the commission should be a final and definite one, and he anticipated that it would be respected by the Turkish Government.

The only considerable debate in the House of Lords before it rose for the Easter Recess arose (March 24) on a motion by Lord Rosebery to resolve that the House desired to express its approval of the proposed Council for National Defence, and its earnest hope that the first efforts of that council might be directed to the adjustment of the national armaments to the naval, military and financial conditions of the Empire. In the course of a speech of much wit and point, Lord Rosebery satirically remarked that the Prime Minister had been accused by members of the Opposition of having done something in derogation of the Cabinet system by the foundation of this council. He was rather amused at that, because it was precisely the accusation brought against him when he proposed that Lord Kitchener should be placed in charge of the War Office for the purpose of putting our military system on a sound footing. With regard to the second part of the motion, he said that what we wanted was a small efficient striking Army with a great defensive reserve. That great reserve was the nation itself. He was not insinuating conscription—that melancholy and arduous burden of great European States. He urged that the Auxiliary Forces should be fostered and encouraged in every possible way ; and if that were done he believed we should have Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers adequate to and exceeding the utmost necessities for the defence of the country.

Lord Goschen suggested that the Foreign Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be permanent members of the Council. Lord Selborne, adverting to our naval strength,

asserted that the Government had never abandoned what was known as the two-Power standard. Replying to unfavourable observations of Lord Rosebery's on the army corps system, he believed it was the first attempt which had been made to bring the chaotic parts of our defensive forces into an organised whole. The army corps system was applicable to any number of men that we might choose to have. The War Secretary thoroughly recognised the fact that the Navy was the force on which the safety of the Empire rested, and that the military element was merely supplemental to it. With reference to the financial question, Lord Selborne observed that our taxation was trifling as compared with the fiscal burdens of our forefathers a century ago. The real reason why we felt the pressure more severely was because we had for our own purposes reduced the working basis of taxation to a minimum. He hoped, however, that one result of the deliberations of the Council for National Defence would be to check the rate of increase which had been going on in our military and naval budgets.

The debate was resumed on March 27 by Lord Ripon, who sought to controvert the statement that the army corps system was suited to the needs of India. For his own part, he could not conceive anything less suited to the military wants of India than an army corps which was composed of a large number of European troops, whereas the fighting strength of India was due to the constant intermixture of European and native troops. Lord Hardwicke replied that, as a matter of fact, the scheme was based altogether on the organisation of the Indian Army, the only difference being that what we called army corps were there called commands. Lord Spencer did not concur in the first part of the resolution; he agreed with Lord Ripon in a feeling of distrust as to whether it was a sound proposal, or likely to sustain the responsibility of Cabinet Ministers. The debate was concluded by a speech from the Duke of Devonshire, who dwelt on the contrast between Lord Rosebery's alarmist tone during the war and his present complaints that the Government, who had done their best to increase our military strength, were "bleeding the country to death" in peace-time. They were ready, however, to accept the resolution, and it was agreed to.

On March 25 the Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham) introduced his long-expected Irish Land Bill. Before dealing with the provisions of the Bill we must, however, go back to the beginning of the year, and give some outline of the conclusions of the Irish Land Conference, which were issued in a "Report" early in January. The conference had originated in a purely voluntary and unofficial movement to bring together representatives of the Irish landlords and tenants, and although a large number of the Irish landlords preferred to leave their interests in the hands of the Landowners' Convention the degree of co-operation between the two parties was remarkable and, indeed, unprecedented. The report, which was signed by

Lords Dunraven and Mayo, Colonels Hutchinson Poë and Nugent Everard, on the one hand, and by Mr. John Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Harrington on the other, after beginning by an admission that any settlement could only be effected "upon a basis mutually agreeable to the owners and occupiers of the land," proceeded to recommend the substitution of an occupying proprietary in lieu of the existing system of dual ownership. The mode of settlement recommended as a general rule was that of voluntary purchase by direct agreement between owner and occupier—a remarkable recommendation in view of the agitation for compulsory purchase hitherto pursued by the United Irish League and also by Mr. T. W. Russell. The purchase price should be "based upon income," income being defined as "second-term rents" or their equivalent—the price being either the assurance by the State of such income, or the payment of a capital sum producing such income at 3 per cent., or at 3½ per cent. in certain contingencies, but costs of collection were not to be included in income. But in addition to the appeal for the pledging of Imperial credit, it was desired that the Treasury should lend some further "assistance," in order to make good the difference between the price which the tenants were ready to pay for their holdings and the price which the owner could afford to accept.

That this report represented the sentiments of the majority of landlords was made clearer at a meeting of the executive committee of the Irish Landowners' Convention held in Dublin on January 7, at which a minute was unanimously adopted recognising the "valuable" nature of the report, and urging the Government to give it "serious consideration." Such consideration on the part of the Government was undoubtedly encouraged by the conclusions of the very valuable report by Mr. W. F. Bailey, Legal Assistant Commissioner, of an "Inquiry into the Present Condition of Tenant Purchasers under the Land Purchase Acts," which was issued as a Parliamentary paper at the end of March. The report stated that it was "unquestionable" that the holdings of tenant purchasers had largely improved in all parts of Ireland as regarded cultivation, treatment and general condition. Moreover, the tendency to sell, sublet or subdivide had as a consequence of purchase not increased but considerably diminished. The general solvency and credit of the purchasers had improved since the sale of their holdings. As to the general effect of the land purchase system on the character and well-being of purchasers of large and small holdings respectively, it seemed clear to Mr. Bailey that, taking Ireland as a whole, the class of purchaser who had most benefited was the man who had "a holding of such a size and character as will fully employ the energies of the occupier and his family without having to call in outside labour." He also clearly recognised that there were

types of tenants to be found in many places who would economic failures under any system of assisted purchase, and that their presence was apt to operate as a deteriorating influence around them. In this connection a notable recommendation was made as to the desirability of a control by the State being maintained over purchase holdings, "so as to prevent excessive indebtedness and degeneration among occupiers"; the conditions at present imposed against subdivision, subletting and bankruptcy requiring to be supplemented by similar safeguards against excessive mortgaging. The report, however, concluded by saying that the general results were "eminently satisfactory," Land Purchase having "above all things introduced a spirit of contentment among the people." Some extensive attempt at a solution of the question was therefore, expected from the Government, nor was the expectation disappointed when the terms of Mr. Wyndham's Bill became known. The Irish Secretary, who was received with cheers, announced at the outset of his speech that cash aid as well as a credit operation was contemplated by the Government. A grant they regarded as essential, but they attached more importance to the credit scheme. He next reminded the House of the reasons which made exceptional agrarian legislation necessary for Ireland, where the tenants' failure in agriculture meant exile, and then referred briefly to the general concord between landlords and tenants with regard to the desirability of sale and purchase. It was, he asserted, to the interest of Great Britain that the main industry of Ireland should be prosperous and secure instead of precarious and decadent. Having shown that under the Land Acts, as distinguished from the Land Purchase Acts, there had been constant litigation, and that the land had been starved for want of capital, he affirmed that the Purchase Acts had been attended with uniform success. Of the advances made under these Acts the State had not lost one penny, one reason for this being that the purchasing tenants did their best for the land, and another being that public opinion encouraged the punctual repayment of the money owed to the Exchequer. Experience had proved that from the taxpayers' point of view land purchase was a safe credit operation. The landlords and tenants now desired that this system should apply universally. Estimating the size of the financial problem which had to be dealt with, he cited figures as to holdings and rents which led him to the conclusion that provision would have to be made for second-term rents to the amount of 4,000,000*l.* a year. On many estates there were paramount interests and first charges which it would be necessary to redeem. Having stated that it had not been found possible to adopt all the recommendations in the Land Commission report, he said the Bill provided that in future in the vast majority of cases the operation of purchase should take the form of the purchase of estates. A distinction was drawn

between estates presenting the problem of congestion in an acute form and ordinary estates. Landlords were to be allowed to make comprehensive arrangements with their tenantry, which would be submitted for approval. Estates Commissioners were to be appointed to supervise such transactions and to conclude them. The functions of these officials would not be judicial, but administrative, and their action would be open to criticism in Parliament. The purchase transactions were to be based on second-term rents. In the case of these rents the Land Conference report urged that the reduction in respect of the instalments paid to the State should be between 15 per cent. and 25 per cent. The view of the Government was that the limit of reduction should be between 10 per cent and 30 per cent., while for first-term rents they put the limit of the reduction between 20 per cent. and 40 per cent. The period of repayment was to be sixty-eight years and a half.

Against subdivision and the mortgaging of holdings to money-lenders, Mr. Wyndham went on to say that the Bill contained stringent provisions. As a safeguard one-eighth of the annuity payable by the tenant would be kept as a perpetual rent-charge. Seven-eighths of the payment by the purchaser would take the form of a terminable annuity at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., 2*l.* 15*s.* being for interest and 10*s.* for the sinking fund. The Commissioners were not to purchase an estate unless three-fourths of the tenants in number and value agreed to purchase. To this rule there would be exceptions. There were provisions dealing with untenanted land which might in certain circumstances be sold to evicted tenants. In the case of the formation of new holdings in congested districts, the total sum advanced by the State was not to exceed 500*l.* To the owner of an estate an advance might be made up to one-third of the value of the estate. The proposed Estates Commissioners would be Mr. F. S. Wrench, Land Commissioner and member of the Congested Districts Board; Mr. Michael Finucane, C.S.I., formerly Commissioner of Bengal and Director of Agriculture in India; and Mr. W. F. Bailey, legal Assistant Commissioner to the Land Commission. Passing from the administrative to the financial proposals of the Bill, he said that the advances for the purposes of the Act would be made in cash, not stock. A new capital stock would be created, called a Guaranteed Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent. stock, which would not be redeemable for thirty years. It was morally certain that dividends of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. and a sinking fund of 10*s.* on seven-eighths of this stock would be always forthcoming from the instalments payable by the purchasers. It was also mathematically certain that the money would be forthcoming, if necessary, out of the funds payable by the British Exchequer for local purposes in Ireland. There was available for advances a sum of over 152,000,000*l.*, secured on Irish land and on the Exchequer contributions to Ireland. The freest estimate of the amount

necessary to purchase all saleable land in Ireland did not exceed 100,000,000*l.* The date of the commencement of the Act was November 1, so that the loan could not be floated until the winter of this year. It would be neither prudent financially nor administratively possible to expand operations at a pace so fast as to make it necessary to go to the City for more than 5,000,000*l.* in any one of the first three years after the passing of this Bill. Losses which might be incident to the flotation of the loan in London would be provided for out of the 185,000*l.* due to Ireland as an equivalent for the 1,400,000*l.* voted last year for education in England. The amount of cash aid which the Government were prepared to give was 12,000,000*l.* In view of the present financial situation of the country he held that this charge ought not to be put suddenly upon the Estimates. The maximum charge in one year on the Estimates was never to exceed 390,000*l.* As a set-off the Irish Government undertook to make reductions in their Estimates amounting in five years' time to 250,000*l.* a year. In conclusion he pointed out that the House had to choose between two alternatives. They might leave things as they were and prolong indefinitely the tragedy of Ireland, or they might, by consenting to the purely business transaction which he proposed, settle the Irish land difficulty, he hoped, for ever.

The reception of Mr. Wyndham's statement by the House was eminently favourable—particularly, as might be expected, among the Irish Members. Mr. Redmond, while taking exception to the proposed perpetual rent charge of one-eighth of the annuity as too large and likely to create a feeling among the people that after all they were not becoming the absolute owners of the land, welcomed the Bill as "a great effort". Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Healy spoke to the same effect; and so, from the opposite side, did Colonel Saunderson. After Mr. Wyndham had stated that the outside sum to be advanced was 100,000,000*l.*, and that it could not possibly be all required in fewer than fifteen years, the Bill was brought up, amid cheers, and read a first time.

It will be convenient to anticipate chronologically the course of events in Parliament by introducing at this point the proceedings which took place in the House of Commons on April 1 and 2 as to the special annual grant (of 185,000*l.*) referred to in Mr. Wyndham's speech above. The method of payment proposed was somewhat unusual, as the resolution moved by Mr. Wyndham in Committee of Ways and Means (on April 1) proposed to put the charge not upon the Estimates but upon the Consolidated Fund. The money, he stated, would be devoted to three purposes. As he had previously explained, it was to be a guarantee against any losses arising out of the flotation of the stock to be issued in order to raise cash for advances under the Land Bill. Secondly, it might be used as a fund from which the educational demands of Ireland might be met. And, in the

third place, this grant was to be used for the promotion of economic developments and of transit facilities in Ireland. To this grant Ireland was entitled as a set off to the pecuniary aid given by Parliament last year for education in England. It was calculated, not upon the quota of taxation coming from Ireland as compared with England's quota, but upon population. For the present, the whole sum could not be spent profitably on education. It would therefore be largely devoted to the development of transit facilities. The popularly elected bodies in Ireland would be asked to submit schemes to the Government for this purpose. He believed that this policy of development would be aided with private capital. Already two patriotic Irishmen, Lord Iveagh and Mr. Pirrie, in view of the happier social conditions prevailing in Ireland, had promised to take up the question of transport, not for the purpose of benefiting themselves, but with the object of assisting the agricultural community. They were prepared to provide the necessary capital. This he regarded as a matter of deep significance and hopeful augury.

Considerable exception was taken to the method of payment—Mr. John Redmond objecting that the plan of payment out of the Consolidated Fund would diminish the control of the House over the allocation of the money, and his objection was supported by Sir W. Harcourt and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. The resolution was, however, eventually agreed to after Mr. Wyndham had assured the House that he desired to supply full opportunities for discussing the special purposes to which it might be proposed to put the money. On the report of the resolution to the House on the following day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated these assurances, and, the vote having been confirmed on a division, a Bill founded upon it was afterwards introduced and read a first time.

The reception accorded to the Irish policy of the Government in Great Britain was in the main friendly, the prevailing disposition among politicians of all parties being to hold that an opportunity was presented for a settlement of the principal social and economic difficulty of Ireland, and that it would be wise not to examine in any timid or parsimonious spirit the financial arrangements by which Ministers conceived that so great a national end might be secured. There was, however, a section of thoughtful opinion, finding expression, through the *Economist*, in the weekly press, which regarded with grave misgiving the proposals of Ministers, holding that no sufficient case had been made out for so vast a financial experiment; that the Bill provided no security against the ultimate recurrence of the economic evils for the removal of which it was designed; that it was too indiscriminate in its operation upon tenants of various types; and that the alleged guarantees against pecuniary risk to the State were more apparent than real.

On March 25, 26 and 30, a number of Ministerial statements

were made on details of military and naval policy and administration. Mr. Brodrick accepted a resolution moved by Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*) in its amended form, advising that efforts should be made and precautions taken to secure "an adequate standard of character and physique of recruits accepted, and that as regards age no man is to be accepted who is known or believed to be under the age of eighteen years." On the question of rifle ranges, raised on the Army Estimates, Mr. Brodrick stated that since the Government took office eight years ago they had spent large sums in providing rifle ranges and training grounds, each of which had a rifle range. It was, however, almost impossible that this sort of expenditure could go on broadcast, as the country could not provide ranges for 800,000 men; but if the trials which were now going on with miniature rifles proved effective the cost of training troops would be very considerably modified.

On the vote for warlike stores (March 30) Lord Stanley (*Westhoughton, Lancs*), Financial Secretary to the War Office, explained that the lance had been abolished because it was obsolete, and Mr. Brodrick, warmly repudiating the charge that he was starving the artillery, announced that the War Office hoped to adopt new quick-firing guns as soon as their expert advisers had made their report.

In committee on the Navy Estimates (March 30) Mr. Arnold-Forster stated that the recommendations of the Victualing Committee would be adopted in their entirety on October 1 in the current year. The character of the food would be improved, there would be greater variety, and the meal hours would be increased from three to five. The canteen system could not be abolished without causing the greatest dissatisfaction among the men. But everything would be done to reduce corruption, and for the future the affairs of the canteen would be administered by a representative committee.

On March 27 Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) moved the second reading of the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill, which he had brought in with the object of providing local authorities in urban areas with a new source of revenue from the "unearned increment" or "betterment" of site values. The Bill proposed to give a discretionary power to levy a rate on the capital value of all land, whether occupied or not, as distinct from the value of any buildings or structures. In the ensuing debate the opponents of the measure, notably Mr. Cripps, relied chiefly on such arguments as the necessity of adopting the correlative principle of "worsement," the fact that land was already rated to its full value, that the rating of site values would check building and hamper the solution of the housing problem, that it was unjust to lay a burden on one particular form of property in virtue of unearned increment and exempt other forms, and that the enhancement of land values was by no means always due to rate expenditure. Mr. Grant Lawson (*Thirsk and Malton*,

N. R., Yorks), Secretary of the Local Government Board, replying for the Government in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Long, rested his opposition to the Bill mainly on its being an incentive to further extravagance, as indicating a new source of revenue which did not in reality exist. On a division the second reading of the Bill was rejected, but only by the narrow majority of 183 to 170.

Before passing from the variegated Parliamentary history of the month of March it may be recorded that on the 18th a Welsh Home Rule motion was discussed in the Commons, strongly opposed by Mr. Long for the Government, and defeated by 146 votes to 74; but that, on the other hand, the special circumstances of the Principality received some recognition in the acceptance by the Government and the House of a resolution amended and limited so as to declare that such of the recommendations of the Welsh Land Commission as were unanimous required the "immediate consideration of Parliament." That consideration, however, was not given. At the close of the evening sitting of the 31st a motion by Mr. Crooks, the new Labour Member for Woolwich, in favour of the payment of Members of Parliament, was supported by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in the interests of the full development of democratic representation. It was, however, opposed by Lord Percy, on behalf of the Government, as having no general demand at its back, and as affording no guarantee, in the light of experience, for a larger representation of labour; and no division was reached. During the first week of April the House of Commons was, apart from the introduction of Measures dealing with London Education and with the Port of London, occupied by a number of minor matters. A discussion on the subject of municipal trading took place on April 1 on a motion by Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, for the reappointment of a Committee of the House to join with a Committee of the Lords on the subject of municipal trading. The motion had already been briefly discussed on March 4 and 16, and Mr. Whiteley (*Pudsey, Yorks*) now moved an amendment, which was supported by Sir E. Grey, with the view of authorising the Committee to report on the powers for which municipalities should be left to apply to Parliament, and on the class of powers which should be conferred upon them by a general Local Government Bill. The amendment was lost and the motion carried after the Prime Minister had emphasised the necessity of an inquiry, especially in view of the transitory character of the particular form of some undertakings, such as lighting and locomotion, on which municipalities were now embarking.

The Government had a very narrow escape from a defeat, though not of a serious kind, on April 3, when (being a Friday's sitting) a great rally of Members connected with shipping took place in support of a Bill of which the second reading was moved

by Mr. C. M'Arthur (*Exchange, Liverpool*) and backed by several other Unionists. It proposed to transfer the administration of lighthouses, buoys and beacons to the Board of Trade, to abolish light dues, and throw the cost of the lighthouse service on the public revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer resisted the Bill with vigour and emphasis in the interest of the taxpayers, on whom he declined absolutely to put an additional annual charge of half a million sterling, part of which was now paid by the foreigner, and the rest, as he maintained, not really by shipowners, but by passengers, traders and consumers of goods. The Bill was lost, but only by 114 to 103.

An interesting departure in procedure was suggested after the second reading of the Scottish Licensing Bill (April 6) when Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries*) moved that the Bill, instead of being referred to the Standing Committee on Trade, should be sent to a special committee consisting of all the Members representing Scottish constituencies, and of fifteen other Members nominated by the Committee of Selection. The amendment was, however, rejected by 121 votes against 51, after being opposed by Mr. Balfour on the ground that it was likely to accentuate national divisions by resulting in the formation of Grand Committees on separate national lines.

On the same day (April 6), at the afternoon sitting, Mr. Gerald Balfour introduced a Bill to establish a commission for the administration of the Port of London, and for transferring to the commission the undertakings of the London and India Dock Company and the Surrey Commercial and Millwall Dock Companies, as well as certain powers and duties of the Thames Conservancy and the Watermen's Company. The Bill he described as the outcome of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. In some not unimportant particulars, however, it did not follow those recommendations. In the first place, it was not proposed to include the powers and duties of the Trinity House among the functions to be transferred to the new authority, the Government having come to the conclusion that, if this change were effected, difficulties might arise in connection with the lighting of the Port and with pilotage. The advice of the Commissioners as to the purchase of the docks had been taken; but the Government did not see their way to place the new authority under the obligation of disposing as soon as possible of the dock companies' warehouses. The authority would be at liberty either to dispose of the warehouses or to retain them. The financial proposals in the Bill differed in two respects from the recommendations of the Commissioners. The Commissioners suggested that a municipal guarantee should be given jointly by the London County Council and the City Corporation; but, as the latter body was not in a position to give the required guarantee, it had been decided that it should be given by the London County Council alone. Then the Bill provided that the debentures of the dock com-

panies should be compulsorily redeemable. In regard to the constitution of the Port authority, the scheme in the Bill varied very materially from the Commissioners' scheme. The plan of the Government was that the authority should consist of forty members, twenty-six of whom were to be elected, and fourteen nominated members. The London County Council was to appoint eight members, the City two, the Admiralty one, the Board of Trade one, the Trinity House one, and the Railway Association one. Ten were to be elected by the payers of dues on ships, ten by the commercial community, four by the wharfingers, and two by the owners of river craft. To protect the interests of the ratepayers it was provided that, if at any time the revenues of the Port should be insufficient to meet the liabilities and the interest on the Port stock, the London County Council should have the right to apply to the Board of Trade to readjust the dues upon goods and ships so that the deficiency might be made up.

The Bill was not unfavourably received, but Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Poplar*) protested that since it was to guarantee the loan the County Council was entitled to a majority on the Board. The Bill was then read a first time, after Mr. Gerald Balfour had explained that it would go, in the first instance, before a joint committee of the two Houses.

On April 7 the question of the moral responsibility incurred by Ministers holding directorships in public companies, which had already been discussed on the Address, came before the House in a somewhat painfully personal form. In the hearing of a case in which the Telescriptor Syndicate was concerned, Mr. Justice Buckley took occasion to pass some criticisms on the conduct of the directors, one of whom had been Mr. Hayes Fisher, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Although the Judge admitted that Mr. Fisher's personal integrity could in no way be called in question, the honourable Member felt it proper under the circumstances to resign his office, and this he did in a speech to the House which was marked by dignity and courage. He stated that no man had lost a penny by him, and that he had personally compensated the creditors in the case, but he resigned because he had been advised that the censure of the Judge laid him open to attack as a member of the Government. Both Mr. Balfour and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman spoke in terms of cordial sympathy of the tone and attitude of Mr. Fisher. The moral drawn, however, by influential journals of both parties was the advisability of a rule being laid down that Ministers should not hold directorships while in office.

After this unfortunate episode was closed, the House had its attention occupied by the first reading of the London Education Bill. The probable constitution of the proposed authority had been the subject of much speculation and not a little agitation ever since the passing of the Education Act of the previous

year, and various suggestions had been made by parties interested. Quite apart from the hostility entertained by the Liberal party towards the indulgence extended to the Voluntary Schools in the larger Act, there was a considerable apprehension both among the friends of the London County Council and among educational experts that the new scheme might be analogous to the London Water Board, and that the County Council would thereby be in a minority on the proposed body. The London Bishops and clergy supported the idea of the County Council as the authority acting through a committee on which it had a majority of the members, and this view was shared by the London headmasters of secondary schools. As an alternative to this scheme, others, in particular the National Union of Elementary Teachers, while equally hostile to what was pretty commonly known as the "Water Board" principle, expressed themselves in favour of the continuance of the principle of the existing School Board, in so far as it implied "a directly elected Board of Education for London devoting itself exclusively to purposes of educational administration." Under these circumstances, the reception extended to the Government's proposals, as contained in the introductory speech of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, was by no means universally favourable on either side of the House. Sir W. Anson, introducing the Bill, pointed out that the provisions of the Act of 1902 could not be directly applied to the case of London, the position of the county boroughs demanding that they should neither be wholly independent nor wholly subject to a superior authority. As to the central authority he objected to the *ad hoc* principle partly because an educational authority directly elected was bound to be extravagant if it cared about its work. The elections in such cases would be liable to turn on not strictly educational issues. The object of the Bill, he proceeded, was to abolish the School Board and to link education in London with municipal government. The London County Council was to be placed, to a great extent, in the position in which county councils were placed last year. The cardinal feature of the Bill was to bring education within the functions of our municipal institutions. The London County Council, as the education authority for London, was to have the rating powers of a county borough under Part 2 of the Education Act. The only metropolitan borough which would have the same right would be the borough of Woolwich. The County Council with the funds at its disposal would have no difficulty in extending the work of technical instruction. The relation of the Voluntary Schools to the new local authority would be precisely the same as that set up by the Act of 1902. As far as the management of the Council schools was concerned he proposed to introduce some amount of decentralisation. For this purpose the management would be entrusted to the borough councils, subject to the general direction of the educa-

tion authority, which would have complete financial control. The borough councils were to have the right to appoint and dismiss teachers, the custody of the buildings, and the right to select the sites for new schools in their prescribed areas. The boroughs would exercise their management through committees consisting, wholly or partly, of persons selected from the outside. In cases of dispute between the education authority and the borough councils as to what constituted management as distinct from control the Board of Education was to be referred to. Where a borough council was negligent of its duties the local authority could intervene and assume the management. Recognising the importance of providing the County Council with the fullest assistance in its educational business, the Government had come to the conclusion that a committee should be formed through which the Council would act. To this committee Westminster and the City of London would each send two members, and every other borough one member. Upon this educational committee places for women must be found. The Voluntary Schools might wish to be represented, and other representatives might come from the University of London, from technical institutions and from the bodies that contributed to the maintenance of education. For such representatives twenty-five places were to be reserved on the committee. Provision was also made for the presence of experts and of five members of the existing School Board. The County Council itself would be asked to contribute thirty-six members to the committee, which would contain altogether ninety-seven members. Of these sixty-six would be appointed in one way or another by the County Council. May 1, 1904, was to be the provisional date for the commencement of the Act.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman protested indignantly against Sir W. Anson's depreciation of *ad hoc* authorities, and charged the Government with attempting to "de-democratise" every institution on which they laid their hands. He strongly objected to placing the County Council in a minority on the Education Committee. These objections were upheld by Members on both sides of the House, including, among the Conservatives, Mr. W. F. D. Smith (*Strand*), Mr. Peel (*Manchester, S.*) and Mr. Gray (*West Ham*), Mr. Gray condemning the Bill as a "hybrid scheme." The leader of the Opposition went the length of dividing the House on the first reading, with the result that the introduction of the Bill was sanctioned by 159 against 77.

The question of British relations with Germany, which had so largely occupied public attention at the beginning of the year in connection with the Venezuelan affair, again came to the front in the early days of April in connection with the subject of the Bagdad Railway. The first indication that England had been, or was about to be, in any way involved was contained in a Reuter's report of a lecture at Königsberg on March 27 by General von der Goltz, in the course of which he declared that

the German Anatolian Railway had secured the extension of its line to Koweyt on the Persian Gulf "after diplomatic negotiations with Great Britain," and pointed out that the railway would form the direct route between Paris and Bombay, and that "probably the mails would be carried by it." Following on this, the *National Review* gave currency to City rumours to the effect that Lord Lansdowne had been active in interesting British capitalists in the construction of the new line. Considerable conjecture and conjectural protests in the Press were the result. On the one hand, it was contended that it was natural that the British Government should not be indifferent to, or British capitalists uninterested in, a railway which would not only provide the shortest route to India, but would be a controlling factor in the political destinies of large portions of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and the shores of the Persian Gulf. On the other hand it was feared that under the new convention between the Turkish Government and the German Anatolian Railway Company the management had been vested absolutely in German hands and was independent of the nationality of the capital with which the line was built. Objections, however, went further than this—it being urged that, whatever might be the degree of control exercised by the investor, the British Government should not lend its sanction in the shape of the promise of a postal subsidy or otherwise to what was really a German enterprise and one which must draw on the promoters the hostility of Russia. This view of the case was succinctly put by the *Spectator* when it argued against "letting Germany shelter herself behind us from Russian opposition over the Bagdad Railway scheme just as she sheltered herself behind us from American opposition to her Venezuelan policy." The motion that the House should adjourn for the Easter recess (on April 8) afforded an opportunity for pressing the Government on the point. Mr. Balfour, answering Mr. Gibson Bowles, pointed out that, as the questions raised by the projected construction of the Bagdad Railway were under Ministerial consideration, the time had not yet arrived for discussing them fully in Parliament. He could, however, say that it was a complete mistake to suppose that the German Government were involved, or that the British Government were, as Mr. Bowles had phrased it, "hanging on to the skirts of German financiers." There had never been any intention of negotiating with the German Government or with the French Government on this subject. As the House was probably aware, the German and French financiers were entirely agreed in their plans, and he had no doubt that, whatever course English financiers or the British Government might take, this great undertaking would sooner or later be carried out. Therefore the main point to be taken into consideration was whether it was desirable or not that British capital and British interests should be as largely represented in this venture as the capital and interests of other

Powers. If the railway was built it would be the shortest route to India. That being the case, ought it, he asked, to be entirely in the hands of French and German capitalists? Another question to be considered was whether it would not be better for us that the terminus of the railway on the Persian Gulf should be at Koweyt, in the territory of a sheikh with whom we had a special treaty, than that it should be in a locality where we had no claim to preferential advantages. His view of the question as a whole was that this great international artery had better be in the hands of three nations than in the hands of one or two. It was certainly to our interest that countries which we could not absorb should not be absorbed by others.

Here, for the time, the matter rested, and the rest of the discussion on the motion for the adjournment was occupied by Mr. Balfour's statement on the subject of Macedonia in reply to a question from Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, and his defence of his reply to the deputation of licensed victuallers against the strictures of Mr. Lloyd-George. On the first point Mr. Balfour was sympathetic, but not very optimistic; although the Government were exercising all their influence, he was inclined to think that what Russia and Austria could not do by joint action could not be done at all. On the second point Mr. Balfour contended that as the licensing magistrates did not sit as a court he could not justly be said by his criticisms to have interfered with the administration of a court of law. The motion for adjournment was then agreed to.

CHAPTER III.

Oratory of the Recess—Royal Commission on the Volunteers—Food Imports in War; a Royal Commission—The Camborne Election—Mr. Morley's Speeches; Views on South Africa—The Dublin Convention; Mr. Morley and Mr. G. Balfour on the Land Bill—Mr. Balfour and the Licensing Question—Bagdad Railway Scheme; Mr. Balfour's Statement—A Disaster in Somaliland—The Budget Statement; Income Tax reduced, and Corn Duty remitted—Debate on the Budget—Feeling in the Country—Col. Kinloch's Case—Debate on the Bethesda Dispute—Death of Mr. Hanbury—London Education Bill—The Manchurian Question; Russian Assurances—The Persian Gulf—Policy of the Government—Irish Land Bill; Second Reading Debate—Mr. Chamberlain on South Africa—Trade Disputes Bill.

THE platform oratory of the Easter Recess was redeemed from commonplace by speeches delivered to his constituents by Mr. John Morley, whose reappearance at public meetings signified his liberation from the great and absorbing task of writing the biography of Mr. Gladstone. But before recording his criticisms of affairs a few other matters of public interest call for notice. On the day after the rising of Parliament the names were announced of the Royal Commission to inquire into the organisation of the Militia and Volunteers. They were: The Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 2nd V.B. Royal

Sussex Regiment (chairman); Lord Derby; Lord Grenfell; Major-General Sir C. Grove; Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp, commanding Clare Artillery (Militia); Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Llewellyn, M.P., 4th Battalion Somersetshire Light Infantry; Colonel J. A. Dalmahoy, V.D., commanding 1st Midlothian R.G.A. (Volunteers); Colonel E. Satterthwaite, V.D., commanding 2nd V.B. Royal West Kent Regiment; Sir Ralph Knox; and Mr. Spenser Wilkinson. Much care had evidently been taken in the selection of this body, and it appeared reasonable to augur considerable public advantage from its inquiry and deliberations.

Another subject of high national importance for the investigation of which a Royal Commission was appointed about the same time was that of the conditions affecting the importation of food and raw material into the United Kingdom in time of war, and the amount of reserves existing in the country at any given period. The inquiry was to embrace the question what, if any, measures should be adopted in the interest of the national supplies, in addition to the maintenance of a strong fleet. Lord Balfour of Burleigh was appointed chairman of the commission, and among its members was the Prince of Wales.

The Camborne division of Cornwall, for which Sir Wilfrid Lawson was returned to Parliament with a majority of 689 over the Unionist candidate, Mr. A. Strauss, was a traditionally Liberal seat, with a very strong Nonconformist element. Even so, however, the increase in the Liberal poll was noteworthy. It could not all be credited to Sir Wilfrid Lawson's personal popularity, and pointed to an anti-Ministerial rally, of which other evidences have been recorded in the previous chapter. In the light of such evidences it was not altogether inexpedient that Mr. Chamberlain should take occasion, as he did about this time, to deny a rumour that the Government intended to go to the country in the autumn on a project for an enormous extension of local government for Ireland. A protest was published from the Labour party, in advance, against the appropriation of the anticipated Budget surplus to the remission of the income tax. They desired the repeal of the sugar duties instead, the plight of the over-burdened income taxpayer being outside the scope of their sympathies. Mr. J. W. Wilson, Member for the Northern Division of Worcestershire, announced that he would not stand at the next general election as a supporter of the Government. He was dissatisfied, he said, with the increase of expenditure, and particularly with the Army Estimates, with the Education Act and with the corn tax.

Mr. Gerald Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, received (April 6) a deputation of British pilots, who protested against the granting of pilotage certificates to aliens. He pointed out that in 1899 the matter had been decided against the deputation by an Act embodying the decision of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and that since then the licences to

aliens had only increased from thirty to seventy, whereas there were 2,430 licensed pilots. It was a question for the Admiralty whether alien pilots were a danger in time of war, and he would ask that department for an opinion on the point.

Speeches in defence of the Government were made in various parts of the country by Lord Selborne, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Londonderry, Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Wyndham, but these were mainly pedestrian performances over well-worn ground. Mr. Wyndham, however, sought piquancy in personal criticisms of politicians of varying degrees of eminence. Thus Lord Rosebery was likened to Osman Digna: "he made brilliant raids from time to time in the field of political war; he evaporated; he disappeared." In the Prime Minister, on the other hand, "they found the combination of intrepid courage, subtle intellect, and grasp of all the great problems of Empire." The new Fourth Party he described as "some terrible young Members who had occupied a cave and become addicted to the habits of primitive man." Leaving these pleasantries he spoke earnestly on his own special work, pleading for a large and generous treatment of the Irish land question.

On this question Mr. Balfour had occasion to deny that the Land Bill would be treated as the price paid for Nationalist acquiescence in a scheme for cutting down the over-representation of Ireland, a project which Mr. Kimber—to whom the denial was made—had often advocated. The stories which had been so sedulously propagated, said the Prime Minister, were wholly without foundation. The Land Bill had never been the subject of any kind of bargain with any party, group or individual, in or out of the House of Commons. He recognised the anomalies of the existing system of representation as undoubted serious, but he had never seen any satisfactory scheme of reform. The vacancy caused by Mr. Hayes Fisher's resignation of the Financial Secretaryship to the Treasury was filled by the appointment of Mr. Arthur Elliot, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who brought an addition of intellectual strength to the Government, and no small measure of influence with the cultivated public. On the other hand a fresh symptom of discontent in the Unionist ranks was forthcoming in the secession from the party of Mr. R. G. Webster, formerly a prominent London Member. He complained that the policy of the Government was reactionary, that social reforms had been neglected, and that their foreign policy, notably in the Venezuela affair, had not redounded to the credit of the nation. A few days later (April 22) a letter was published from Lord Temple resigning the presidency of the Weston (Bath) Conservative Association, on the ground that he was no longer able to support the Government, disapproving as he did of their Army scheme, of their reckless and extravagant expenditure, and of their weak and vacillating policy abroad.

Coming to the speeches of Mr. Morley, we find, as usual,

a broad and somewhat pessimistic outlook on affairs. Speaking to his constituents (April 13), he said the questions they had to face were enormous expenditure, gigantic taxation, huge augmentation of national responsibilities in every quarter of the globe, and labour organising its forces in a manner which might produce great political changes. In the presence of these difficulties they had a Government which no longer enjoyed the confidence of the great body of the electorate. After discussing at some length the effects of the increase in expenditure and taxation, Mr. Morley turned to the Irish question, and regarded the Government's Bill for abolishing landlordism in Ireland as a gigantic effort, wise in itself, but a confession of the absolute failure of their seventeen years' of "resolute" government. Among the consequences which must follow the transfer of the soil of Ireland to the people must be the strengthening of the principle and policy of self-government.

The lugubrious prophecies with which the speech abounded were not all destitute of foundation, but they were hotly resented by the Unionist Press, which was much in the habit of treating Mr. Morley as a doctrinaire and of depreciating his political utterances by exalting his literary power and urging him to confine his energies to the study. His stout reiteration of his views about the South African War, and his assertion that he had not been able to change his opinion that that war "ought to have been avoided," and was "due to mismanaged trifles"—an academic opinion now, for he frankly accepted accomplished facts—particularly angered some of the Ministerial writers. The *Times* sharply rebuked him for his "inveterate Little Englandism" and a seeming incapacity to take an Imperial view of things; but Liberal journals were unfortunately able to point with some plausibility to financial stringency at home and the political and commercial condition of affairs in South Africa as affording evidence of the prescience exhibited in Mr. Morley's warnings. The controversy as to Mr. Chamberlain's war policy was, however, revived but for a moment. The Colonial Secretary took part in it by a letter in which, replying to a correspondent, who asked whether he had stated in South Africa that the conflict was the result of a misunderstanding, he said that the war was primarily the result of the Boer ultimatum and invasion, and, further back, of the desire by the Boer leaders "to maintain a position of superiority throughout South Africa." But it was also, he added, true to say that it would never have taken place if there had been a better understanding by Mr. Kruger as to the power of this country, as to the chances of European intervention, and as to the indisposition of the Cape Colonists to rise in general rebellion. On this last point it might be replied that as a matter of fact the rising of the Afrikanders was, at any rate, very inconveniently widespread. Mr. Chamberlain's letter, however, which was published on April 15, served the purpose of a counterpoise to Mr. Morley's implied indictment of his

diplomacy. Mr. Morley delivered another speech at Brechin the same night, when he submitted that a Member of Parliament at that moment in our political history had no more urgent duty upon him when he came to his constituents than to impress upon their minds the true character and meaning of the financial situation. As to that, he had reminded them two nights before of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's statement, in September, 1902, that within seven years the normal expenditure had been increased at the rate of 5,500,000*l.* a year; that the expenditure on the Army and Navy had risen from 63,000,000*l.* in 1891 to 69,000,000*l.* in 1902-3; and that the National indebtedness had risen from about 635,000,000*l.* in 1899 to about 800,000,000*l.* These figures were pregnant with significance. Suppose they were interested in housing or pensions, or even in temperance—whatever subject of social reform they chanced to be interested in, they might depend upon it they would find themselves checkmated when the time came by the bad financial position in which they would find the country standing. His position was that our military and naval expenditure especially was expanding beyond anything proportionate in the expansion of the population or wealth of the country. No one doubted the wealth of the country was enormous: the point was whether the national expenditure—especially the military branches—was not a sum which they might call insurance against risks if they liked, but which was also a withdrawal from that reserve fund which every prudent head of a great business took very good care to provide; for who knew that there might not be a decline? Let nobody who lived upon wages, who had got ever so small investments, think, when he read in the newspaper that the great security known as Consols had fallen from 114 to 90, that that was no affair of his. It was not now a question of expenditure on the war; it was a rising peace and normal expenditure; and the Sovereign, he thought, for some time would have to say, what Queen Victoria said in 1900, that "the time is not propitious for any domestic reforms that involve a large expenditure." Quoting a statement by Mr. Chamberlain that on the estimated normal military and naval expenditure for 1902-3 the payment per head in the United Kingdom was 29*s.* 3*d.*, while in Canada it was 2*s.*, in Australia 3*s.* 5*d.*, and in New Zealand 3*s.* 4*d.*, and that no one would pretend that this was a fair distribution of the burdens of Empire, Mr. Morley said they talked of the expansion of England, and it was a very fine phrase, but let them note that the expansion territorially of England did not mean the expansion of the contributing area from which the taxation was to come. He had always thought the Colonies, from their social, economic and political conditions, could not be looked to by any rational and provident statesman for a serious contribution to our national burdens.

Turning to South Africa Mr. Morley said that he had never

expected that the results of the war would be particularly the advantage of the black population of South Africa, and he had told them so in his last election address. Apparently he was right. The Colonial Secretary now admitted that the charges of cruelty to the natives brought against the Boers had been exaggerated, and he had also frankly stated the difficulties which lay in the way of the Imperial Government doing anything effectual to protect the natives. For certain purposes the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were Crown Colonies but there was no idea of our using our theoretical supremacy in a Crown Colony with a great white population against the feeling of the vast majority of that population. He was not saying that Mr. Chamberlain's view of the constitutional situation was wrong, but he did want them to observe that the Parliament sitting at Westminster was not to have, and could not have, a decisive voice in laws made in the two new Colonies. Yet many people at home had favoured the war in part because they believed that the establishment of British supremacy would secure justice for the aborigines. Touching on the licensing question he severely censured the Prime Minister for telling a trade deputation the other day that he hoped quarter sessions would reverse the decision of the licensing justices. He (Mr. Morley) always thought that an appeal from the justices on such a matter was a scandalous thing and could not be defended in argument. With regard to the labour question, he held peace to be the first condition of the well-being of working men. For them the real heaven, if he might say so, was steady work, reasonably and well paid. But it was precisely war which caused unsteadiness in the labour market. He should always favour a Labour candidature whenever it could be supported without injury to the cause of Liberalism at large, which comprehended labour and a great many things besides.

Views such as some of those to which Mr. Morley gave characteristically effective expression had no doubt exercised influence with the electors of Camberne in returning Sir Wilfrid Lawson, a consistent opponent of the war who had earned Unionist denunciations for his pro-Boer proclivities, and the effect on the country was practically admitted by Mr. Lox in the speech already mentioned. Recent elections, he said, had shown there was a feeling against the Government. They defended their policy with reference to the war, and while rebutting the general charge of having blundered through the campaign, acknowledged that weak spots had been disclosed in the armour of the country — weaknesses which were now being remedied by reforms at the War Office. The country, however, was increasingly disposed to listen to reasoning like Mr. Morley's on the facts, and was more impatient with the excuses put forward by Ministerial and other apologists for the miscalculations and incapacity which the struggle had revealed.

The passage of the Irish Land Bill, already much aided by the favourable resolution of the Landlords' Convention, was further assisted, if not assured, by the meeting of the Nationalist Convention in Dublin on April 16. It had been specially called to consider the attitude to be adopted by the Nationalist party towards the Purchase Scheme. Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., who presided over a very large assemblage of delegates, dwelt, in opening the proceedings, on the importance of the occasion. If they, representing the people of Ireland, declared the Bill to be worthless and incapable of amendment, there would be an absolute end to the measure; but if they decided to accept it as susceptible of amendment, and as affording a prospect, when so amended, of ending the land war, then Ireland's representatives would go back with greater power than ever before rested in the hands of an Irish party of enforcing their just demands. Mr. W. O'Brien moved a resolution expressing satisfaction at the introduction of a Bill which accepted the principle that dual ownership must end, declaring that the measure required serious amendment on various vital points, and entrusting to the Irish Parliamentary party the power and responsibility of deciding the attitude to be adopted towards it in its subsequent stages. Mr. P. White, M.P., amid frequent interruptions, moved an amendment proposing the unconditional rejection of the Bill. After considerable discussion the amendment was rejected, only one hand being held up for it. Mr. Michael Davitt, after bringing forward what he described as a "friendly" amendment, withdrew it, and the resolution was carried almost unanimously. On the following day a resolution was passed affirming that the first and greatest need of Ireland was national self-government, and that no other remedy for Ireland's needs and grievances either could or would be accepted. Homage having been thus paid to the principle of Home Rule, a resolution of sixteen clauses was adopted, setting out the amendments it was desired to make in the Land Purchase measure. Leading points in these amendments will appear later on.

Mr. Morley devoted the third and last of his series of Recess speeches largely to the Irish Land Bill. Some people spoke as if the Bill simply removed a grievance, but it did much more: it effected an enormous revolution, because, say what they would, the policy of that Bill was the abolition of landlordism, and, therefore, the reconstruction of society in Ireland. The Bill was evidently to have, and rightly, the support of the Irish representatives. It would be madness on their part, or on the part of the landlords, to wreck a project which had advanced so far. He could not agree with those who held that the Bill would settle the question of Irish government. That question would come up again in the fulness of time for the consideration of the Imperial Parliament. He denied that the Liberal party had abandoned Home Rule. He did not know a man of first importance in the party who had abandoned the Irish cause. He

was not at all sure that the day was far off when the two great English parties would sit down together and say that the time had come when they must get this Irish embarrassment out of the way, and the time might come sooner than they expected when a solution would be adopted.

Speaking two days earlier to his constituents at Leeds, Mr. Gerald Balfour described the Irish Land Bill as a development and not a reversal of Unionist policy, and entered into a general defence of the external, educational and financial policy of the Government. But these and the like speeches of the Recess had little effect in diminishing the fire of criticism amid which the Government did its work. The teetotalers—ever vigilantly aggressive—joined the elements of restiveness. The London Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance sent to the Prime Minister a stoutly argumentative memorial, protesting against his reply to representatives of the liquor interest on the subject of magisterial discretion as to the renewal of licences. "Your memorialists," they said, "cannot consider it to be within the province of a Minister of the Crown to condemn *ex officio*, and without full knowledge of the facts, the action of justices of the peace in the exercise of their legal rights when such action is taken in the public interest. Your memorialists would invite your careful attention to the fact that every applicant for a licence makes application on the ground of a public benefit to be conferred, and not of a private profit to be received. In this respect the applicant for a renewal occupies the legal position of a first applicant, and the justices have both the right and the duty to consider how far a renewal is adapted to carry out the purposes of the original grant. . . . Your memorialists would remark that the monopoly established by the licensing system, and enjoyed by all who receive licences, should be regarded as an equivalent for the possibility of non-renewal, and that no just reason for the monopoly would remain were the justices denied the power of non-renewal in the public interest. . . . Your memorialists do not believe that the best legal regulations or the wisest administration will deprive the liquor traffic of that injurious tendency which issues in so much deplorable misery, vice, and crime; but your memorialists deprecate any utterance or action by Ministers of the Crown tending to weaken that control for the public interest which the law at present puts into the hands of justices of the peace."

These views were accompanied with expressions of profound respect for the high personal character of their recipient; but soft words of that kind did not rob them of their sting. Nor can it be said that Mr. Balfour's reply carried with it the general assent of the public outside the temperance organisations, for the habit of the liquor interest to regard the Unionist party as its allies and champions was viewed by many of that party with growing distaste; and this tendency was frequently exhibited in the year under review. There seemed, indeed, a

general disposition to foment dissatisfaction with the Government. This feeling was ministered to, though with somewhat questionable propriety and taste, by Sir George Kekewich, who had but lately retired from the position of Secretary to the Board of Education. Being made the recipient of a flattering address by the National Union of Teachers, this high ex-official, in the course of a reply, said that from the time he left the Board he had received no word of recognition or thanks from the Department or from the Government. He wondered whether that was because he had always been opposed to reaction, had endeavoured to foster good will between teachers and inspectors, and had encouraged the Cockerton schools. A resolution strongly condemnatory of the London Education Bill was subsequently carried by a very large majority of those present at the meeting of the National Union of Teachers.

It is not, however, necessary to record further symptoms of the disfavour with which the proceedings of the Government—past and present—were then regarded. Except in the case of the Irish Land Bill the Ministry found itself sharply assailed by men who had been its friends as well as by its regular opponents. A critical spirit had displaced the mood of implicit confidence with which the public had started the Government on its career three years previously. This attitude of mind towards the Ministry found an analogue in the ecclesiastical sphere, and the newspapers were freely used for the purposes of criticising the Bishops for the indiscipline alleged to be prevalent in the Church. Better-informed and more thoughtful Churchmen, however, recognised that the Bishops did not possess adequate powers for maintaining order. Thus the York House of Laymen in mid April, on the motion of Sir Francis Powell, M.P., passed a carefully framed resolution to the effect that the House was deeply sensible of the lack of discipline in the Church, deplored the many evils arising therefrom, and recommended that further powers be given to the Bishops to deal with all cases where the order and regulations of the Church as stated in the Book of Common Prayer were either not fully carried out or supplemented by unauthorised services or ceremonies. A further resolution was passed asserting the failure of the Benefices Act, and asking for further restrictions on the sale of advowsons. At the Norwich Diocesan Conference held at this time the two Church Discipline Bills before Parliament were referred to by the Bishop of the diocese. He disapproved of Mr. Taylor's Bill, and thought that Mr. Cripps's measure, besides being on Church lines, was likely to be the more efficacious of the two. Bishop Sheepshanks's address contained some striking observations: "The whole difficulty," he said, "which had caused such a strong feeling had been brought about by a mere handful of the clergy, who appeared resolved to disregard either the law of the Church or the authority of the Bishop." It was in their new and destructive theories, which in

effect obliterated the Reformation and made it out to have been a mistake and a sin, that we found the explanation of those strong feelings of the governing laity which had caused them to pass the Kenyon-Slaney clause in the Education Act, and the second reading of the Clergy Discipline Bill. That there was a very widespread feeling of indignation and exasperation on the part of the general body of Church laity against the handful of clergy who were disloyal to the Church was undoubted and was admitted by all. It was based upon one of the fine characteristics of the Englishman—his hatred of anything that appeared to him to merit the name of treachery. He would be quite fair to a Roman Catholic, though he disliked and feared Popery; but for a Churchman, especially a clergyman, who appeared to him to be doing the work of Romanism he had no tolerance whatever, and he abominated the man whom he believed to be false to the position he held and to the cause which outwardly he claimed to uphold. He saw no hope of unity in the Church except on the basis of the Prayer Book. There must also be among them a spirit of self-abnegation. The Evangelicals must be ready to “level up” in some respects. It was a mistake to suppose that there were not some of them who declined to comply with the directions of the Bishops to obey the law of the Church.

The address of the Bishop of Salisbury to his Diocesan Synod was in a somewhat similar spirit, but he strongly advocated the formation of a National Council which should properly represent the whole Church of England, and should have power to define, in terms suitable to present necessities and under modern conditions, what the rights and duties of clergy and laity were.

When Parliament reassembled on April 21, the Civil Service Estimates were considered. There were explanations as to the expenditure for converting part of Osborne House into a convalescent hospital for naval and military officers. On the vote for the expenses of the Board of Agriculture, its President, Mr. Hanbury (*Preston*), stated that the Board was in a comparatively starved condition, and that he should urge the Treasury to put it into a better position to do the work agriculturists demanded of it. With reference to the removal of the prohibition against the importation of live cattle from Argentina, he said that the Argentine Government had now adopted practically our own regulations in regard to disease, and that he hoped there would be in future a steady trade between the two countries. Dealing with the subject of agricultural education, he expressed the opinion that agricultural colleges should be assisted materially out of public funds. Under the Act passed last year, elementary education in rural districts, he reminded the Committee, could be adapted by the county councils to local requirements. With regard to the question of railway rates for agricultural produce, it was his policy to prevent, as far as possible, the exaction of

oppressive charges, for he recognised fully the great importance of encouraging the home market. After stating his views as to the exportation of breeding stock from this country to South Africa, he touched upon the question of afforestation, saying that certain of the recommendations of the committee that had inquired into the subject would be carried out, and that a portion of the Forest of Dean was to be set apart as an experimental area. The question of afforestation was rapidly becoming one of very serious interest.

On the vote for the Board of Trade, Mr. Gerald Balfour, when the matter of the Morgan Shipping Combination was raised, said that the Government had acted in regard to it on the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown. As to the South African Shipping "Ring," he hoped that the Government, as large shippers to South Africa, would be able to put pressure upon that organisation. He offered the shipowning class the promise of a considerable reduction in the dues for the maintenance of lighthouses. These discussions took place in a very thin House, and the Government had no difficulty in obtaining the needed votes. Parliamentary control of expenditure had, indeed, become somewhat perfunctory of late years.

On the 23rd Mr. Balfour made an announcement on the subject of the Bagdad Railway scheme so interesting and important as to deserve to be given textually. The Prime Minister said: "A copy of the convention, concluded March 5, 1903, between the Turkish Government and the Anatolian Railway Company is in our possession. It leaves the whole scheme of railway development through Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf entirely in the hands of a company under German control. To such a convention we have never been asked to assent, and we could not in any case be a party to it. The alternative arrangements which have lately been under our consideration were, on the contrary, designed to place the railway, including the existing Anatolian Railway, throughout its whole length from sea to sea, under international control, and to prevent the possibility of preferential treatment for the goods or subjects of any one country. In these arrangements it was suggested, *inter alia*, that equal powers of control, construction and management should be given to German, French and English interests. After careful consideration of these proposals, his Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that they do not give to this country sufficient security for the application of the principles above referred to; and they have therefore intimated that they are unable to give the suggested assurances with regard to the policy which they might hereafter adopt as to the conveyance of the Indian mails by the projected route, as to facilities at Koweyt, or as to the appropriation of a part of the Turkish Customs revenue in aid of the contemplated guarantee."

This decision was received with loud cheers in the House of Commons and with immense relief in the country. What it

amounted to was that the British Government would have nothing to do with the scheme. The risk of the nation finding itself exploited by a German syndicate was thus averted. The exact course of the negotiations has not been disclosed, and there was a good deal of obscurity and mystery about them; but the salient fact that emerged from the controversy was that the suggested arrangements did not give any approach to such effective equality of control as should have accompanied the provision of British capital. The general feeling of satisfaction that the Government should have in the long run remained insusceptible to German persuasions was well expressed by the *Times*: "We trust," said a leader of April 24, "that the negotiations are at an end for good and all, unless the whole scheme is recast in such a shape as to secure to us, in express and unmistakable terms, the rights and privileges indispensable for the preservation in our own hands of our long-standing interests in the Persian Gulf and in the neighbouring regions." The decision caused some chagrin in German circles, which, however, professed to see no necessity for the co-operation of British capital. Mr. Balfour at an earlier stage had expressed the opinion that the railway would ultimately be made with or without us; but it appeared highly doubtful whether Germany could provide capital for so colossal an undertaking, particularly since now there could be no appropriation of part of the Turkish Customs in aid of the kilometric guarantee, to which the promoters were looking as an important source of revenue. In any case it was felt that the Government had taken the right course in severing itself from the project.

On the same day Mr. Brodrick had the melancholy duty of announcing the annihilation of a British force at Gumburru, in Somaliland—an incident which put an end for the time to the advance against the Mullah and made the position of our forces one of real danger. Once again there had been on our part a miscalculation of the strength of the enemy and a corresponding excess of confidence. Colonel Plunkett, as is explained in a later chapter, had exceeded the instructions given to him by Colonel Cobbe, and advancing too far from the main body, and with an insufficiency of ammunition, found himself engaged with a vastly superior force, which surrounded his troops. They stood and fired until their ammunition was exhausted and then made a desperate bayonet charge, only to be overwhelmed by weight of numbers. Colonel Plunkett—an officer of experience as well as gallantry—paid for his error with his life, and eight other officers and 174 men were lost. Colonel Cobbe was compelled to retreat to Bohotle, where he was relieved by General Egerton after a forced march across the waterless desert. The engagement caused profound regret and disappointment in England and brought some discredit upon the Government, whose successive

efforts to overthrow the Mullah had signally failed, unquestionably because they had not grasped the seriousness of the local situation and the scale of the operations required. That it should be necessary again to reorganise the expedition and defer all chance of coming to conclusions with the enemy for many months was not unnaturally regarded as an unfortunate illustration of executive incapacity.

The Budget statement was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Committee of Ways and Means on the afternoon of April 23. Mr. Ritchie, who was loudly cheered on rising, and who began his speech by asking for an indulgent hearing, congratulated himself on the fact that it was his duty not to impose new taxation, but to relieve the taxpayer of some of the burdens which he was now bearing. In some general observations on the condition of trade, he pointed out, as a satisfactory feature of the situation, that, although wages had fallen in the past year, there had been comparatively very few disputes between employers and employed. While the trade returns were not such as to cause great jubilation, there was much in them to inspire courage. The lesson to be learned was that capital and labour should draw closely together, recognising that their interests were reciprocal. Now that the war was over he trusted that money would no longer be scarce and dear. The Sinking Fund was again in full operation, and it would, he hoped, be strengthened. In the depression of Consols there was nothing, he believed, to excite alarm. Having recalled the leading features of the original Budget and of the amended Budget for 1902-3, he remarked that making peace had been found to be almost as costly as making war. The total outlay in 1902-3, including the money which went to the local taxation account and to the capital account, amounted to 201,127,000*l.*, the Budget provision being 176,359,000*l.*, and the actual expenditure 184,484,000*l.* The charges on account of the wars in South Africa and China he estimated at 217,000,000*l.* Of this amount, 67,500,000*l.* came out of revenue, and the balance of 149,500,000*l.* was met from capital; 31 per cent. of the expenditure being thus charged to income and 69 per cent. to capital. Part of this outlay would be repaid out of the Transvaal Guaranteed Loan, the war contribution of 30,000,000*l.*, and the China indemnity of 6,000,000*l.*, so that the net charge to capital would be about 110,000,000*l.*

Reviewing the revenue of 1902-3, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the amount paid into the Exchequer approximated closely to the Estimate; 152,185,000*l.* was the Estimate, and 151,552,000*l.* was received, the deficiency being 633,000*l.* The chief deficiencies in Customs were under the heads of sugar and tea. The corn duty had brought in what was expected of it in a full year. Neither beer nor spirits had yielded quite as much as was anticipated. He could only suppose that a cold summer did not encourage the consumption

of beer, and that a warm winter did not promote the consumption of spirits. The yield of the income tax had been highly satisfactory, a result which, he declared, was in no way due to pressure on the part of the collectors. The revenue raised by taxation was a record one of 139,700,000*l.* This represented a burden per head of the population of 3*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, which he contrasted with the burden of 3*l.* 16*s.* borne per head of the population at the close of the great war with France in 1815. The expenditure for 1902-3 having been 184,484,000*l.* and the revenue 151,552,000*l.*, there was a deficit of 32,932,000*l.*, which was met by the proceeds of the Consol Loan and out of balances. Giving detailed information in regard to the National Debt, he showed that at the close of the financial year the total dead-weight debt stood at 770,779,000*l.* The amount of the war debt, funded and unfunded, was 159,000,000*l.* Dealing with the subject of the fall in Consols, he adduced reasons for believing that both the high price reached at one time and the low price which they had touched recently were undoubtedly abnormal. On the whole, he maintained, that there was no occasion for feeling apprehensive about the credit of the country. With regard to the Sinking Fund, he was strongly of opinion that it was in the highest degree desirable for the stability of our finance that the fixed debt charge should be maintained at a proper figure. He proposed to fix the annual debt charge at 27,000,000*l.*, and he estimated that out of this sum 6,600,000*l.* would this year be available for the Sinking Fund. As sums payable by the Transvaal became available the amount would be increased, and if the Debt was not added to, and the annual charge was maintained at the level which he proposed, the whole of our gigantic debt could be wiped out in fifty years from now.

Developing his Budget for the year ending March 31, 1904, Mr. Ritchie explained that he had to provide for a total expenditure of 143,954,000*l.* This, he said, was a very formidable amount, and he drew special attention to the gigantic items for the Navy and the Army, which together were costing 62,045,000*l.* Relatively to our means, however, we were spending less on armaments now than we spent forty years ago. He hoped that considerable reductions would be possible in our Army expenditure in the course of the next few years; but he could hold out no hope of reduction in naval expenditure. For us the strength of the fleet was a matter of life and death, and to preserve its supremacy at sea the country would grudge no cost. Our naval preparations were not intended as a menace to any foreign Power; but as long as other fleets grew ours must grow also. Fortunately, there were not wanting indications that some of our neighbours desired to call a halt in regard to their naval expenditure. Should they initiate and adhere to a policy of retrenchment in naval matters we would loyally follow suit. To meet the expenditure of the country his estimated revenue

for the year from taxes on the existing basis of taxation would be 132,640,000*l.*, made up as follows: Customs, 36,640,000*l.*; Excise, 32,700,000*l.*; death duties, 13,300,000*l.*; stamps, 8,400,000*l.*; land tax and house duty, 2,600,000*l.*; income tax, 39,000,000*l.* The non-tax revenue was expected to yield 22,130,000*l.*, the items being: Post Office, 15,300,000*l.*; telegraphs, 3,800,000*l.*; Crown lands, 445,000*l.*; Suez Canal shares and sundry loans, 935,000*l.*; miscellaneous revenue, 1,650,000*l.* His total estimated revenue on the basis of existing taxation would, therefore, be 154,770,000*l.*, and as his estimated expenditure was 143,954,000*l.*, he would be left with a surplus of 10,816,000*l.* But he proposed to remit taxation, and he considered that the payers of income tax had a first claim to relief. It was important to reduce the tax in times of peace, for it should be regarded as a kind of fiscal reserve available for the salvation of the country in days of emergency. He proposed, therefore, to take 4*d.* off the tax. As he held that there were circumstances connected with this impost which ought to be looked into, especially as the tax was likely to remain at a very high figure for some years to come, he thought that an inquiry into the subject should be held by a committee of the House. It was desirable that means should be found to prevent evasions, and that the legitimate grievances of income tax payers should be heard.

The other change which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided to make was to remit the corn duty, as to which he spoke as follows: "Now, sir, corn is in a greater degree a necessary of life than any other article. It is a raw material, it is the food of our people, the food of our horses and our cattle, and it has a certain disadvantage—that it is inelastic, and, what is worse, it is a tax that lends itself very readily to misrepresentation. I do not think it can remain permanently an integral portion of our fiscal system, unless there is some radical change in our economic circumstances, or unless it is connected with some boon much desired by the working classes. It was the last tax that was imposed by my right hon. friend the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I know it was imposed with reluctance and only under pressing necessity. In my opinion, being as it is a prime necessity for life, it has the first claim to be associated with the large remission of the income tax of which I have spoken. I therefore propose to remit the corn duty. I made a promise to the trade that if I did this I would give suitable notice, and I propose therefore that it shall take effect on July 1, and in the meantime bonding facilities will be allowed. The ultimate amount will be 2,500,000*l.*, and 2,000,000*l.* this year."

Summing up, Mr. Ritchie explained that his final balance sheet stood thus: Revenue from Customs, 34,640,000*l.*; from Excise, 32,700,000*l.*; from death duties, 13,300,000*l.*; from stamps, 8,400,000*l.*; from land tax and house duty, 2,600,000*l.*;

from income tax, 30,500,000*l.*—total tax revenue, 122,140,000*l.*—non-tax revenue, 22,130,000*l.*—total, 144,270,000*l.* The estimated expenditure of the country being, as he had shown, 143,954,000*l.*, he was left with a small margin.

Appended is a table showing—subject to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals—the expenditure to be provided for in 1903-4, as compared with the expenditure of 1902-3:—

| Service. | 1902-3. | 1903-4. |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| I.—Consolidated Fund Services. | £ | £ |
| National Debt Services— | | |
| (a) Inside the Fixed Charge - - - - | 23,000,000 | 23,000,000 |
| (b) Outside the Fixed Charge - - - - | 4,400,000 | 4,500,000 |
| Total Debt Services - - - - | 27,400,000 | 27,500,000 |
| Other Consolidated Fund Services - - - - | 1,645,000 | 1,640,000 |
| Payments to Local Taxation Accounts - - - - | 1,155,000 | 1,156,000 |
| Total Consolidated Fund Services - - - - | 30,200,000 | 30,296,000 |
| II.—Supply Services. | | |
| 1. Army (including Ordnance Factories) - - - - | 69,665,000 | 34,500,000 |
| 2. Navy - - - - | 31,255,000 | 34,457,000 |
| 3. Civil Services (Miscellaneous) - - - - | 27,448,000 | 26,561,000 |
| 4. Customs and Inland Revenue - - - - | 3,039,000 | 3,113,000 |
| 5. Post Office - - - - | 9,762,000 | 10,068,000 |
| 6. Telegraph Service - - - - | 4,211,000 | 4,549,000 |
| 7. Packet Service - - - - | 779,000 | 787,000 |
| Total Supply Services - - - - | 146,159,000 | 114,035,000 |
| Grand Total - - - - | 176,359,000 | 144,331,000 |

The above table shows that the Estimate for the Supply Services was 32,124,000*l.* less than in the previous year—a difference chiefly accounted for by a reduction of 35,165,000*l.* on the expenditure on the Army (including ordnance factories). In regard to the Consolidated Fund Services, the figures in the Final Balance Sheet (p. 113) vary somewhat from those above, the total sum assigned to Debt Services standing at only 27,000,000*l.* This reduction was defended by Mr. Ritchie (May 12), in view of the saving of 1,250,000*l.* due to the drop in interest on Consols from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and of the payments shortly to be expected from the Transvaal. The addition of 123,000*l.* on the "Other Consolidated Fund Services," was for the proportion due on the year of the new Irish Development Grant.

The following table shows how the estimated Exchequer receipts in 1903-4 compared (on the basis of the same taxation) with the like receipts in 1902-3:—

| | Exchequer Receipts, 1902-3. | Estimate for 1903-4, on Basis of Existing Taxation. |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| | £ | £ |
| Customs - - - - - | 34,483,000 | 36,640,000 |
| Excise - - - - - | 32,100,000 | 32,700,000 |
| Estate, etc., Duties - - - - - | 13,850,000 | 13,800,000 |
| Stamps - - - - - | 8,200,000 | 8,400,000 |
| Land Tax - - - - - | 725,000 | 750,000 |
| House Duty - - - - - | 1,825,000 | 1,850,000 |
| Property and Income Tax - - - - - | 38,800,000 | 39,000,000 |
| Total Exchequer Receipts from Taxes - - | 129,933,000 | 132,640,000 |
| Post Office - - - - - | 14,750,000 | 15,300,000 |
| Telegraph Service - - - - - | 3,630,000 | 3,800,000 |
| Crown Lands - - - - - | 455,000 | 445,000 |
| Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans - | 958,000 | 935,000 |
| Miscellaneous - - - - - | 1,823,000 | 1,650,000 |
| Total Exchequer Receipts from Non-Tax Revenue | 21,619,000 | 22,130,000 |
| Totals - - - - - | 151,552,000 | 154,770,000 |

The figures show that the estimated total receipts from taxes for 1903-4 would be 2,707,000*l.* more than in 1902-3, and the 1903-4 receipts from non-tax revenue 511,000*l.* above the figure for 1902-3—a total estimated increase of 3,218,000*l.*

The final balance sheet, 1903-4, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was, in detail, as follows:—

| ESTIMATED REVENUE. | | ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE. | |
|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| | 1903-4. £ | | 1903-4. £ |
| Customs as in 1902-3 - 36,640,000 | | I. Consolidated Fund Services. | |
| Deduct—Corn Duty, to be repealed from 1st July, 1903 - 2,000,000 | | National Debt Services - - | 27,000,000 |
| | 34,640,000 | Other Consolidated Fund Ser- vices - - - - - | 1,763,000 |
| Excise - - - - - | 32,700,000 | Payments to Local Taxation Accounts - - - - - | 1,156,000 |
| Estate, etc., Duties - - - - - | 13,800,000 | Total Consolidated Fund Ser- vices - - - - - | 29,919,000 |
| Stamps - - - - - | 8,400,000 | | |
| Land Tax - - - - - | 750,000 | II. Supply Services. | |
| House Duty - - - - - | 1,850,000 | Army (including Ordnance Fac- tories) - - - - - | 34,500,000 |
| Property and Income Tax as in 1902-3 - 39,000,000 | | Navy - - - - - | 34,457,000 |
| Deduct—Decrease of 4 <i>d.</i> in the £ - 8,500,000 | | Civil Services - - - - - | 26,561,000 |
| | 30,500,000 | Customs and Inland Revenue - | 3,113,000 |
| Total Exchequer Receipts from Taxes - - - - - | 122,140,000 | Post Office - - - - - | 10,068,000 |
| Post Office - - - - - | 15,300,000 | Telegraph Service - - - - - | 4,548,000 |
| Telegraph Service - - - - - | 3,800,000 | Packet Service - - - - - | 787,000 |
| Crown Lands - - - - - | 445,000 | Total Supply Services - - | 114,035,000 |
| Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans - - - - - | 935,000 | Total estimated Expenditure - | 143,954,000 |
| Miscellaneous - - - - - | 1,650,000 | Balance - - - - - | 316,000 |
| Total Exchequer Receipts from Non-Tax Revenue - - | 22,130,000 | | |
| Total Estimated Revenue | 144,270,000 | Total - - - - - | 144,270,000 |

The debate during the evening of the introduction of the Budget was mere skirmishing, but sufficiently disclosed the lines of attack and defence afterwards followed by assailants and defenders of Mr. Ritchie's financial scheme. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) offered a protest against the growth of national expenditure, and objected to the Chancellor's proposal to reduce the income tax so largely, claiming that the payers of indirect taxation were not proportionately relieved. They were entitled to more than the remission of the corn duty. What the Government would do was scandalously unjust, for it disregarded the principle of equality of treatment of direct and indirect taxation. He rejoiced that the "infamous" corn tax was repealed, but did not fail to make the obvious taunts against the Government for having turned their backs on the policy initiated in the previous year. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) treated the Budget as an electioneering move, giving special relief to the supporters of the Ministry. Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs*) protested indignantly against the remission of the corn tax. Was the Government, he asked, riding for a fall? The repeal of the duty was an act of folly, for it could not be shown to have injured anybody. What had become of the Ministerial declarations as to the necessity of broadening the basis of taxation. Replying upon the conversation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed surprise that the remission of the corn duty should have been received with so much apparent disapproval. The tax, he pointed out to Mr. Chaplin, could not be increased, except possibly in a case of supreme emergency, and could not be decreased. Therefore, it did not deserve the special attention of economists who were in favour of broadening the basis of taxation. It was impossible, he argued, to affirm that the tax had not increased the price of bread, as it certainly had increased the price of flour. Justifying the relief he was giving to payers of direct taxation, he reminded the committee that after the Crimean War, while 75 per cent. was taken off direct taxation, only 25 per cent. was taken off indirect taxation. The Government were, therefore, acting according to precedent. As to the burden upon the indirect tax-payer, it was no greater relatively than it was in the days when Sir W. Harcourt was in office. Indirect taxation, it was also important to bear in mind, was largely voluntary. A motion by Mr. Lough to reduce the duty on tea to 2d. was negatived, and a resolution reimposing that tax agreed to.

The Budget met with a mixed reception in the country. The middle classes were deeply gratified by the reduction of the income tax, but puzzled by the remission of the corn duty, which had been imposed by the Government in the previous year, and since supported, on the ground that it would not and could not affect the price of bread and would hurt no one. If the tax was inappreciable why discard so facile a source of revenue? There was an inconsistency somewhere which the plain man

could not wholly understand. It was to be made intelligible to him later by the disclosure of Cabinet dissensions, to which we shall have to refer at length later in the narrative. But no whisper of these differences was allowed to reach the public, who had to draw what inference they chose from the fact that the economic arguments by which, in a strenuous Parliamentary fight, the tax had been levied were wholly ignored by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the surrender of a hard won position acquiesced in, apparently without demur, by his colleagues. In Unionist circles, and particularly those with Protectionist leanings, there was sharp dissatisfaction with the Government; nor was discontent confined to rural districts, where the duty was regarded as the thin end of the Protectionist wedge. It was carefully fomented in towns like Sheffield, where "fair traders" had influence, and something like a general protest was engineered by Protectionist politicians. But there was no sign that the great mass of the public cared much about the matter. Free traders, at any rate, had never accepted the arguments by which Government and other speakers had sought to maintain that the consumer had not felt the tax and would not suffer by its continuance; and those who had no economic convictions were glad to accept the remission and the conclusiveness of the reasons Mr. Ritchie had advanced in support of his action. That section of the agricultural community, however, which accepted the economic leadership of Mr. Chaplin was active in its opposition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, as will be seen shortly, on May 15, a day to be otherwise made historic, Mr. Chaplin headed an influential deputation with the object of asking Mr. Balfour to retain the impost.

Before dealing with the further progress of the discussion on the Budget, some other matters of public interest must be noticed. In the House of Lords (April 28) the Duke of Bedford advanced an elaborate attack on the treatment of Colonel Kinloch, and strongly criticised the procedure under which that officer had been removed from his command of the 1st Grenadier Guards. Lord Hardwicke, Under-Secretary for War, defended the War Office with some vigour, protesting against the bringing of disciplinary matters within the political arena, and complaining that the Duke should have raised the question without notice. He denied that the action of the Commander-in-Chief had been taken under the Army Act; Lord Roberts had acted under the Royal Warrant empowering him to place an officer on half-pay whenever he deemed such a course to be desirable in the public interest. The discussion, however, led to nothing beyond an understanding that the Commander-in-Chief, on due notice, would offer a vindication of his action. Such notice being duly given, the subject was raised again in the Upper House on May 4. The Duke of Bedford again maintained that the regulations had not been observed, and that Colonel Kinloch had been deprived of the safeguards provided by Parliament. The ir-

regularity alleged was strenuously denied by Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Roberts then spoke at some length. He said the Court of Inquiry appointed by Sir H. Trotter, General in Command of the Home District, and presided over by Colonel Ricardo, was instructed "to report upon the circumstances connected with the alleged bullying in the 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards." It was, strictly speaking, a regimental investigation, but on reading the evidence he came to the conclusion that the report of the bullying, as made to him, was absolutely true; and he agreed with Sir Henry Trotter that Colonel Kinloch was to blame, even if he was ignorant of what was going on. After due consideration he determined to deal with the case of Colonel Kinloch under Article 98 of the Royal Warrant upon the evidence given before the regimental court, because it seemed to him that by so doing he should be giving Colonel Kinloch every possible chance. Colonel Kinloch's appeal against his decision was carefully considered and treated as laid down in section 42 of the Army Act; and before the *Gazette* placing Colonel Kinloch on half-pay was published he sent for that officer and gave him full opportunity of putting before him anything further which he might have to urge in his defence. Colonel Kinloch failed, however, at this interview to show any reason why the decision should be changed. Lord Roberts assured their Lordships that neither directly nor indirectly had any relation or friend of the injured officers ventured to approach him or attempted to bias his judgment in the Kinloch case. In conclusion, he earnestly hoped he had made it clear that throughout this intensely disagreeable affair he had acted not only strictly in accordance with the regulations as laid down by Act of Parliament for the administration of the Army, but also in accordance with what he conceived to be the best interests of the Army. The Duke of Northumberland, without challenging the decision given on the merits of the case, maintained that the procedure was of an unconstitutional character. The Lord Chancellor, however, maintained, in opposition to the Dukes of Bedford and Northumberland, that there was no relation between the disciplinary action exercised by the Commander-in-Chief in this case and the procedure of a court of law. Lord Goschen, who spoke with the weight of great administrative experience, denied that Colonel Kinloch's career had been or ought to be ruined by what had happened. But he protested against the action of Peers, which almost amounted to summoning the Commander-in-Chief to the Bar of the House, on account of small legal difficulties which could not affect the case in question.

Social questions occupied a good deal of attention in both Houses in the latter part of April. In the Lords on the 27th Lord Avebury's Shops (Early Closing) Bill was read a third time, after an energetic plea for freedom of contract by Lord Wemyss, who characteristically protested against the measure as an oppressive interference with the liberty of the subject and

the interests of the smaller shopkeepers. The Bill had the greatly predominant and best opinion of the Peers behind it, but it never reached a second reading in the Commons.

In the Lower House on April 27 there was a full dress debate on the Bethesda Quarries dispute. Since the matter had been last before the House (March 5) the trial had taken place of an action brought by Lord Penrhyn against a newspaper for libel, in respect of grave imputations made against him as to his motives and conduct in the prosecution of the dispute. The result was a verdict of 500*l.* damages for Lord Penrhyn, but both by the Lord Chief Justice of England, before whom the case was heard, and by the special London jury which gave the verdict mentioned, a strong opinion was expressed as to the desirableness and the possibility of a settlement of the industrial dispute. Indeed there seemed a good deal of hope of such a settlement being brought about through the good offices of Sir Edward Clarke, who had acted as counsel for Lord Penrhyn, but the negotiations broke down. Mr. Asquith, without undertaking to pronounce on the merits of the quarrel, urged that things could not be left in such a position, and moved a resolution declaring that in view of the grave social and public interests involved in the continuance of the industrial dispute at Bethesda, the inaction of the Government was reprehensible, and that their prompt intervention was imperative in order that a just and effectual settlement might be arrived at. He dwelt on the exceptionally prolonged poverty and privation caused by the quarrel, and defining the real issues between Lord Penrhyn and the workmen as being the question of combination, and the relations, in the event of the re-opening of the quarry, between the old quarrymen and the new, maintained that the declarations of the two sides afforded a hopeful basis for conciliation, which the Board of Trade was bound not to neglect, and was much to blame for not having acted on already.

Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, denied that there was any justification for re-opening the subject. The real point for consideration, he maintained, was whether the Board of Trade could have intervened with success. The Conciliation Act of 1896, it was important to recollect, was essentially a voluntary measure, so that his department could not bring compulsion to bear upon the parties to a dispute. Before appointing a conciliator it was the duty of the Board of Trade under the statute to consider whether its intervention was likely to lead to a settlement of the dispute, and where intervention was not likely to have that result the terms of the Act rather suggested that the Board should not come forward. He had formed the conclusion, based on his knowledge of the circumstances, that he could not have intervened successfully at any stage of the dispute. Lord Penrhyn, it was known, would not receive an official conciliator.

Some Members desired that a conciliator should be directed to draw up a report on the matters in dispute for the information of the public. That, however, would be to take a course not, he believed, contemplated by the Act. He drew attention to the circumstance that the quarrymen did not apply for the mediation of the Board of Trade until, the strike having continued for two years, their resources were getting low. It looked as if the application was made not so much with a view to the settlement of the dispute as for the purpose of facilitating the acquisition of additional funds. As he had indicated, he had not appointed a conciliator because he was convinced that nothing would be gained by taking that step. The Act gave the Board of Trade a discretion in the matter, and if the department were to attempt to force conciliation on Lord Penrhyn it would be necessary for it to act in a similar way in all future disputes; its discretion would thus disappear. The Opposition, he did not hesitate to affirm, were they to turn the Government out, would also find that useful intervention was not possible in this case. Mr. G. Balfour pointed out, in the course of his speech, that only some 700 workmen could now be said to be out of work in consequence of the dispute. Their lot, of course, was very much to be regretted, but could not be treated as a question of national importance.

The debate drifted into a discussion of Lord Penrhyn's conduct, but the Opposition speakers agreed in blaming the Government for their inaction. How could it be known, asked Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, that there was no prospect of the success of conciliation unless conciliation were tried. The Prime Minister treated the motion as a vote of censure on the Government. He defended the discretion which the Board of Trade had exercised by abstaining from interference. He did not believe that any effort made by the Board would have brought Lord Penrhyn and his workpeople together. The experiment had been tried in 1897 and failed; the interposition of Sir E. Clarke following certain litigation had also failed. No one desired compulsory arbitration, and Lord Penrhyn had been asked by the men to do things which could not reasonably be demanded of him. The motion was rejected on a division by 316 votes against 182—majority, 134; and after this ventilation of the subject the country was content to let matters take their course, without giving unqualified sympathy to the quarrymen or to Lord Penrhyn.

On April 28 the public were grieved to learn of the death from pneumonia, after a short illness, of Mr. Hanbury, a vigorous and successful politician who in 1900 had attained the position of President of the Board of Agriculture, with a seat in the Cabinet, and who had thrown himself into the work of his department with great energy and with very gratifying results. In the Commons on the same day, Mr. Balfour, after saying that he wished to express the regret which

he was sure was felt equally on both sides of the House for the sudden and almost tragic loss of the statesman who had passed away that morning, spoke of Mr. Hanbury as a prominent and distinguished Member of the House, conspicuous for his knowledge of its procedure and for his constant attendance. Much as he had done as Minister of Agriculture, he would probably have done still more in that office if he had been spared. As it was, he had gained the warm approval of those who were interested in agricultural pursuits. The country had been deprived of the services of a man of great administrative qualities. Dark was the shadow thrown over their proceedings by this sudden disappearance of one who only a week ago was taking an active part in Parliamentary life. Tributes of equal generosity and sincerity were forthcoming from the Opposition and Irish benches, as well as from Mr. Chaplin on behalf of agriculturists. The loss, in the flower of his age, of a man who had shown exceptional administrative gifts and mastery of practical issues was felt not less acutely in the country than at Westminster.

The second reading and debate on the London Education Bill was brought to a close on April 28 and 29, the Opposition criticisms being directed against the alleged over-representation of the Borough Councils on the statutory Education Committee. Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*) moved the rejection of the Bill, and argued that under its provisions the influence of the voter on education would be remote and ineffective. The demand for an *ad hoc* authority was pressed by Dr. Macnamara. Mr. Balfour professed surprise that the Bill should be so vehemently opposed, seeing that it merely applied to London the principles of the Act passed in the previous year. He begged the House to dismiss the demand for the constitution of an *ad hoc* authority, and to accept the principles embodied in the Bill. These were that the education authority for London should be the County Council, and that, as decentralisation was necessary, delegated powers should be given to the great Borough Councils which Parliament had called into being. Given these principles, he did not say that the measure could not be modified. The debate disclosed some distrust of the measure among supporters of the Government. Sir G. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), for example, disapproved strongly of the Government plan; he would prefer even an *ad hoc* authority; but what he really wished to see was that the municipal councils should be made the educational authorities—each for its own district. This was a view favoured by some other London Members. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) enlarged upon the division of opinion among supporters of the Ministry, and asserted that the whole question of education would have to be reopened after the next general election. Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon District*) attacked the Bill from the Nonconformist standpoint, denouncing it in pungent passages as a measure for subsidising the sectarian system in Voluntary

Schools. Sir Michael Foster (*London Univ.*), who had marked his severance from the Ministerialists by taking a place below the gangway on the Opposition benches, drew a sketch of an authority working on broad principles which he failed to discern in the Bill. Mr. Long made a temperate defence of the Bill, in which he sought to minimise the differences of view on his own side of the House, and the amendment for the rejection of the measure was then defeated by 300 votes against 163.

The Parliamentary record may conveniently be broken here by a reference to the visit of the King to King Victor Emmanuel at Rome. His Majesty's reception in the capital on April 27 was very gratifying to England, as evidence of the reality of Italian friendship. The enthusiasm of the populace was extraordinary, and the tact and address of his Majesty undoubtedly helped to give a deeper significance to the traditional sentiments of amity between the two peoples. On the 29th he paid a visit to Pope Leo XIII. at the Vatican—an act of courtesy highly acceptable to English and Irish Roman Catholics, and not displeasing either to his host the King of Italy or to people of strong Protestant convictions in the British Empire. The doings of the King in Rome were watched with keenly sympathetic interest in England, where the people were proud of his personal popularity abroad, and delighted at the manifestations of regard bestowed upon him alike in his individual and his representative capacity. It was certain that the visit gave additional solidarity to the relations between the two States. From Rome the King went to Paris, where he arrived on May 1, and where his visit was singularly fruitful in the improvement of international relations, evidence of which was furnished later in the year by a limited but useful Arbitration Agreement. He was welcomed to a gaily decorated capital by enormous crowds, and drove with the President to the British Embassy. Replying to an address from the British Chamber of Commerce, he dwelt on the great importance of the maintenance and development of friendly relations between France and Great Britain. At a State dinner at the Elysée, the King's health was proposed by President-Loubet, and in reply he drank to the *rapprochement* between the two peoples. But we need not follow his engagements in detail. They provided many opportunities for intercourse with President Loubet, M. Delcassé, the Foreign Minister, and other official and unofficial leaders in French politics and society; and it was soon apparent that the visit had had a marked influence in dissipating the last traces of such ill-will towards England as had been evoked by Lord Salisbury's necessarily uncompromising resistance to French ambitions for sovereign rights in the Valley of the Nile.

In the Far East the situation grew anxious because of the persistent reluctance of Russia to carry out her solemn pledges for the evacuation of Manchuria, and competent observers were apprehensive of trouble between that Power and Japan if those

pledges continued to be inoperative—trouble in which it might be far from easy for other Powers, and particularly for England, not to participate. On April 30, however, Lord Lansdowne, who had previously mentioned that communications were passing between his Majesty's Government and those of the other Powers concerned, with reference to certain startling preferential conditions relating to Russia's rights not only in Manchuria but in Mongolia, which Russia was alleged to have demanded of China in connection with the evacuation of the former province, made an announcement of a tranquillizing purport. It was to the effect that his Majesty's Government had learned from sources, the authority of which could not be questioned, that the Russian Government had laid information that they had no knowledge of the reported convention in which these alleged conditions appeared, and that they disclaimed all intention of seeking for exclusive privileges in Manchuria or of departing from the assurances given in regard to that province. On the following day he supplemented this by saying that he had received from the Russian Ambassador, to whom he addressed an inquiry upon the subject, a verbal statement to the following effect: "The information which had reached the British Government as to the conditions required for the evacuation of Manchuria was not at all correct. The discussions which were proceeding at Peking concerned Manchuria alone, and had reference to certain guarantees which were indispensable for securing the most important Russian interests in the province after the withdrawal of the Russian troops. As for measures which might tend to exclude foreign Consuls, or to obstruct foreign commerce and the use of ports, such measures were far from entering into the intentions of the Imperial Government. They considered, on the contrary, that the development of foreign commerce was one of the main objects for which the Russian Government had undertaken the construction of the lines of railway in that part of the world."

These assurances might have allayed public uneasiness had it not been for the sinister reputation of Russian diplomacy in England, and had they not been immediately contradicted by the Peking correspondent of the *Times*. Telegraphing on May 4, that well-informed journalist gave what he described as a *précis* of the Russian text of the demands which were being pressed on the Chinese Government, as conditions precedent to the evacuation of Manchuria. It is enough to record here, *à propos* of the Russian Ambassador's assurances to Lord Lansdowne, that, according to the *Times* correspondent, the Chinese Government was being required not to open new treaty ports in Manchuria, or to admit new Consuls, without the previous assent of the Russian Government, and if they should employ foreigners in any branch of their administration, to confine such appointments to Russians in Manchuria and Mongolia. In these circumstances the Russian assurances given in

London were not believed ; but as Mr. Hay, on behalf of the United States, was in active discussion with Russia on the principle of the "open door" in Manchuria, and was thus fighting England's diplomatic battles and supporting England's commercial interests, as well as those of the United States—thus returning the service Lord Salisbury had done to America in 1898—the public did not display much concern about the seeming lack of energetic remonstrance on the subject of Manchuria's evacuation by our own Government. They were content to watch and wait, and leave the matter to the diplomatists.

With regard to the Middle East, Lord Lansdowne, on May 5, made a most important statement of policy in connection with British interests in the Persian Gulf. A good many people, he said, were under a misapprehension when they conceived that negotiations had been passing between his Majesty's Government and the promoters of the Bagdad Railway Company. There were confidential communications or negotiations between his Majesty's Government and certain representatives of great financial houses in this country with the object of ascertaining whether the conditions upon which this enterprise was being undertaken were of a kind that would permit his Majesty's Government to offer it any encouragement. Those negotiations were no longer in progress ; but he explained that it would be impossible to present any papers with regard to them. What had been under the consideration of his Majesty's Government was the possibility of obtaining the substitution for a purely German system of a line of an international character, constructed under guarantees which would secure permanently that international character, and would likewise secure for the commerce of all nations absolutely free and equal treatment from sea to sea.

Passing to the closely connected subject of the Persian Gulf, the Foreign Secretary said it seemed to him that our policy should be directed in the first place to protecting and promoting British trade in those waters. Secondly, it was not suggested that those efforts should be towards the exclusion of the legitimate trade of other Powers. In the third place—and he said it without hesitation—"we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests ; and we should certainly resist it by all the means at our disposal." He said this in no minatory spirit—because, as far as he was aware, no proposals were on foot for the establishment of a foreign naval base in the Persian Gulf. The whole question of our commercial relations with Persia was at this moment engaging our most attentive consideration, and particularly the question of the Customs tariff. He hoped we should have arrangements of our own which would give us the right of insisting that whenever Persia again attempted to touch her tariff British interests should be specially considered. When-

ever railway construction took place in Persia we had a right to construct railways in the southern part of that country. Persia would then be opened, not only to the capital and enterprise of other countries, but to the capital and industry of this country as well. Although that arrangement might not be recorded in any very formal manner, we were satisfied that it was a binding engagement on the part of the Persian Government, and we should certainly maintain that that was its character. After giving particulars concerning the construction of roads and telegraphs, Lord Lansdowne said he mentioned these points of detail because they showed that British interests had not entirely passed out of existence in Persia, and that some progress had been made in maintaining them during the last few years. If there had been changes of late, he believed those changes were in the direction of the assertion and the protection of British interests. As time went on he hoped we might be able to make further progress in the same direction.

The frank and emphatic declaration above given of Great Britain's resolve to resist, with all the means at her disposal, the establishment of a naval base or fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power was received with general approval. It was welcomed as showing that we were no longer prepared to pursue a policy of drift in a region of vital concern to our Imperial interests, but that we had clear and definite views as to what the protection of those interests required. A full summary of Lord Lansdowne's statement has been given, because its diplomatic importance, in view of possible future developments, makes it the most striking announcement on foreign policy which has been made in Parliament since Sir Edward Grey's statement, when it was known that M. Marchand had left the Ubanghi region, that the assertion of sovereignty in the Nile Valley by any other Power would be treated as an "unfriendly act." The policy defined by Lord Lansdowne with regard to the Persian Gulf becomes, equally with the Grey declaration, a fixed principle of action, not technically binding upon future Governments perhaps, but not the less likely to be accepted and acted up to by them.

In the Commons, on April 30, the Army Estimates were utilised as a means of expressing dissatisfaction with the failure of the Government to suppress the Somali Mullah; and Mr. Brodrick made the best defence he could in the circumstances. He denied that the disaster to Colonel Plunkett's force had influenced the general course of the British operations, which had been conducted very efficiently by General Manning. The Government, he said, had no intention of holding or administering the country reached by our troops. Their policy simply was to keep the coast line and to protect the tribes with whom we had treaty arrangements involving protection. These assurances satisfied Mr. Asquith, and the Government obtained the contested vote by 233 votes to 118.

On the Civil Service Estimates on the same evening expression was given to the grievances of Post-Office workers, and Mr. A. Chamberlain promised a committee of five independent men to report on the question in regard to certain typical classes of employés. On May 12, when the Post-Office vote again came up, there was some complaint from Liberal Members as to the exclusion of representatives of the staff of the department from the committee of inquiry, and the non-inclusion of Members of the House. Mr. A. Chamberlain, however, vindicated his intention to select the committee from persons who, he said, would not be subject either to political pressure or departmental influence. In the course of a reply on various points of suggested Post-Office progress put forward by Mr. Henniker-Heaton (*Canterbury*), he said that the penny post to the Colonies could not be considered remunerative, and was not defended as being so, but on Imperial grounds, which did not apply to its extension to foreign countries with the much greater financial sacrifice which that would entail. Negotiations, he said, were in progress with a view to a parcel-post service between the United Kingdom and the United States.

On the 1st the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was read a second time by 164 votes to 94, and the Bill, which appeared to excite less interest than in some former years, was referred to the Grand Committee on Law. From that committee it was reported with some amendments on June 22, but made no further progress towards the Statute-book.

The second reading of the Irish Land Bill had been delayed by the indisposition of Mr. Wyndham, but the debate was initiated on May 4 by Mr. J. Redmond. He was, of course, very friendly to the spirit and general purpose of the measure, but pressed for the amendments sought by the Nationalist Convention. He declared that never since the Act of Union had an English Minister had so great a chance of settling the agrarian difficulty. But if Mr. Wyndham should falter in his policy, and reject the reasonable amendments which would be moved with the approval of both landlords and tenants, the Irish party would wash their hands of all responsibility for the measure. Let not the Government throw away their golden opportunity.

Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-on-Trent*) moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that sufficient attention had not been paid to the interests of the British taxpayer. He said that he saw no security for the 150,000,000*l.* which this country was invited to advance. The present Irish leaders could give no guarantee against a "plan of campaign" by their successors. The country ought certainly to be consulted before the Bill was passed. The motion for rejection found a seconder in Sir G. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), who contended that the State would run no small risk in becoming the creditor to the amount of 150,000,000*l.* of a country which claimed to be disloyal.

Mr. Balfour, after pointing out that the matters referred to

by Mr. Redmond could be discussed more appropriately in committee, addressed himself to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the amendment. The Government did not deserve the obloquy that had been poured upon them. Long before 1886 he and other members of the Unionist party saw that the only way to promote land purchase in Ireland was by pledging the credit of the State; and in 1885, when the Conservatives came into power, the first measure of land purchase based on State credit was introduced. Having given the reasons for his opposition to the Bill of 1886, which, he said, differed fundamentally from the Bill before the House, he corrected the previous speakers who had put the loan at 150,000,000*l.* The figure was nearer 100,000,000*l.* The security for the payment of their instalments by the tenants was the contribution from the Exchequer towards the expenses of local government in Ireland. If there should be another land war this guarantee fund would be retained, and the tenantry would have to pay their local government debts themselves. But he saw no reason for disquieting themselves with vain imaginings. The instalments under the existing Purchase Acts had been repaid, and public sentiment in Ireland did not encourage the repudiation of loans. In fact, the Irish tenant drew a distinction between a debt owed to the landlord and a debt owed to the State. There were good reasons why the Irish tenantry, who had not always been loyal or law-abiding, should be singled out for this special favour. These reasons, which were well known, he explained, and he affirmed that the Irish land question had become a question of Imperial magnitude. Owing to the peculiar conditions of Irish land tenure there was in the tenant a sense of co-ownership which was unknown to the tenants in England, and when to that was added the fact that every transaction was regulated by a court, there resulted in Ireland the most intolerable land system that the world had ever seen. Experience had shown that court-fixed rents were pernicious, while land purchase was beneficent. The Bill was not intended to make people loyal or to turn Home Rulers into Unionists; its object was to heal a sore which festered, and to substitute a good system of land tenure for a bad one.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman described the speech of the Prime Minister as a masterly vindication of the Liberal policy of land reform for Ireland. The right hon. gentleman had relied on the same arguments as were used in support of Mr. Gladstone's original land legislation, arguments which had hitherto been derided and repudiated by the Unionist party. However, he would not look a gift horse in the mouth. In his opinion there was no alternative policy to that embodied in this Bill. As 80,000 tenants were paying under the Purchase Acts instalments to the State which were far lower than the rents paid by their neighbours, it was natural that there should be discontent. The Bill, he feared, would not obliterate completely

this inequality. At present the people of Great Britain did not like the Bill; they were being led quietly and judiciously up to it, their attitude being that of a shying horse. When they were convinced that the Bill would bring contentment and peace to Ireland they would support it. But in order that the Bill might have that effect it must offer equitable terms to the tenants, and it would be the business of the House in committee to see that it did this.

The debate was, on the whole, distinctly favourable to the Government project, the divergencies of opinion being mainly upon details more suitable for discussion in committee, rather than upon broad principles. Mr. Wyndham brought it to a conclusion on May 7 in a speech of remarkable ability, with a peroration of somewhat unusual eloquence for a House which compared unfavourably with many of its predecessors as to oratory. Defending the financial demand made upon Great Britain for the purposes of the Bill, he admitted that the gift of 12,000,000*l.* was a grave matter, but he said that every care had been taken that the burden on the taxpayer should be made as light as possible. Turning then to the question of the security for the advance of 100,000,000*l.*, he insisted that past history taught that any general repudiation by the tenants of their liabilities was most unlikely. Even in times of great disturbance in Ireland repudiations of rent were only sporadic and insignificant. Our best security was in the moral sense of the Irish people, but there was besides the value of the land, and in localities where purchase had been general there was neither agitation nor discontent, but something like political lethargy. There was also the cash security of the guarantee fund, which would cover advances amounting to 35,776,000*l.* Out of 73,000 tenant purchasers now paying 840,000*l.* a year to the State only three owed eighteen months' arrears, and in twelve years there had been only two irrecoverable debts. Very considerable loans of various kinds had been made by the State in past years, and the people had met their obligations loyally. Why, then, should it be supposed that the tenants would refuse to pay their instalments under this Bill? Upon the amendments adumbrated by the Irish party he declined to give any decisive opinion, but they would have, he declared, his most serious consideration in committee. The governing conditions that must be borne in mind were these—they must deal adequately with congestion and uneconomic holdings; they must avoid in the future the delays and the cost attaching to judicial or *quasi*-judicial procedure; and they must pay attention to the interests of the taxpayer. In these conditions there was nothing, as far as he could see, to endanger the passing of the Bill. As to the first clause, which laid down the limits of reduction, he announced, amid the cheers of the Nationalist party, that he should discuss it without any predetermined view as to the form which it should finally take. In conclusion, he affirmed his conviction

that posterity would find no excuse for this Parliament if it failed to seize the opportunity which had presented itself for the settlement of the land question.

The amendment for the rejection of the Bill was negatived by 443 votes against 26, and the Bill was then (May 7) read a second time.

On the previous day the House had been listening to an exhaustive statement by Mr. Chamberlain in exposition of the financial position and prospects of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony—an optimistic speech which was not borne out by events occurring within the year. The Colonial Secretary conjured up a vision of railway extension, roads, irrigation on a large scale, settlement, which would be largely British, but without swamping the Boer population. Unfortunately, before the year was out public works had had to be arrested for want of money, and the prospect of a large British settlement on the land had, for the time being at any rate, receded. Mr. Chamberlain moved a resolution to sanction the guarantee of the Transvaal Loan of 35,000,000*l.* The major portion of this loan was required, he said, in order to discharge existing liabilities; 1,500,000*l.* would go to make good the deficit in the first year of the British administration of the Transvaal, and 3,000,000*l.* represented the loan made to both Colonies under the terms of surrender to enable the Boers to restock their farms. An advance of 1,000,000*l.* had been made to the Central African Railway for the purchase of additional rolling stock, and 500,000*l.* had been expended on repatriation and resettlement. The total, 6,000,000*l.*, was now to be repaid to the British Exchequer. He regarded this expenditure as part of the cost of the war, so that we should get back 36,000,000*l.*, not 30,000,000*l.* only; 2,000,000*l.* out of the loan would be used to provide the compensation which we said we should exact from the new Colonies for injuries done to loyalists in Cape Colony and Natal in the first Boer invasion. There were also other charges for repatriation and compensation, and in respect of military receipts amounting to 2,000,000*l.* For the conversion of the old five per cent. debt 2,500,000*l.* would be required; and it was proposed to purchase all the existing railways, the estimated cost of which operation would be 13,000,000*l.* A total of 25,500,000*l.* was thus accounted for. Out of the remaining 9,500,000*l.* a sum of 5,000,000*l.* was to be devoted as speedily as possible to the development of railways, a sum of 2,500,000*l.* was appropriated for land settlement, and for public works, including roads, irrigation and buildings, 2,000,000*l.* was set aside. Any savings that were effected were to be applied to new developments. The annual charge for the loan, including interest and sinking fund, would be 1,400,000*l.*, and the loan was secured on the revenues and assets of the Transvaal in the last resort. But he did not believe that we should ever find it necessary to have recourse to that security;

for the loan was, in the first place, to be a charge upon the common fund of the two Colonies.

This, Mr. Chamberlain explained, was a fund which Lord Milner proposed to establish immediately with the co-operation of an inter-colonial council. It was a beginning of the policy of federation to which the Government had always looked forward. The service of the loan would be a first charge on the net profits of the Central African Railway, which Lord Milner estimated at 2,500,000*l.* at the lowest, and which were to constitute the common fund which was to be set up. When the charge of 1,400,000*l.* for the loan service had been met there would be left 1,100,000*l.* which would go to defray the charge for the South African Constabulary. There would this year be a deficit in the fund of 600,000*l.* The estimated revenue of the Transvaal for 1903-4, apart from railway receipts, was 4,500,000*l.*, and the expenditure, apart from the South African Constabulary, would be 3,000,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 1,500,000*l.* In the Orange River Colony the revenue would be 500,000*l.*, and the expenditure would exactly balance it. After the deficit in the common fund had been made good the Transvaal would be left with a surplus of 900,000*l.* Next year the Transvaal would have to find 400,000*l.* for the first instalment of the war contribution loan; and in three years' time, when the whole loan would have been issued and increased instalments would have to be paid, there would be a deficit of 300,000*l.*, unless the revenue increased; but Lord Milner looked forward to an addition to the revenue by that time of 600,000*l.* Therefore, when the Colonies had provided for the 35,000,000*l.* loan and the 30,000,000*l.* contribution, they would have left for development purposes at least 300,000*l.* That, he affirmed, was an astounding prospect, considering that only twelve months had elapsed since the close of the war.

The resolution was eventually passed, though not until after opinions had been pretty freely expressed to the effect that the Rand had outwitted Mr. Chamberlain in his bargaining as to the war contribution of the Transvaal. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman put on record his distrust of the more glowing accounts of the potential wealth of the Transvaal and said he feared that the loan of 35,000,000*l.* would not be the end of our obligations.

In the Lords on May 8 Lord Selborne was called upon to justify the scheme for unifying the system of training candidates for commissions in the different branches of the Naval Service which had been elaborated in an Admiralty memorandum of the previous December. In the course of an effective defence of the new system, of which Lord Spencer had spoken very sympathetically, Lord Selborne asked what were the most important things on board a battleship to-day. He replied that they were the machinery; and he defied any one to give any other answer. Again, who were the most important

officers on board a man-of-war? Of course the captain always had been and always must be the most important officer; but the most important "officers" were the engineer officers. Was it right, then, that those who were going to be the captains and admirals of the future should depend entirely upon others for a general knowledge of the most important things in the ship? Many executive officers had in fact acquired an excellent knowledge of engineering; but that was due to their own efforts, and they owed no thanks to the Admiralty.

Complaints of financial ill-treatment of reserve officers of the Army who were called up during the war were also ventilated in the Lords (May 11); Lord Hardwicke was unable to admit that generally speaking the officers in question had any real grievance. He admitted, however, that there were special cases in which it was otherwise, and stated that the Secretary for War had appointed a committee to inquire into the subject.

The Trade Disputes Bill, of which the second reading was moved (May 8) by Mr. Shackleton (*Clitheroe, Lancs*), aimed at legalising "peaceful picketing," and freeing combinations of workmen from liability to civil proceedings for acts which a single individual could commit with impunity. It was supported by eminent Liberal lawyers like Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane as moderate in the changes it proposed, and as a declaration that amendment of the law was required, although they agreed that an inquiry by experts into the subject of trade disputes was desirable with a view to legislation. The Home Secretary (Mr. Akers-Douglas) and the Prime Minister stated that in the view of the law advisers of the Crown the Bill would legalise serious disturbances of order and invasions of individual liberty, and they supported an amendment, moved by Mr. Galloway (*Manchester, S.W.*), for the rejection of the measure as dealing with only some points which it was desirable to have investigated by a Royal Commission, to the appointment of which they pledged the Government. The amendment was carried, but only by 246 votes to 226—an interesting evidence of the pressure of industrial opinion on Members of the House.

Supply and the Budget resolutions engaged the attention of the House of Commons to a moderate degree on May 12, and at the evening sitting of that day Mr. Cripps's Church Discipline (No. 2) Bill was considered. This measure was designed both to define the responsibility of the Bishops in matters of ritual and doctrine, and to enhance their powers for the effectual exercise of discipline. Mr. C. M'Arthur (*Exchange, Liverpool*) moved an amendment denouncing the Bill as setting up an "arbitrary episcopal discretion." Mr. Balfour, however, advised the House to read it a second time, and send it to be considered with Mr. Taylor's Bill by a select committee. The second reading was ultimately agreed to by 80 votes to 56; but the sequent motion for reference to a select committee was talked out, and never reached again.

Next day the Port of London Bill was read a second time after a generally friendly discussion. Opposition was offered to it by representatives of the Thames Conservancy and of the Surrey Commercial Docks, but was not pushed to a division. Mr. G. Balfour, who was in charge, undertook to consider the due protection of the interests of the wharfingers, to whose anxieties with regard to the working of the Bill expression had been given, and generally to approach all amendments on points of detail in committee with an open mind. The Bill was referred for examination to a joint committee of both Houses.

On the 14th the shipbuilding votes for the Navy were made the occasion for a discussion on naval policy, Mr. Arnold-Forster offering a vigorous defence of the expenditure on the Fleet, and denying that there had been extravagance. He pointed out, with reference to a suggestion made by Sir C. Dilke and pressed by other speakers for an initiative towards an international reduction of naval armaments, that this was not a matter for the Admiralty to decide. But he observed, *à propos* of an alleged reduction in German naval expenditure, that as a matter of fact that expenditure had increased of late years in an exceptionally rapid and formidable manner. On the same evening, replying on various technical points, he gave a generally encouraging report as to the experiments with oil fuel, and as to the behaviour of the submarine boats so far constructed for the Admiralty, and as to the improvement of machinery in the dockyards.

And so we are brought to the eve of a historic day, May 15, 1903, which opened a new chapter in British politics, and must open one here.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Chamberlain's Fiscal Pronouncement at Birmingham—Mr. Balfour's Defence of the Abolition of the Corn Duty—Surprise and Confusion in the Public Mind—London Education Bill in Committee—Congo Free State Abuses—Lord Rosebery on the Fiscal Question—Old Age Pensioners' Bill; Mr. Chamberlain's Speech—Fiscal Debate on Whitsuntide Adjournment—Recess Speeches and Resolutions—Commons' Debate and Division on Repeal of Corn Duty—Lord Rosebery's Liberal League Speech—Lords' Debate on Fiscal Question—Commons' Debate on New South Wales Governor's Telegram—Irish Land Bill; Committee, and Third Reading—The Serbian Tragedy—Conference of Unionist M.P.'s favourable to Mr. Chamberlain—The Royal Declaration—Commons' Debate on Home Office Vote—Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain at the Constitutional Club—Lords' Fiscal Debates—A "London Charlottenburg"—Meeting of Free Trade Unionist M.P.'s—Question of Admiralty Subsidies—Visit of President Loubet—Motor Car Legislation—London Education Bill read a Third Time—Joint Meeting of Convocations—High Church Clergy's Declaration on Ritual; The Primate's Reply—Mr. Balfour's Refusal of General Fiscal Discussion—Troops for India in South Africa—Rival Fiscal Organisations—Imperial Fiscal Policy Discussed; also Manchuria and South African Questions—Royal Visit to Ireland—Animated Debates on Sugar Convention Bill—London Education and Irish Land Bills in the Lords—Bills Dropped—Statements as to Macedonia—Alien Immigration Report—Atlantic Shipping Agreements Discussed—Indian Budget—Appropriation Bill Debates—Prorogation: The King's Speech.

No political event in recent years has produced so startling an effect as the pronouncement on fiscal policy made by Mr.

Chamberlain, on May 15, in a speech to his constituents at Birmingham. After referring to his experiences during his South African journey, Mr. Chamberlain said that his ideas still ran more on the questions connected with the future of the Empire than on the smaller controversies about education, temperance reform and local finance, which he found agitating the minds of people at home. For himself, he should be glad to be relieved of the strain of office if only he could feel that the party which must succeed to that in power had abandoned the disastrous policy of Home Rule, which would begin by the disruption of the United Kingdom and end by the disruption of the Empire. The time had come when the country must deliberately adopt or reject a policy of Imperial unification, for the promotion of which it was necessary that Great Britain should cordially reciprocate any advance that the Colonies made towards solidarity of interests with the Mother Country.

Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the Colonies had hitherto been backward in their contributions towards Imperial defence. But they were trying to promote the union which he regarded as of so much importance in their own way and by their own means. First among those means was the offer of preferential tariffs. It depended on the treatment which the people of Great Britain gave to this policy of the Colonies, whether it was developed in the future, or whether it was withdrawn as being unacceptable to those whom it was sought to benefit. A great conference of all the British Colonies in South Africa had recommended the Legislatures of the different Colonies to give the Mother Country a preference on all dutiable goods of 25 per cent. At the Conference of Colonial Premiers the representatives of Australia and New Zealand had accepted the same principle. These recommendations would bear fruit just as the people of Great Britain showed their appreciation of them, and the result would depend largely on the experience of Canada, which had been the precursor in a similar experiment. Canada was, of all the self-governing Colonies, the most backward in contributing to common defence, but she had been the most forward in endeavouring to unite the Empire by other means, namely, by strengthening commercial relations and by giving to Great Britain special favour and preference. Canada had given a preference of 25 per cent., afterwards increased to 33½ per cent., without asking for an equivalent, but her statesmen were ready to go farther if Great Britain could meet them by allowing the Dominion a drawback on the shilling corn duty.

"I must say," said Mr. Chamberlain, "that if I could treat matters of this kind solely in regard to my position as Secretary of State for the Colonies, I should have said: 'That is a fair offer, that is a generous offer from your point of view, and it is an offer which I might ask our people to accept,' but speaking for the Government as a whole, not in the interests of the Colonies, I am obliged to say that it is contrary to the estab-

lished fiscal policy of this country." The policy which prevented the Government from offering an advantage to the Colonies also prevented them from defending them if they were attacked. Germany insisted on treating Canada as though it were a separate country, and penalised Canada by imposing an additional duty on Canadian goods, not only to punish her for giving a preference to Great Britain, but also to deter South Africa, Australia and New Zealand from following Canada's example. "The people of this Empire," Mr. Chamberlain said, "have two alternatives before them. They may maintain if they like in all its severity the interpretation—in my mind an entirely artificial and wrong interpretation—which has been placed on the doctrines of Free Trade by a small remnant of Little Englanders, of the Manchester school, who now profess to be the sole repositories of the doctrines of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. They may maintain that policy in all its severity, though it is repudiated by every other nation and by all your own Colonies. In that case they will be absolutely precluded either from giving any kind of preference or favour to any of their Colonies abroad, or even protecting their Colonies abroad when they offer to favour us. That is the first alternative. The second alternative is that we should insist that we will not be bound by any purely technical definition of Free Trade, that, while we seek as one chief object free interchange of trade and commerce between ourselves and all the nations of the world, we will, nevertheless, recover our freedom, resume that power of negotiation and, if necessary, retaliation whenever our own interests or our relations between our Colonies and ourselves are threatened by other people.

"I leave the matter," said Mr. Chamberlain, "in your hands. I desire that a discussion on this subject should be opened. The time has not yet come to settle it, but it seems to me that for good or for evil this is an issue much greater in its consequences than any of our local disputes. Make a mistake in legislation. Yet it can be corrected. Make a mistake in your Imperial policy. It is irretrievable. You have an opportunity; you will never have it again. I do not think myself that a general election is very near; but whether it is near or distant I think our opponents may perhaps find that the issues which they propose to raise are not the issues on which we shall take the opinion of the country. If we raise an issue of this kind the answer will depend not on petty personal considerations, not on temporary interests, but on whether the people of this country really have it in their hearts to do all that is necessary, even if it occasionally goes against their own prejudices, to consolidate an Empire which can only be maintained by relations of interest as well as by relations of sentiment. And for my own part I believe in a British Empire, in an Empire which, though it should be its first duty to cultivate friendship with all the nations of the world, should yet, even if

alone, be self-sustaining and self-sufficient, able to maintain itself against the competition of all its rivals. And I do not believe in a Little England which shall be separated from all those to whom it would in the natural course look for support and affection, a Little England which would then be dependent absolutely on the mercy of those who envy its present prosperity, and who have shown they are ready to do all in their power to prevent its future union with the British races throughout the world."

It is essential to the appreciation of the condition of the public mind immediately and for several weeks after the very remarkable utterance above summarised that there should be remembered the extraordinary fact that on the same day as that of Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech Mr. Balfour was defending the repeal of the corn tax in reply to a deputation introduced by Mr. Chaplin. Mr. Balfour declared that the case against the remission of the corn duty resolved itself into three parts. In the first place it was alleged that the millers had spent a large amount of capital in expanding their plant on the faith of the pledges of the Government that the tax was a permanent part of the fiscal system of the country. But he categorically denied that the tax was intended to have any protective effect on the milling industry, and quoted a declaration of Sir M. Hicks-Beach on the point. Next, there was the case of the farmer. The tax was not intended to be protective in its effect, and Mr. Chaplin had admitted that he himself did not regard it as protective. If it accidentally had such an effect, that did not constitute an obligation on the part of the Government to maintain it. The tax was rather a disadvantage than an advantage to the farmers, because it was a tax on feeding-stuffs. Then there was the case drawn from general considerations of taxation. The great protest against the tax made it impossible to regard it, as it had been hoped that it might be regarded, as a permanent part of our fiscal system. In regard to a preferential scheme to bind the Colonies to the Mother Country, such political union was not yet possible. If it were achieved, a trifling duty upon food imports might be part of a general system. But such a movement must come, not from one or two industries, but from the conscience and intellect of the great body and mass of the people. Till such a general agreement was reached it was useless to maintain a tax which would be the shuttlecock of opposing parties.

The combined effect of these speeches by the Colonial Secretary and the Prime Minister was to produce in the public mind a condition of astonishment and perplexity bordering on stupefaction. Mr. Chamberlain's prestige as an Imperial statesman had never stood higher. Manifold as had been the blunders and losses of the Boer War, he was not held responsible for them, and his policy had triumphed in the end. Then the

judgment, tact and courage which he had displayed during his tour in South Africa were generally regarded as having contributed in a very important degree towards a permanently peaceful and prosperous settlement of the whole of that vast territory under the British flag. It was known that his administration of the Colonial Office had been eminently successful in establishing a new confidence on the part of British Colonists all over the world in the sympathetic comprehension of their views and interests by the authorities at home. And, on the other hand, at the Colonial Conference in 1902, and in more than one important speech in South Africa, he had very plainly intimated to the Colonists his opinion that, while they had done splendidly in helping the Imperial cause during the war, a right sense of Imperial duty would lead them to undertake permanently a much more considerable share than at present in the burdens of common defence. In view of these considerations Mr. Chamberlain was widely held to possess a unique claim on the respectful attention of his countrymen at home to any policy which he deliberately recommended to them as essential to the unity of the Empire.

Yet it was quite clear, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's entire abolition of the corn duty, which had only been imposed in the previous year, and the manipulation of which would have offered the starting-point for the preferential system which the Colonial Secretary advocated on May 15, that the latter had not succeeded in persuading his colleagues of the practicability, if even of the theoretic wisdom, of the adoption of any such policy. It was indeed not barred out by the language of the Prime Minister's allusion in his reply to Mr. Chaplin's deputation, but its adoption was treated as a remote and very doubtful contingency, while, for the present, the feeling against any kind of tax upon food was recognised as being so strong as to make the maintenance of the smallest of such imposts politically inexpedient. How, then, people naturally wondered, could Mr. Chamberlain, deeming preferential duties of vital consequence, remain a member of the Government? This difficulty, as will soon be seen, was solved for a time by the plan of an inquiry into our present fiscal policy, conducted collectively by the Government, though not without a continuous fire of hostile criticism.

On the merits of the issues raised by Mr. Chamberlain there was immediately evident a divergence of opinion within the Unionist party so sharp as to portend, in the opinion of calm judges, an ultimate rupture. Among Conservative politicians there had always been a considerable prevalence of theoretical Protectionist opinion, which, especially in the modified form known as Reciprocity or Retaliation, had latterly made some way—though until Mr. Chamberlain's speech it had found very few influential voices—among the commercial and manufacturing classes. Mr. Chamberlain's declarations, as involving at

any rate a departure from Free Trade, obtained therefore a tolerably extensive, if at first somewhat hesitating, welcome in the quarters just indicated. On the other hand, both among the younger Conservatives and among Liberal Unionists there were, though, as it afterwards appeared, not predominating, yet very vigorous sections, which at once discerned in Mr. Chamberlain's new policy the social and economic danger of perpetual food taxes and the taint of Protection—the accursed thing, in fact, to be opposed, root and branch, from its first appearance. They also held not less strongly that a system of fiscal preferences would, in practice, produce causes of irritation and disagreement within the Empire, instead of consolidating it. These sections found an extremely energetic and outspoken exponent in the *Spectator*, which had long filled the position of the principal weekly organ of thoughtful Unionism. Among the Unionist daily newspapers of London, on the other hand, headed by the *Times*, there was a strongly predominant exhibition of sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's policy as it was gradually developed, first on Imperial grounds, and later on grounds approaching much more nearly to those of old-fashioned Protection; but the *Standard* maintained always a critical, and, as time advanced, an increasingly unfavourable attitude. From the first the Liberal Press and the Liberal party threw themselves with almost complete unanimity into opposition to the idea of Imperial preference, and *à fortiori* to the revival of Protection, which, like the Unionist Free Traders, they held to be really involved. For several months, however, a very considerable body of citizens remained undecided, trying to weigh the arguments on both sides, recognising Mr. Chamberlain's claims to a hearing, but shaken by the curious variations in his lines of advocacy, and, on the whole, increasingly disposed towards the conclusion that he had not fully thought out, and could not clearly establish, his case for a reversal of all the economic principles in which they and their fathers had been brought up. This tendency, it may be added, was strengthened by the growth of the feeling that the sacrifice which a preferential tariff system would entail upon the Mother Country would be much heavier than any which, on any proposed plan, it would cause to the Colonies. So far as could be judged, while there were many expressions of sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain in the Colonies, there was very little, if any, inclination there to lower tariff walls against British manufactures, though there was a pretty general readiness to raise them higher against those of foreign countries.

In the above remarks a glance has been taken forward, as well as over the state of the public mind presented in the latter part of May. Throughout the whole of the rest of the year the issues—economic, social and political, domestic and Imperial—which Mr. Chamberlain had raised engrossed the public mind to such an extent as very perceptibly to draw off interest from

other topics—as, notably, that of Education—which might otherwise have been expected to occupy a considerable share of attention. But the ordinary work of Parliament had to go on somehow, and to it the ANNUAL REGISTER must revert, though, as will be seen, it was frequently interrupted by the great new pre-occupation. And first it falls to be recorded that on the day (May 15) of the two extra-Parliamentary utterances already dealt with, Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) moved the second reading of a measure—the Coal Mines Regulation Bill—which, besides proposing to establish district boards charged with the duty of drawing up special rules aiming at the prevention of dangerous accidents, would have prohibited both the employment underground of youths under eighteen years of age for more than eight hours in any one day, and the employment there at all of adults who had not worked underground before they were eighteen. The Bill was opposed by some large employers of labour as calculated unnecessarily to enhance the cost of producing coal, and supported by trade unionist mining representatives, but with the marked exception of those from Durham and Northumberland, whose system of working it would have disorganised, exactly in the same way as an ordinary Eight Hours Bill for Mines. The Government left the matter open, Mr. Cochrane, Under-Secretary for the Home Department (*Ayrshire, N.*), however, himself opposing the measure, and the second reading was defeated by 183 to 144.

Another failure in the sphere of social legislation was the Betting Bill, of which the second reading was moved in the House of Lords (May 18) by Lord Davey, and supported by the Bishop of Hereford. This was directed to the suppression of the bookmakers' trade in streets and other public places. It was opposed by Lord Durham, who had been Chairman of the Lords' Committee on Betting, as "an attempt to transform a human instinct into a crime by measures quite impracticable." That its wording was in some respects questionable was admitted by Lord Davey, who expressed readiness to accept considerable amendments in committee. Lord Tweedmouth and Lord Spencer urged that it should be read a second time on that understanding, but the Lord Chancellor strongly took the opposite line, and the second reading was defeated by 48 votes to 39.

On the same day, and most of those available before the Whitsuntide Recess, the London Education Bill was considered in committee, and finally passed through that stage, but not till after some truly surprising exhibitions of vacillation and mismanagement on the part of Ministers. The Bill was a very short one of only some half-dozen clauses, its object being, as has been already seen, to establish a system of local educational administration for the metropolitan area on the same general lines as those set up over the country at large by the Education Act of 1902, but with some differences, having in view, in

particular, the existence of the recently created London Borough Councils. To these bodies the Government desired to give some considerable share of the responsibilities of educational administration, but clearly had not thought the subject out. On the first clause, which brought London generally within the scope of the "principal Act," it was natural that some of the battles waged so strenuously over that great measure should be fought again. Fought they were, on such questions as the merits of an educational authority elected *ad hoc*, on the possibility of maintaining the London School Board for purposes of elementary education, and on the exclusion of Voluntary Schools from the scope of the measure, with the same results as in the session of 1902, the Government majority retaining its normal dimensions against one amendment after another. But on the question of the constitution of the London education authority the Ministry appeared to be without a mind. Originally the Bill proposed to put the representatives of the County Council in a minority on the new authority, while providing for a numerous representation for the Borough Councils, as well as for various educational institutions and bodies. The protests widely raised against this plan, which indeed had no obvious advantage, and many obvious disadvantages, resulted in the putting down of amendments by Sir W. Anson, the effect of which was to give the County Council forty-two members out of a total of seventy-seven on the proposed London education authority (instead of thirty-six out of ninety-seven, as originally proposed), and, allowing the City one representative, to assign eleven of the twenty-five non-Council members to the other boroughs, under a system of grouping, so that practically each borough would have a fraction of a member. This proposition was too absurd, and after it had been discussed and amended during two sittings Mr. Balfour recognised (May 25) that the Government compromise pleased nobody, and that the best thing would be to put the London County Council, as far as the constitution of its education committee was concerned, in the same position as all other County Councils—that is to say, it would have to frame a scheme subject to the conditions specified in the general Act. This was accepted. Equal weakness was shown in the treatment of the question of the local "management," as distinct from the general "control," of the "provided" elementary schools. Originally the Bill proposed that of such schools, within each metropolitan borough, the council of that borough should be the managers. Ultimately, after first accepting an intermediate compromise, the Government settled down upon an arrangement, moved by Mr. Peel (*Manchester, S.*), under which, for the schools in question, in each metropolitan borough there should be a body, or bodies, of managers, whose number should be determined—subject to the approval of the Board of Education—by the Borough Council, which should appoint three-fourths of such managers, the County Council appointing

the remainder. It was a matter of profound relief to supporters of the Government when (May 26) the inglorious committee stage of the Bill was brought to a close.

Three days earlier there had been an exceptionally numerous and earnest demonstration in Hyde Park against the Bill, promoted by Liberal, Labour and Nonconformist organisations. It was a beautiful evening, on which participation in an open-air function of the kind was as agreeable as it ever can be. Even so, however, the magnitude and demeanour of the crowds appeared to show that there was a very considerable body of London citizens who regarded with strong disapproval the destruction of the School Board which they knew, and failed to discern the advantages of the system which it was proposed to set up in its place. That being so, it was peculiarly unfortunate that the Government should exhibit an entire want of clearness of view as to the character of the authority which was to control London education in future, even though, as was perhaps the best opinion, they ultimately drifted to a right conclusion.

The only other debate of much general interest, apart from the fiscal question, in the House of Commons before Whitsuntide arose on a motion by Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Cleveland, N.R., Yorks*), who moved a resolution declaring that the Congo Free State had constantly violated the guarantees given to the Powers that its native subjects would be governed with humanity, and that no trading monopoly or privilege would be permitted within its dominions, and calling upon his Majesty's Government to confer with the signatories of the Berlin General Act, by virtue of which the Free State existed, in order that measures might be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that country. Sir Charles Dilke seconded the motion, and spoke in emphatic terms of the vast monopolistic concessions prevailing in the Congo territory, from which British trade greatly suffered, and of the scandalous oppression and enslavement of the natives. Lord Cranborne, in his reply, did not deny the allegations of excessive monopolies or of frightful cruelty on the part of officials, though he asserted that many of the delinquents had been punished by the Government of the Congo. He admitted that a *prima facie* case had been made out, but asked that the words in the resolution which condemned the Congo Free State should be omitted. The Free State authorities had always expressed a willingness to consider any evidence of maladministration that might be submitted to them, and he thought that foreign Powers might be approached to ascertain what evidence they possessed of misgovernment. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*), a former Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, having spoken in the strongest terms of the condition of the Congo State as a "disgrace to civilisation," Mr. Balfour fully recognised the duty of the Government to take serious action in the matter, and the omission suggested

by Lord Cranborne having been made the resolution was agreed to.

A carefully qualified and balanced reference to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme in Lord Rosebery's address to the Burnley Chamber of Commerce, on May 19, caused many people to believe that Lord Rosebery was inclined to look with favour on the proposal of a preferential tariff. Lord Rosebery declared that the subject was not yet, and, in one sense, might never be, a matter of party politics, because it "cut diagonally across" ordinary political lines. He was not prepared hastily to reject any plan offered on high authority and based on large experience for really cementing and uniting the British Empire. He acknowledged that Free Trade did not benefit all branches of industry, least of all the landed interest, and he was not one of those who regarded Free Trade as part of the Sermon on the Mount. But it was necessary to make sure that the system of reciprocal tariffs would really bind the Mother Country more closely to the Colonies. To run the risk of losing the customers who gave us two-thirds, if not three-quarters, of our trade, in order to oblige a customer who gave us a quarter or a third, would not be wise in our own interests, or even in that of our Colonial customer. If we could not give a preference to the Colonies, it must be remembered that the whole burden of Imperial defence was cheerfully borne by the Mother Country. For a day or two this utterance was interpreted diversely according to the wishes of the interpreters; but, on May 22, a letter appeared from Lord Rosebery's private secretary, declaring that Lord Rosebery was surprised that any one should regard his Burnley speech as giving some measure of support to Mr. Chamberlain's policy. He went on to say that it would not appear to him either seemly or judicious to dismiss summarily, and in advance, any plan proposed by a responsible Government for the consolidation of the Empire, but that for his part he believed the objections, which he had already indicated, to a policy of preferential tariffs to be insurmountable.

On the same evening the debate in the House of Commons on the second reading of an Aged Pensioners Bill was made the occasion by Mr. Chamberlain for throwing out one of those curious temporary developments of his fiscal projects which served to shake the confidence of not a few of those who might otherwise have been disposed to take him as their leader on the philosophy of taxation. The Bill, it should be said, was one of very large scope, being no less than a proposal that special committees of Boards of Guardians should be empowered to grant pensions, ranging from 5s. to 7s. per week, to all the "deserving poor" from the age of sixty-five. Mr. Remnant (*Holborn*), the Conservative Member, who moved the second reading, calculated that the conditions constituting deserving poverty would, to begin with, be fulfilled by nearly half a million of people, and that the pensions proposed would work out at

about 6,500,000*l.* sterling per annum, of which it was suggested that the Exchequer should provide 3,000,000*l.* and the rate-payers the remainder. Speeches in support of the Bill were made by several Members on both sides of the House. It was contrary to the usual Parliamentary practice that the Government should assent, as they did through Mr. Long, President of the Local Government Board, with a view to its being considered by a Select Committee, to the second reading of a measure requiring, if it were carried, great sums for the raising of which they had no scheme at present in view. But what most interested the public was the declaration extracted from Mr. Chamberlain, by the mocking challenge of Mr. Lloyd-George, that he did not think old age pensions a dead question. Before any Government, however, could consider a question of that kind, it must know where it was going to get the funds. He thought that it was not impossible to obtain them, but to do so would involve such a review of our fiscal system as he had indicated to be necessary and desirable at an early day.

In the House of Lords the same evening the second reading, moved by Lord James of Hereford, of the Outdoor Relief Bill, which would have restrained Boards of Guardians from taking into consideration any sum not exceeding 5*s.* a week received by an applicant from a friendly society, was refused by a majority of seven. This decision was plainly given with reluctance by not a few of those who took part in it, especially in view of the fact that the Bill had twice passed the Lower House. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Morley (Chairman of Committees) and other Peers held that the principle of the Bill was either unsound, or at least so doubtful that further inquiry ought to be made before legislating on such lines. Lord Northbrook, who took this view, gave notice that he would move, after Whitsuntide, for a Select Committee to consider the relations of friendly societies and other forms of thrift to the Poor Law relief, and the necessity, or otherwise, of making any change in the existing law.

On the motion for the adjournment of the House over the Whitsuntide recess on May 28 Sir Charles Dilke drew attention to the recent speeches of the Colonial Secretary on fiscal policy. He commented especially on Mr. Chamberlain's speech on Old Age Pensions, in which it was practically stated that the enormous sum of money required for the pensions could only be obtained by a duty on foreign imports. He could not understand how the amount of money required could be found from foreign imports unless food and raw materials were taxed. He further pointed out that on May 22 the Secretary of the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law) had stated in a speech at Chester that the speeches of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain on the fiscal question had evidently been concerted by the Government. This statement took those speeches entirely out of the category of personal utterances or of speeches only suggesting a policy

for the distant future. The assertion that there was concurrence amongst the leading members of the Government in the statements which had been made pointing to large duties on imports was, at the same time, hardly consistent with the action of the Government in repealing the Corn Tax, or the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in that connection. The House ought to know whether Mr. Chamberlain's views were endorsed by his colleagues. The people of this country, Sir C. Dilke maintained, were not going, for any fiscal advantage the Colonies were likely to give them, to raise the price of their food or put an end to their most-favoured-nation treaties; and he asked whether the Government intended to lay taxes on imports of food, of raw material and of half-manufactured goods. He was convinced that the new policy had not been thought out.

In reply Mr. Balfour first contended that the action of the Colonial Secretary in asking for a discussion of preferential duties was the inevitable outcome of the Colonial Conference. He then went on to ask whether, in view of altered circumstances which he pointed out, the time had not come for abandoning in its absolute form the doctrine that taxes were never to be imposed except for revenue. Were we to accept a situation which left us utterly helpless in all tariff negotiations? If foreign countries should take the view that our self-governing Colonies could be treated as separate nations we must resist their policy by fiscal retaliation. There must be a weapon to our hand with which to meet those who might attempt to disintegrate the Empire by fiscal means. The question whether we should be justified in raising revenue with the object of drawing the different portions of the Empire more closely together was certainly well worth consideration. No proposal had been made by any member of the Government for the taxation of raw materials; but if food was not to be taxed it would be impossible to carry out the scheme of the Colonial Premiers. There could, of course, be no return to the old Protectionist policy of taxing articles in the interests of trade. It was worth considering, however, whether by some arrangement with the Colonies we could secure an open market there for British manufactures, notwithstanding the prejudices on both sides which would have to be overcome. Finally, he asserted that there was no contradiction between Mr. Chamberlain's views and his own. He was not prepared to say that the Colonial Secretary's scheme was practicable, but he was sure that if the British Empire was to consist for ever of a number of isolated units it would be impossible for us to make great economic progress. In answer to a question by Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Balfour stated that there would be no change in the fiscal policy of the Government before a dissolution.

Mr. Chamberlain, who spoke later, denied that any absolute reversal of our fiscal policy was involved in the scheme which he had outlined, or that there was any difference between him-

self and the Premier. Before his suggestions could be carried into effect, however, a new mandate would have to be given to the Government by the country. No detailed plan could be placed before the country at the moment, but the principles involved needed full discussion, and he intimated that if the result of discussion should be to show that the people of this country were against any fiscal change allowing of counter attacks by us on foreign countries when they attacked our Colonies or ourselves, the idea of establishing closer relations would have to be dismissed, and a united Empire would be an impossibility. If a mandate were obtained he would call another Colonial Conference, and he believed that terms giving us as much as we could give the Colonies could be secured. If a preference was to be given to the Colonies a tax would have to be put on food. He did not think that it would be necessary to put any tax on raw material, but he would not bind himself for all time. The working man would have to be convinced that any extra expense to which he might be put would be covered by extra wages and also compensated for by social reforms, such as the institution of old-age pensions, which the additional funds which would be at the disposal of the Government would enable them to effect. Then the change in our fiscal system which he had adumbrated would enable us to defend our Colonies. Were such a system established now we should be able to convince Germany of the impolicy of her attack upon Canada. It would also enable us in times of depression to defend our own trade against the unjust competition of the gigantic trusts formed in America and Germany.

These debates gave evidence of the seeds of dissension which Mr. Chamberlain's policy had sown in the Unionist party. Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*) avowed his belief that, both from a political and a fiscal point of view, the Colonial Secretary was greatly mistaken. Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*), who followed Mr. Chamberlain, said that the move he was making meant a change, not only in historic English parties, but in the conditions of public life. The old Conservative party would disappear, and a new party would arise whose opinions would turn on tariffs, and who would cause the lobbies to be crowded with the touts of protected industries. What, Mr. Churchill asked, was the cause of the change? Never was the wealth of the country greater, or the trade returns higher, or the loyalty of the Colonies more pronounced. There was no popular demand for this departure.

During the Recess the fiscal question was much discussed, the speeches made and resolutions passed being, mainly, in a sense unfavourable to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. The more and the less Imperially minded of the Opposition leaders pronounced against them with equal emphasis. Sir Edward Grey, at Oxford (May 29), declared that "free trade had ceased to be merely an advantage, and had become a necessity." Mr.

Haldane, in Haddingtonshire, pointed out that free imports were essential to England in her industrial competition. At Perth (June 5), Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman denounced the Government for their "cuttle-fish policy" in raising this new issue; expressed the belief that, after a half-century's experience of free trade, to dispute it was like disputing the law of gravitation; and affirmed that for every one in the Colonies who would be benefited by preferential duties a head would be shoved under water at home. Sir W. Harcourt, from a sick-room, promised his best help towards the defeat of "this attempt to destroy the fiscal and commercial principles established by the great statesmen of the last half century, which have given contentment to all classes of the people." The annual congress of dock labourers, at Liverpool, a gathering of the Midland members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, at Birmingham, and the Co-operative Congress (June 2), at Doncaster, passed resolutions condemning the Colonial Secretary's projects.

On his part, the chief manifestation during the Recess was a letter to a working-man correspondent, whom he encouraged not to be disturbed by the hostility shown by various trade-union leaders to the idea of preferential tariffs, and, as he called it, "commercial fair-play." He proceeded to make the bold statement that even if the price of food were raised by a preferential tariff, the rate of wages would "certainly be raised in greater proportion. This," he said, "has been the case both in the United States and Germany." Then having touched on the importance of not going into negotiations with foreign countries "empty-handed," Mr. Chamberlain proceeded: "As regards old-age pensions, I would not myself look at the matter unless I were able to promise that a large scheme for the provision of such pensions to all who have been thrifty and well-conducted would be assured by a revision of our system of import duties."

There can be no doubt that this letter, with its confident treatment of complicated and doubtful issues, unfavourably affected public opinion.

The appointment of the promised Royal Commission on Trade Disputes and Trade Combinations was announced during the Recess. It consisted of the Lord-Advocate, Mr. A. Graham Murray, K.C., M.P. (chairman), Sir W. Lewis, Sir Godfrey Lushington, Mr. Arthur Cohen, K.C., and Mr. Sidney Webb. Though the last-named gentleman was one of the best-informed and most accomplished literary exponents of the merits of trade unions, the composition of the commission did not satisfy trade unionists, and was denounced on their part as too capitalistic.

When Parliament met again, on June 9, an extremely interesting and important debate took place on Mr. Chaplin's motion in favour of relieving tea rather than corn from taxation, though the House was prevented by the Speaker's ruling from entering into a general discussion of the fiscal question. Mr. Chaplin complained that the Government were proposing

to throw away 2,500,000*l.* of revenue without any justification, and that by their change of front they had put their followers in a most awkward position (which was very true). He was followed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who expressed regret that the tax should have been repealed, because in his opinion the vast increase of expenditure made it inexpedient to part with so important a source of revenue. At the same time, he considered that if the Ministry had repealed the corn tax because it was regarded by the farmers as containing the germ of Protection, and by others as an instrument for Colonial preference, they had grave reasons for what they did. Year after year, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the full authority of his colleagues, and without a whisper of disagreement from any of them, he had opposed Colonial preference, first with regard to wine, secondly with regard to sugar, and only the last year with regard to corn and flour. Only a few months previously the Government had ratified the Sugar Convention, binding it not to give preference on sugar to the sugar-growing Colonies. A vital change in the fiscal policy which had been accepted by the country for fifty years could only be made with the assent of the general opinion of the United Kingdom. The policy of the Colonial Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach affirmed, had divided, and, if persisted in, would destroy the Unionist party. He believed that it would be deeply injurious to the country, and would do more to disunite than unite the Empire. The ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer also made the interesting statement that if his protests against extravagant expenditure had received more sympathy from his colleagues he might not have been addressing the House as a private Member.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who spoke shortly after Sir M. Hicks-Beach, assured him that the Government were determined to reduce the national expenditure if it could be done consistently with national safety. With regard to the question of preferential treatment for the Colonies, he said that the Ministers who had spoken upon it had spoken only for themselves and not for the Government, and that their speeches amounted to this, that the question should be discussed and inquired into. For his part he should be surprised if inquiry should bring to light any practical means of carrying out Mr. Chamberlain's policy. He was himself a convinced free-trader; and, as at present advised, he could not be a party to a policy which in his opinion would be detrimental both to this country and to the Colonies. But, believing that the result of inquiry would be to confirm the views which he held, he agreed with his colleagues that there should be an investigation into this subject. This part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was delivered to the accompaniment of loud Opposition cheers.

Dealing with the amendment before the House, he contended that there were no grounds for the assertions which were made as to the advantage of the corn tax to the farmer and as to the

evils which would follow its repeal. After announcing that the importation of molasses for feeding purposes was to be encouraged in the interests of dairy farmers by a remission of duty, he dealt with the effect of the corn tax upon the consumer, whom it was said not to injure. But he pointed out that flour had certainly risen in price, and he argued that this must affect either the price or the quality of bread. In any case it could not be maintained that people who made their own bread did not feel the tax. It was upon the poorest of the community that the tax fell most heavily. That was the consideration which had influenced him most. He denied that there was any inconsistency in taking off a tax which was imposed mainly for the war.

Sir Henry Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) said that the present Government had to an unprecedented extent weakened the undivided responsibility of the Cabinet. A Cabinet Minister was not at liberty on great questions of public policy to pronounce his own individual opinions. The country believed them to be the opinions of his colleagues, and although the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Cabinet was not understood to be responsible for all the speeches of all its members, the Cabinet was responsible for all the actions of its members. It was trifling with the interests of the people, it was trifling with the Colonies and with the great commercial nations of the world to leave this question unsettled.

Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*) declared that the effect of raising the price of food would be that a number of people who were at present getting a living wage would be plunged into the class of those who were not, and the people who were at present not getting a living wage would be pressed down into still greater poverty and hunger. It was said that wages would rise, but that had never been proved, and at any rate it would not happen immediately. The people would have to fight for increased wages. What would be the condition of the rising generation meanwhile? As it was, the condition of the people of this country, and especially of the rising generation, was such that unless something were done speedily to improve it the country would degenerate in physique.

Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), after calling attention to the different voices with which the Government spoke on the repeal of the corn tax, said that they were entitled to know whether the decision was to be a final and permanent expression of the mind of the House. He thought that it was very dangerous to raise expectations on the part of the Colonies that could not be fulfilled without the sacrifice of the vital principle that this country should have the food for its workers cheap, and any Minister who, knowing how delicate was the position in which the Colonies stood to the Mother Country, went out of his way to tempt the Colonies in a matter of that kind, incurred a grave and serious responsibility.

Further evidence of the existence of two strong currents of divergent opinion within the Government was afforded by the speech of Mr. Elliot (*Durham*), the recently appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He said that, being then a private Member, he supported the corn tax as a Free Trader in want of revenue in the previous year. The position was now changed, and they were taking off taxation so as to relieve the pressure on the poorer classes of the people. Moreover, there had been a certain change in the atmosphere, which required that Free Traders should not be ashamed of their colours. From a Protectionist duty on corn, which some desired, the transition would be easy to other articles. In his view it was a great and grand ideal that under the British flag, wherever the Home Government had control, the British subject, of whatever colour he might be, was free to buy his commodities at the market price. He felt with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the more inquiry there was the more the public would find that one of the main causes of our prosperity and power lay in the cheapness of food and raw material. The debate was resumed on the 10th, and afforded striking evidences of dissensions in the Ministerial ranks, Mr. A. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*) and Sir J. B. Maple (*Dulwich*) supporting Mr. Chaplin's amendment, and Mr. Seely (*Lincoln*) and Sir E. Vincent (*Exeter*), a considerable financial authority, expressing their satisfaction at the repeal of the corn duty and at Mr. Ritchie's Free Trade declarations.

Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), after asking whether *Requiescat* or *Resurgam* was to be engraved on the tombstone of the corn tax, went on to remark, first ironically and then seriously, on the extraordinary discrepancy between the positions occupied by leading Ministers. This, he said, was a matter going far beyond the subject immediately before the House. Here were two Ministers of the Crown, one, the Colonial Secretary, constitutionally responsible for the management of the relations between this country and the outlying parts of the Empire, the other, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, responsible for the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom and a great part of the Empire. These two Ministers, if they were of the same mind in which they were two days ago, were propounding irreconcilably divergent views on a matter affecting most vitally the unity of the Empire and the fiscal arrangements and prosperity of the country. Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) wondered how the Free Traders in the Cabinet liked to see Free Trade paraded round the country by some of their colleagues with a halter round its neck. An inquiry, he said, was vaguely talked of; but, in fact, there was a crusade going on, in which different Ministers took opposite sides.

In his reply on the whole debate, Mr. Balfour said that the corn tax was brought in as a non-protective duty and simply for revenue, which revenue was not now needed. There was no

inconsistency, therefore, in taking it off, although some of the farmers and millers said that it really did benefit them, and objected to its being taken off. He had not been aware, when the tax was imposed, how heavily it bore on the raw materials used by the farmer in his industry. There was a tax upon the raw material of the farmer amounting to between one-fourth and one-fifth of the whole tax. Proceeding to the subject which chiefly interested the House, the Prime Minister denied that absolute uniformity of opinion could be expected from members of a Government. It was enough if there was common action and common responsibility. No tax on food, he believed, would ever be put on in this country, except with the full assent of the workers both in town and country. But, at the same time, he did not think that the ancient and traditional fiscal system was the most valuable or the only system under which they could live. As regarded the question of retaliation, his doubts as to their present position were of no new birth. In 1881 he had said that it would be impossible to negotiate tariffs on favourable terms unless this country had the power of retaliation. But since 1881 the foreign tariff wall had steadily increased; there had been an enormous growth of the trusts system; and the Colonies had expressed a desire for closer union to this country by fiscal means. He was in the position of a Prime Minister confronted with problems of great difficulty, as at different periods were Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone. But, unlike them, instead of examining the problem in secrecy and silence, he was determined to conduct the investigation in the full light of day. He would be guilty of a breach of duty if he were to profess a settled conviction where no conviction existed, or to attempt to make, at this date, the definite declaration of fiscal policy to which he was urged.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that the pronouncement of Mr. Chamberlain had taken the fiscal question out of the region of pious opinion into the region of practical action. Mr. Chamberlain had declared that it was the question on which the next general election was to be decided. The proposal was to tax anew the food of the people. But it appeared that not only was there a submerged tenth in the population; there was a submergeable third. The effect of taxing the food of the people would be to turn the submergeable into the submerged.

Mr. Chaplin's amendment was lost on a division by the immense majority of 424 votes to 28, the Opposition voting, of course, in support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The smallness of the minority afforded, it was plainly seen, no measure of the extent of the division within the Unionist ranks, and as to the Ministry itself the concordat indicated by Mr. Balfour's and other speeches was recognised as being of a hollow and temporary character.

In the resumed debate on the Finance Bill on June 12 Mr. Joseph Walton (*Barnsley, W. R., Yorks*) objected to the in-

creased expenditure, the inadequate provision for reduction of the national debt (on which point Sir E. Vincent also laid stress), the failure to provide for the relief of indirect and direct tax-payers on equitable lines, and to the retention of the coal tax. Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*) criticised the manner in which Estimates were presented. There was no capital account. Succeeding years were saddled with the proper expenses of the current year. What the Chancellor of the Exchequer called capital expenditure was really expenditure in diminution of loans made for certain purposes. The control of the House over expenditure was inadequate.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook to exercise all the influence he could for keeping down expenditure. But he did not speak hopefully of his prospects of success. The temper of the House of Commons, he pointed out, was not economical. In regard to naval outlay, no decrease could be looked for in the absence of an international arrangement. Economies in the Army might come, he hoped, but only slowly. He thought the Colonies ought to make larger contributions towards Imperial defence. With regard to the sinking fund, it was very much larger than it was in the time of Sir Stafford Northcote, and in a year or two would be proportionately very much larger than ever before. The Finance Bill was shortly after read a second time.

On the same day (June 12) Lord Rosebery, speaking at a meeting of the Liberal League, said that it was with pain and grief that he found himself unable to support Mr. Chamberlain's scheme so far as he understood it. A British Zollverein had been spoken of, but that could never be in the same sense as in Germany or in the United States of America, owing to the distances at which our Colonies were from the Mother Country, and in view of which different tariffs would be needed to establish fair play between the various Colonies. The Empire had been built up on Free Trade and on the condition that every self-governing part of it should have the right to work out its own progress and its own prosperity in its own way. The system under which we had lived had enabled us to bear the great but grateful burden of Empire, and in that respect, at any rate, it was surely not to be passed on one side. Would this policy have the effect of cementing the Empire? He thought not if it were carried out; and if it were not carried out, the ineffectual raising of the question would do great, perhaps irreparable, damage to the Empire. Then the new policy would be injurious to the growing good understanding with the United States. Such a policy should only have been proposed after the most secret inquiry, and only on the responsibility of a united Government. He spoke as an Imperialist who had been at work on these questions for some twenty-three years.

In the House of Lords on June 15 Lord Goschen, greatly to the public advantage and instruction, exercised the large liberties

attaching to discussion of public questions by the Peers. He called attention to recent declarations of his Majesty's Government on the subject of preferential tariffs, and moved for papers. He appealed to the Duke of Devonshire, the leader of the House, to pronounce himself with as much frankness as had characterised some of his colleagues in the Ministry. In discussing the effects of a tax on food, Lord Goschen said: "Suppose we had made a bargain with our Colonies, and suppose that before long dear bread should ensue, not from this protective duty only but from other causes, such as short crops and other defects, may there not be a considerable popular feeling calling for the repeal of that tax? But however much that repeal may be asked for, however great the pressure put upon us, we are tied hand and foot, we have agreed with the Colonies: and we should have to go to the Colonies and ask them, perhaps after vested interests had grown up in consequence of the privilege we had granted, to tear the arrangements up which we had made." Would dearer food (as Mr. Chamberlain had said) mean higher wages? By what actual process, and whose wages were to be raised? "Let us analyse it," said Lord Goschen, "and look at the different classes affected. Take first the case of the vast body of men who are employed by the Government, by municipalities and by public bodies. Are we to pay the dockyard hands higher wages? If so, the difference in the charge will have to come out of the taxation of food which has been pledged for old-age pensions. . . . Are the wages of all post office employés, of all the railway men, to be raised? Who will take the responsibility of saying: 'Let us put a tax on food and I will guarantee to you all that your wages shall be raised?' I say that is a tremendous responsibility, and one which I for one would be most reluctant to undertake. What would become of the industries remaining unprotected? They would all have to pay an increase in the price of food without any compensating advantages, so far as I can see, such as the protected industries might gain." Then there was the lower middle class, the clerks, men who were as poor as or poorer than many of the working classes, and whose wages were kept down by competition. Was it seriously contended that their wages would be raised in consequence of a Protective tariff being applied to certain industries in the country? There was a time when there was some hope of a free breakfast-table; but under the present plan not only would there be no free breakfast-table, but no free dinner-table, tea-table or supper-table. Every meal would have to be taxed, and those vast classes would gain nothing by the imposition of a tax on food followed by higher wages. But another boon was promised, to be paid out of the tax on food. The money was to go to old-age pensions. To that he would make the obvious objection that, if the hopes of the authors of this plan were to be fulfilled and the Colonial wheat-growing area was to be

immensely increased, the taxes would diminish every year, and the amount which was being set aside to pay for old-age pensions would be a diminishing quantity. On the other hand, the liability for pensions once undertaken could never be stopped. "How," proceeded Lord Goschen, "is the money to be found? Every class who derived no benefit from the taxes on food would have to pay for old-age pensions, which at the time of their imposition would be considered as covered by the taxation on food. My lords, I call that a gamble. It is a gamble with the food of the people; and I trust that the noble Duke (of Devonshire) will tell us that in that gamble he will not take a hand." In conclusion, Lord Goschen accused the Colonial Secretary of despairing of the Empire, and urged that our statesmen must "endeavour to realise the fair dream of a cemented Empire without the nightmare of tampering with the people's food."

The Marquess of Lansdowne said that the plan proposed by Mr. Chamberlain was not one to which his Majesty's Government was irrevocably committed. It was a plan which had been put forward as a basis of discussion. The Canadian Government, he recalled, had desired to be relieved from the obligation of the treaty of 1865, which bound the Colonies to admit imports from other countries on as favourable terms as those of the Mother Country. The commercial treaty having been got rid of, an arrangement was eventually authorised by the German Federal Council, giving to this country and to the British Colonies the most-favoured-nation treatment, but excepting Canada. In the spring of the present year, Germany having refused to listen to any representations, the Canadian Government placed a surtax on imports from Germany. In the course of correspondence arising out of this the British Government had been given to understand that Canada was liable to further differential treatment from Germany, and that if other Colonies followed her example in giving a preference to the Mother Country Germany would refuse most-favoured-nation treatment to Great Britain. Lord Lansdowne said it was necessary that the Government should have the power of retaliation in order to negotiate with foreign Governments. Great Britain was in the position of a man who in some lawless country entered unarmed a room in which every one else carried a revolver. If she reserved to herself the right to retaliate against hostile tariffs, she would have a much larger revolver than any one else, because her market was the largest in the world.

The Marquess of Ripon, Lord Brassey and the Earl of Jersey all spoke against Mr. Chamberlain's proposals from points of view created, or fortified, by experience of Imperial administration. Lord Balfour of Burleigh declared that he would welcome an inquiry, but he adhered to the general principles of Free Trade, and had little expectation that inquiry would show the desirability of reversing our existing fiscal policy.

The Duke of Devonshire, after paying a warm tribute to the tone and quality of Lord Goschen's speech, maintained that no convinced and rational Free Trader could take exception to fiscal inquiry or discussion. After half a century we had not got free interchange between nations, but free imports on one side, and exports elaborately hampered by fiscal barriers on the other. He himself was still—to coin a not very elegant appellation—a Free Importer, but he could not object to inquiry directed to ascertain whether the ideals of the first Free Traders might not be further advanced towards realisation. The raising and strengthening of hostile tariffs, the formation and growth of enormous trusts capable of disorganising the course of trade and industry, and the great development of some of the Colonies, who now manifested a strong desire for closer political relations with the Mother Country, and especially for some form of fiscal unity—all these were events worthy of inquiry. But the first and fundamental element of any inquiry was the investigation of the economic effects likely to be produced by any changes in our system involving the taxation of food imports, not upon any special industry, or upon the political relations between ourselves and the Colonies, or between ourselves and other countries, but upon the general condition of our people, and on the whole and not only a part of our trade and industry, internal as well as external. The prosperity of our staple industries was of vast importance, but it was essential to know what would be the effect of the proposed policy on those minor trades and the industries which supported them, and which, taken together, the Duke conceived greatly exceeded in volume and importance any one of the staple industries themselves. Again, the effect of food taxes on the vast internal trade of the country must be considered.

"I do not think," proceeded the Duke, "it has been sufficiently remembered that, whether our fiscal system be a right one or not, we are living in conditions that have been brought about by a system of free imports, and we must take those conditions as we find them. Those conditions are not in every respect as satisfactory as we could desire. No doubt the wealth of the country has increased, no doubt the business of the country has increased. At the same time, the population of the country has increased, perhaps almost to an equal extent; and, in spite of our national wealth, in spite of the prosperity of the people employed in some of our great industries, there are to-day millions of people for whom the margin between themselves and famine is very slender. My Lords, it is Free Trade, or, rather, free imports—it is cheap food which is responsible for having brought those millions into existence. We have to deal, not, perhaps, with the best possible organisation of society in our country; we have to deal with it under conditions which have been brought about by our present fiscal system, and we must be very careful indeed before we alter

those conditions in a manner which may possibly reduce the margin which now exists between those people and want. . . . These are questions, I think, which any one who professes to be a statesman will admit cannot be solved simply by counting votes at a general election. And for myself I say that, if I knew that every working man who possesses the Parliamentary franchise was prepared to give his vote in favour of trying this experiment, and if I knew that our Colonies were ready to meet us in that experiment as fully as we could desire, I would not be a party to a trial of that experiment unless I were convinced in my heart and conscience that that experiment was justified on sound economic grounds, and that there was reason to believe that it would tend to the benefit of the great masses of the people as well as to that of some of the more favoured sections of the working classes. . . . If these proposed changes are economically sound, then there is no question that they will be politically expedient. On the other hand, if these political advantages—I admit they are great—can only be purchased at the expense of privation, hardship and discontent on the part of our own people, then I say I can conceive no policy which would more certainly or more swiftly tend to the dissolution and disintegration of our Imperial Empire. The policy of preferential treatment of our Colonies founded on the taxation of food would be a policy which would be either irrevocable or, if reversed, the reversal must be attended with the most serious and grave consequences." On the other hand, the Duke said, he could conceive "that an experiment in the direction of retaliation might be tried, and, if found not to succeed, that it might be reversed without any serious injury to any great national interests." He went on to say that the fiscal inquiry would be undertaken by the Government themselves. The burden of proof, he agreed with Lord Rosebery, would rest upon those who proposed fiscal change. Ultimately it would be for Parliament and the people to determine whether the facts and arguments which Mr. Chamberlain might bring forward substantiated the case which he had opened.

With reference to the question on which so much had been said of Ministerial differences of opinion on a subject of such magnitude, the Duke quoted, as an authority which had never been disputed, a passage from a speech by Macaulay in the House of Commons, setting forth the number and importance of the questions which had been treated as "open" in Mr. Pitt's Cabinet without detracting from its dignity and efficiency. He admitted that the Governmental position was difficult, but denied that it was "impossible," and on those who thought otherwise he pressed in a humorous vein the question which of the Ministers ought to have resigned. He concluded a speech of exceptional interest by reiterating his belief that the best friends of Free Trade would be found to be those who were willing usefully to enter into a full and fair inquiry as to its

consequences and results. "I believe for myself," he said, "that the result of any such inquiry will be to establish more firmly the essential principles which underlie our policy, although it may be found possibly that some modification and alteration of our arrangements may tend to strengthen and consolidate a system founded on such principles."

For the moment the effect of the debate in the House of Lords just summarised was to produce a perceptible relaxation in the tension of public feeling. While Lord Goschen's speech was recognised as containing a masterly and comprehensive statement of the criticisms which fiscal innovators would have to encounter, the Duke of Devonshire's exposition of the theory of the "inquiry" somewhat pacified Free Trade Unionists. Lord Lansdowne's speech also did something to stimulate a feeling that some action, whether fiscal or otherwise, might be necessary to meet foreign fiscal attacks on the freedom of British inter-Imperial relations. The Opposition, meanwhile, had taken nothing, and, indeed, seemed temporarily to lose some of the advantage which they had apparently been gaining as the party solid in defence of the existing fiscal system, from their hurried treatment of the Colonial aspect of the new policy. This arose out of the publication, which happened on June 11, of the following telegram from Sir Harry Rawson, Governor of New South Wales, to Mr. Chamberlain, which was received at the Colonial Office on June 6:—

"My Government recognise that preferential trade will be directly advantageous to Australia by securing her a market for her natural products; and, believing that this policy is in the highest degree conducive to the welfare and solidarity of the Empire and the union of British-speaking people, strongly support your proposal to investigate the practicability of such a preference. Also, realising that what is Canada's turn to-day may be Australia's to-morrow, they express great satisfaction at the declaration by the British Government that every self-governing Colony shall be secured in the free exercise of its right to enter into closer trade relations with the Mother Country."

On the same day Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman elicited from Mr. Balfour that he did not know what declaration was referred to in the last sentence of the above telegram, but that certainly the Government could not look on with indifference while a British Colony was being penalised for exercising its right to enter into specially favourable relations with the Mother Country. There appearing to be some reason to suppose that the New South Wales Government regarded the whole policy referred to with sympathy in Sir H. Rawson's message as having been adopted by the Imperial Government, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, on June 17, moved the adjournment of the House of Commons in order to discuss the matter as one of urgent public importance. He urged that hopes and expectations were

being roused in the Colonies which were not likely to be fulfilled, and in that case there would be bitterness and disappointment. He also expressed fear lest the country should be step by step, and unconsciously, committed to a fiscal policy which it had never approved.

Mr. Balfour did not lose the opportunity thus afforded him. After taunting the leader of the Opposition with narrowing the issue, instead of boldly moving a vote of censure on the Government, he maintained that there was no misapprehension on the part of the New South Wales Government. They favoured the investigation desired by his Majesty's Government, and they were satisfied by the declaration that every self-governing Colony would be secured in the free exercise of its inter-Imperial fiscal rights. Would the right hon. gentleman, he asked, be content to sit still and do nothing if foreign countries were to penalise our Colonies for drawing closer to the Mother Country? There would, indeed, be disappointment if the Liberals were to come into power and abandon the Colonies. He added later that he had not committed himself to the proposition that our Colonies could only be secured in the free exercise of the rights in question by retaliation. But, should that be necessary, he would not shrink from it.

Sir E. Grey having asked whether on this occasion the Prime Minister was speaking for the Government as a whole, Mr. Chamberlain assured the House that it was so, when Mr. Balfour said that the Colonies ought to be secured in their right to enter into closer fiscal relations with the Mother Country. Having recalled the circumstances which had led to Germany's penalising Canada for giving us a preference, he stated that in the German Press it had been avowed that the object was not only to punish Canada, but also to deter all other Colonies from favouring us. The Government disapproved of a policy which made such treatment of our Colonies possible. It was, as he had said before, a humiliating position that we could not come to the assistance of our Colonies in such circumstances; and it was a fact worth noting that no more was heard of further discrimination by Germany against our Colonies now that it was believed that the patience of this country was exhausted. The Leader of the Opposition had not correctly gauged the state of opinion in the Colonies if he thought that this question was not urgent. Canada, he declared, ought not to be forced to seek elsewhere the reciprocal trade denied to her here. It was the Colonies, he reminded the Opposition, who raised this issue in the first instance.

The motion for adjournment was rejected by 252 votes against 132, and the position of the Government was, for a brief space, improved.

The Irish Land Bill was considered in committee of the House of Commons on several days in the second half of June and the first half of July, and it will be convenient at this point

to indicate broadly the results of that consideration. The general scope of the measure as introduced has been exhibited on pp. 86-7. One leading feature in which the Bill followed, though with variations, the recommendations of the Land Conference was in the establishment of what was known as the "zone" system in regard to prices. The first clause proposed that, in the case of estates sold under the measure, the price should be so fixed as that the amount of the instalments to be paid by the purchasing tenants to the State, which should pay off the landlord, should show a reduction of between 10 and 30 per cent. in the case of second term, and between 20 and 40 per cent. in the case of first term, rents. On three days—June 15, 16 and 17—Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) and the Irish Nationalist Members, with a good deal of support from the front Opposition Bench, from which Mr. Morley, Sir E. Grey and Sir R. T. Reid spoke, strove by various amendments to secure the abolition or raising of the maximum limit of reduction and the raising of the minimum one. Mr. Wyndham refused to yield on these points, though expressing his readiness to increase the range of exceptions to the "zone" system. Thus he said that non-judicial tenancies might be excepted, free bargains being allowed in such cases between landlord and tenant, and the bonus offered by the Bill being given. But as to the great proportion of holdings the "zone" system must, he contended, be maintained, with a view to expediting and cheapening the progress of land purchase by avoiding expensive legal delays, and also with a view to preventing the acceptance of absurdly low prices by life-tenants of estates anxious to pocket the bonus. The Chief Secretary, to gratify the Nationalists, made one extremely questionable concession, in the withdrawal (June 17) of the provision for the retention by the State of a perpetual rent charge, amounting, according to the proposal in the Bill, to one-eighth of the annuity payable by the tenant. The facility with which Mr. Wyndham abandoned what he had indicated as a safeguard in the hands of the State against the dangers of excessive burdening of the purchasers' holdings was not favourably regarded by thoughtful observers. The Bill, however, included, and retained, a clause (ultimately 54) prohibiting subdivision and subletting, or the mortgaging of any holding beyond ten times the purchase annuity, and making null and void any charging instrument in so far as any such excess was created. Mr. Wyndham's complaisance did not clear difficulties out of the way. The Nationalist amendments upon the "zone" system were defeated, but by majorities much below the normal Ministerial standard, and the Bill was evidently in peril.

To see the actual defeat of a measure offering such boons would not, however, have been by any means agreeable to the constituents of Nationalist Members. The Government, on the other hand, were very anxious to push through an agrarian

settlement of some kind. And so it came about that on June 24 the difficulty disappeared. Mr. Wyndham explained that he had no desire to penalise free bargaining outside the zones, if that were desired by both tenants and landlords (and apparently that was so); but when such a bargain was made the bonus would have to be treated as part of the purchase money until it had been ascertained whether or not the terms agreed upon were fair to all parties interested—such as remainder men, encumbrancers and mortgagees. Of course this alternative procedure could not be quite as rapid or as cheap as that taking place within the zones. He concluded by moving a new subsection to Clause 1, sanctioning advances in any case if the Land Commission were satisfied with the security, and if, after giving all persons interested an opportunity of being heard, they considered the agreed price to be equitable, having regard to all such interests.

Leading representatives of both sides in Ireland vied with one another in congratulating Mr. Wyndham on the conciliatory and statesmanlike disposition which he had shown; his amendment was agreed to, and the rest of the passage of the Bill was through comparatively smooth waters. The chief subsequent alterations made may, therefore, be very briefly referred to. The limit placed by previous Purchase Acts on the size and importance of farms, the purchase of which was to be aided by the State, was raised (June 24), an advance up to 7,000*l.* instead of only 5,000*l.* being sanctioned, as the maximum in the case of a single purchaser. Clause 3, which was designed to facilitate the continued residence in the country of landlords whose estates should be sold, by authorising the Land Commission to purchase demesnes and to resell them to landlords, was passed, after a brief and friendly discussion, with no amendments of consequence. Clause 15, which was of interest in the same connection, was made to provide that where an estate was sold sporting rights might, by agreement, be either conveyed to the tenant or expressly reserved to the landlord. The same clause (passed June 30), it should be added, reserved to the Land Commission in all cases of sale under the Purchase Acts (otherwise than on repurchased demesnes) the exclusive mineral rights (excepting with regard to stone, gravel, sand or clay, which were left to the tenants)—such rights to be “disposed of by the Commission in a manner hereafter to be provided by Parliament.” This did not apply to mines already in operation.

By Clause 17 (or 19 in the Act as ultimately passed) a peculiar and somewhat Irish form of compulsion was brought to bear, in advance, upon minorities of tenants who might stand in the way of purchase transactions. As the Bill was originally drawn, if three-fourths of the tenants in number and rateable value on an estate purchased by the Land Commission, should agree to purchase their holdings, and the remaining fourth failed to recognise the advantages of such a transaction,

the recalcitrants would have been deprived of the right of having their rents judicially fixed in future. To this indirect species of pressure Nationalist Members objected. Mr. T. W. Russell, who shared their objection, suggested, and Mr. Wyndham accepted (June 30), a more drastic form of compulsion, in virtue of which the Estates Commissioners, in the case supposed, might, if they thought fit, "order that the remaining tenants, or any of them," should be "deemed to have accepted the offers," which in fact they had not accepted. The facilities at the disposal of the Congested Districts Board for dealing with their special problems were increased, and some stimulus to their operations supplied, by a series of clauses (70-82). The bonus to vendors under the Bill was fixed at 12 per cent. of the purchase money in all cases.

On July 8 the committee was pleasantly concluded. The Bill was considered on report on July 17, when Mr. Wyndham proposed certain modifications of Clause 2, the effect of which was to facilitate the application—already intended and indicated—of the Act to aid the purchase of their former holdings by evicted tenants (the "wounded soldiers of the land war," as they were called), or their representatives. Mr. Dillon and Mr. W. O'Brien expressed in strong terms their sense of the ample loyalty with which the Chief Secretary had carried out the expectations he had raised on this subject. The same cordial tone marked the tributes paid to Mr. Wyndham's conduct of the Bill, offered by the Nationalist Members, on the occasion (July 21) of its third reading. Mr. J. Redmond indeed was careful to place on the Government the responsibility for any difficulty or disappointment which might arise from their non-acceptance of various amendments which the Irish Members considered material for the carrying out of the views of the Land Conference. Still, he recognised that the measure was a "great" one. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman joined in the eulogies of Mr. Wyndham, and expressed hopeful, though not sanguine, views as to the working of the Bill. On behalf of the taxpayer Mr. Lambert (*S. Molton, Devon*), and as a land nationaliser Mr. Cremer (*Shoreditch*), raised voices of protest, but the opponents of the third reading only mustered 20 against 317.

There was general satisfaction when it was found that the King's Government had taken a line, diplomatically, indicative of the national abhorrence of the ghastly murder of the King and Queen of Servia. Lord Lansdowne announced, on June 19, in the House of Lords that Sir George Bonham, our representative at Belgrade, had been instructed to avoid doing anything which might be construed as an official recognition of the Provisional Government, or as pledging our Government to acknowledge any new authority that might be set up. Three of the great Powers, the Foreign Secretary added—France, Germany and Italy—were maintaining the same attitude, but Russia and Austria were understood to be prepared to recognise

the new *régime*. Russia, however, appeared to have made it plain that she expected the punishment of the persons concerned in the crime. On June 22 it was announced that Sir George Bonham had been withdrawn from Belgrade.

A final protest was entered against the repeal of the corn tax on June 22, in committee on the Finance Bill, when Mr. Chaplin moved the rejection of Clause 1, and denounced the Chancellor of the Exchequer for having entered into an unnatural alliance with the Opposition.

In his reply Mr. Ritchie contended that the duty had not raised the price of home-grown corn or helped the farmer, while the consumer had been forced to bear the cost of the duty. His chief reason for repealing the tax was that it was felt by the poorest of the poor. It had been taken off, he said, on his recommendation, and with the unanimous consent of his colleagues. The amendment was rejected by 416 votes to 32. At the evening sitting there was an interesting debate, raised by Mr. Lewis (*Flint Dist.*), on the income tax. Mr. Ritchie stated that he proposed to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to examine into the incidence of the tax. He hoped that something more equitable in its working than the present system of abatements might be devised, but he was inclined to regard as insuperable the difficulties in the way of complete graduation. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach announced his willingness to accept the chairmanship of the committee; but his view of the probable results of its investigations, as he indicated, was not more extensive than that of Mr. Ritchie.

In the resumed debate in committee on the Finance Bill, on June 23, Mr. Joseph Walton (*Barnsley, W.R., Yorks*) moved a new clause to repeal the export duty on coal. Mr. Ritchie said the official information in regard to the coal trade at his disposal showed a distinct increase in output, export and number of men employed. Wages were not so high as in 1900, which was an abnormal year, but they were higher than in 1898 and 1899. The figures certainly seemed to show that the tax fell upon the foreigner, though it was not easy to prove. He could not consent to any change, at any rate during the present year, in view of the condition of national finance, but he would consider the suggestion of the substitution of an *ad valorem* duty for the present tax, provided the duty were to be permanent. The proposed clause was rejected by 273 votes against 135, and the Finance Bill shortly afterwards passed through committee.

A conference of Unionist Members at the House of Commons (June 24), to consider Mr. Chamberlain's proposals was attended by 100 Unionists, but the Unionist Free Traders held aloof from it. It resulted in the passing of a resolution welcoming the decision of his Majesty's Ministers to undertake an inquiry into the present fiscal system of the United Kingdom, and offering support to them in ascertaining the results of foreign tariffs

and the most effective means of defending and promoting the industries of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of securing the consolidation of the Empire.

An interesting debate on the second reading of Lord Grey's Bill for the abolition of the Royal Declaration on Accession took place in the House of Lords on June 25. The Archbishop of Canterbury said that the nation was determined that the Sovereign should not be a Roman Catholic, and every reasonable security should be provided for giving effect to this resolve, but the existing Declaration was an anachronism, and gave needless pain. It would, he held, be possible to devise a Declaration which would not be offensive or denunciatory, but which would afford as complete a safeguard. The Duke of Norfolk, who spoke later, had heard no arguments to show that the Coronation Oath, pledging the Sovereign positively to maintain the "Protestant Reformed Religion established by law," did not cover the ground. The Duke of Devonshire, however, opposed the Bill, though the Government, he said, would be willing, as in 1901, to legislate on a fitting opportunity for the modification of the form of the Declaration, whenever the Roman Catholics ceased to claim, as then, a fundamental change in it. Lord Rosebery spoke unhopefully. He held that a Protestant declaration must involve some such repudiation as Lord Llandaff objected to. On a division the Bill was rejected by 109 to 62.

On the Home Office vote in the House of Commons on the same day Sir Charles Dilke brought forward the question of lead-poisoning in the potteries, urging that more effective measures of prevention should be adopted, and touched also on the undesirable conditions under which, in some places, the fish-curing and fruit-preserving industries were carried on. Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-on-Trent*) objected to any further restrictions on the pottery industry. Several other Members having spoken on points connected with factory and workshop law administration, and Mr. Asquith having offered a few observations combining stimulus to further developments with general approval of what was being done in this sphere by the Home Office, the Home Secretary, Mr. Akers-Douglas, made a general reply. He thought the decrease in cases of lead-poisoning resulting from the special rules enforced in the potteries almost "marvellous," but further safeguards might have to be introduced, and he would keep the matter most seriously in view. To other points raised he promised watchful attention. There would have to be improvement in the fish-curing conditions at places like Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft. The question of more female factory inspectors for Ireland, where, according to Mr. Nannetti (*College Green, Dublin*), they were greatly needed, should be carefully looked into.

At the evening sitting the Home Secretary gave strong assurances as to the ability and zeal with which the Vivi-

section Act was administered by the inspectors, and as to his own sense of responsibility in the matter. Any *bond fide* charge of abuse would be sifted to the bottom.

Mr. Chamberlain was entertained at luncheon by the Constitutional Club on Friday, June 26, and was presented with an address on behalf of the club by Mr. Balfour. In the course of a speech eulogising in the strongest terms Mr. Chamberlain's services to Imperial unity, the Prime Minister took occasion to say that "it would be perfect folly on the part of the Conservative or the Unionist party to make particular opinions on economic subjects a test of party loyalty." The Prime Minister added some general observations on the fiscal question, in the course of which he referred sympathetically, if guardedly, to the idea of an Imperial fiscal union, and urged the importance of, if possible, securing "freedom of negotiation" for the purpose of promoting free commercial intercourse with other nations. Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech of acknowledgment, said he was told that it was the main feature of his plan to increase the cost of the poor man's food. If it were so it would be serious. But supposing—which he did not believe—that the whole burden of the tax fell on the consumer, and that the tax upon corn increased the price of bread, did that necessarily increase the cost of living? If the increased cost of bread were met by a proportionate decrease on some other articles, either of consumption or that were necessary for comfort, the cost of living would not be increased in the slightest degree. Mr. Chamberlain went on to argue that, taking the interest he always had taken in the question of old-age pensions, it was natural that, in view of the new sources of revenue which his new fiscal policy opened up, he should suggest the application of a portion of the receipts of the Exchequer towards an object so near his heart. But, he said, this suggestion has "no part whatever in the question of a reform in our fiscal policy." "When we have the money then will be the time to say what we shall do with it. . . . If the working classes refuse to take my advice, if they prefer this immediate advantage, why, it stands to reason that if, for instance, they are called upon to pay 3d. a week additional on the cost of their bread, they may be fully, entirely relieved by a reduction of a similar amount in the cost of their tea, their sugar, or even their tobacco. In that case, what is taken out of one pocket would be put back into the other. There is no working-man in the kingdom, no man, however poor, who need fear under the system I propose that without his goodwill his cost of living will be increased by a single farthing."

Henceforward the association of a provision for old-age pensions with the new fiscal policy, which had been so strongly emphasised in Mr. Chamberlain's letter to a working-man (see p. 143), was but little heard of, and the assurance of immediate compensation for any possible enhancement in the

price of bread by a reduction of duties on other articles of consumption became a usual feature of the propaganda.

Reference was naturally made to these speeches in a debate which, under the elastic procedure of the House of Lords, was raised by Lord Portsmouth on June 29. He called attention to Mr. Chamberlain's speeches and the recent negotiations with Germany in respect of her discrimination against Canada, and asserted that Canadian preference had been of very little service to British manufacturers, our percentage of the imports into Canada having declined since 1896, while the United States still had the advantage over us in the matter of Canadian tariffs. Lord Lansdowne declared that the time had come when the Government considered that they should find some means of ascertaining whether it was possible to obtain closer fiscal union with the Colonies, so as to protect them if they were penalised for offering preferential treatment to ourselves. He suggested that we also ought to find some means of protecting British industries against inequitable competition. Lord Rosebery asked the Government to take the country into their confidence, and make public inquiry by means of a Royal Commission. He suspected that the indefinite inquiry of which they spoke was only a mechanism for holding the Cabinet together. Lord Selborne, naturally retorting that Lord Rosebery spoke "with authority on what was meant by a disunited Cabinet," said that the inquiry could not be dealt with by a Royal Commission. It must be "an inquest of the nation by all its parties and by all its Press." Lord Goschen asked that, at any rate, the precise questions to be submitted for this grand inquest should be defined, and protested that it was not fair that the case should be prejudiced by speeches from Ministers. Was the question of a tax on corn to be put before the country? The Duke of Devonshire said that the tax on corn was not a proposal which the Government had made. He admitted, however, that it was one of the questions which must form part of the inquiry. He could not see that there was any just ground for the complaints made by some Peers against Mr. Balfour's and Mr. Chamberlain's speeches at the Constitutional Club as prejudicing the inquiry. To him they seemed well calculated to add to the public knowledge of the nature of the inquiry.

The subject was again taken up in the House of Lords on July 2, for which day Lord Rosebery had given notice "to make further inquiry as to the investigations by his Majesty's Government into our fiscal system." Affirming that the Government during the last month had done nothing less than put the very Empire itself at stake, he maintained that the so-called inquiry was no inquiry at all, but a *via media* for arranging the irreconcilable differences in the Cabinet. He drew the attention of the Duke of Devonshire to Mr. Chamberlain's statement that a system of preferential tariffs was the only system by which the Empire could be kept together, and asked whether

the Duke's endorsement of the speeches of the Colonial Secretary and the Prime Minister included that sentence. The Duke of Devonshire appeared to deny this, and stated that whether the result of an inquiry would be to join the Government in asking the country to give the Colonial Secretary the mandate he hoped to receive, or not, was a question that could only be decided after the inquiry. As to the nature of the inquiry, he said that it was absolutely impossible to expect to confine it within strictly defined limits. Finally, in answer to questions from Lord Tweedmouth and Lord Rosebery, the Duke stated that the Cabinet had already begun their inquiry.

In the newspapers of June 29 there was announced a most important addition to the hitherto unfortunately limited provision in this country for the most advanced technical teaching and research connected with the industrial applications of science. In a letter to Lord Monkswell, the chairman of the London County Council, Lord Rosebery stated that Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co., and other donors (including, as was soon understood, Lord Strathcona and Sir Ernest Cassel), had placed in his hands, as chairman of a body of trustees, a large sum of money to provide the building and equipment of a "London Charlottenburg." This institution would be a "school" of the University of London, affording facilities for instruction and original research to the most advanced students in such subjects as chemical technology, mining and metallurgy, electrochemistry, electric traction, bacteriology, railway and marine engineering, hydraulics and marine architecture. The building and equipment were estimated to cost about 300,000*l.*, and Lord Rosebery stated that a site of some four acres would probably be given at South Kensington by the Royal Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition. Among the trustees would be the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Balfour, Sir Francis Mowatt, Mr. Julius Wernher, Mr. Haldane, and the Vice-Chancellor and the Principal of London University, together with, if they would consent to act, representatives of the London County Council, as the technical education authority for London. The Council, it was hoped, would be willing to provide a sum of 20,000*l.* a year to maintain the institution.

Even an event so universally gratifying to enlightened citizens as the prospective establishment of a London Charlottenburg could not escape utilisation in the now all-pervading fiscal controversy. Thus, addressing a special meeting of the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation in Westminster (July 1), Mr. Asquith said that in the magnificent scheme launched that week in London for the better application of science to industry lay "the true road of retaliation; it was in the establishment and multiplication of institutions of that kind, in a wise and liberal use of the opportunities they afforded, that would be found the best means of meeting German or any other competition—far better and far more effective means than

a thousand import duties." In the same speech Mr. Asquith called attention to an "extraordinary sum in political arithmetic" performed by Mr. Chamberlain at the Constitutional Club, when he "took the whole of our exports at 105,000,000*l.* to the whole of the British Dominions and divided them by the 10,000,000 white men who live in our self-governing Colonies, with the result that he brought out the magnificent figure of 10*l.* per head. But that sum," proceeded Mr. Asquith, "was a little vitiated by the trifling error of omitting to include the 300 odd millions of people who lived in India and the Crown Colonies. That showed how India went by the board." Mr. Chamberlain indeed, as was remarked by a not unsympathetic observer, was not always well coached in his new campaign. A significant symptom of the effect it was having towards the disintegration of the Unionist party was afforded by the meeting on the same day of Unionist Free Trade Members of Parliament to the number of fifty-four to organise action in defence of their fiscal principles. Mr. Henry Hobhouse presided, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach made a strong speech, in the course of which he declared it to be the duty of those whom he addressed to save the Unionist party from the crushing defeat which awaited it if it were committed to the imposition of protective duties on food. He drew attention in some detail to the impracticability of making up to the consumer the increased payments which would be necessary for food by any readjustment of the duties on tea, sugar and tobacco. In conclusion, he asserted that they were not the opponents but the friends of the Government, and it was their duty to educate the electors and save them from being misled.

Lord Goschen, who had been invited to be present as an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended those opposed to the protective taxation of food to be perfectly conciliatory but perfectly firm. These most dangerous fiscal proposals, he said, must be resisted, and he would do what he could. In the end a resolution was unanimously passed to examine the probable effect of the suggested fiscal changes on the unity of the Empire and the social and industrial welfare of the United Kingdom, and to take steps for placing before the country the objections entertained by the meeting to protective taxation on food imports. The committee was composed as follows: Mr. H. Hobhouse (chairman), Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. E. Beckett, Mr. B. Cavendish, Lord Hugh Cecil, Colonel Denny, Mr. Galloway, Sir J. Gorst, Mr. Goschen, Sir S. Hoare, Sir C. Renshaw, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Mr. Austin Taylor, Sir E. Vincent, Mr. Yarrow and Major Seely (secretary).

In Committee on the Navy Estimates (July 2) Mr. Arnold-Forster made the important announcement that, acting in accordance with the recommendation of the Steamship Subsidies Committee, the Admiralty had decided to terminate as early as possible the subsidies now paid for merchant vessels to be used

as cruisers in time of war. At the same time he conveyed that it might at a future day be considered advisable to pay subsidies for exceptionally high speed or some other special qualifications. General satisfaction was expressed at the Admiralty's decision in this matter. On the following day, in Committee of the whole House, in moving the resolution—which was agreed to—on which to found a new Naval Works Bill, Mr. Pretyman stated that it was proposed that the loans to be raised now and in future for purposes of this description should be repayable thirty years from the date of borrowing, instead of (as had been the case with previous loans of the same character) from 1895, the date of the first Naval Works Bill. The total estimated cost of all the items, old and new, included in the schedule of the measure would be 31,750,000*l.* Of this amount 21,000,000*l.* would have been provided when the 8,000,000*l.* which he now asked for had been voted. There would be left 10,000,000*l.* to be voted in future years. For expenditure on the old items sanctioned by the House a sum of 6,750,000*l.* was now necessary, and 1,250,000*l.* for beginning the new works. The first of these was the installation of electrical power in the dockyards. The second was the conversion of the dockyard at Sheerness into a special depôt where destroyers could be repaired. It was also proposed to construct a new torpedo range on the Medway and to lengthen the torpedo range at Portsmouth, and near Devonport a new gunnery school was to be established. At Chatham there was to be an increase of dockyard accommodation, and, as was known, there was to be a new naval base at St. Margaret's Hope. That was to be the name of the anchorage, and Rosyth the name of the shore establishment. The sum taken for the proposed works was 200,000*l.* With this the works could be begun, but, of course, the further expenditure would be very large. The area of land acquired was 1,178 acres and of foreshore 286 acres. The total price paid was 122,500*l.*

The President of the French Republic was received with the greatest cordiality when he returned King Edward's visit. He was welcomed by the King at Victoria Station on Monday, July 6, proceeded to St. James's Palace, where he stayed, and dined at Buckingham Palace. On Tuesday he lunched with a great and illustrious company at the Guildhall, and in reply to the Lord Mayor's address—a most happily phrased French speech, proposing his health—he selected for eulogy the services which Great Britain had rendered in securing the triumph in the modern world of "her principles of liberty." On Wednesday the President visited Windsor Castle, and, after proceeding to a review of 16,000 men at Aldershot, was present at a dinner given by the Foreign Secretary, and at a State ball at Buckingham Palace. These were the leading incidents of a visit, the effect of which was to elicit from all classes of English society unmistakable manifestations of that warmth of good-will towards the French nation of which King

Edward's visit to Paris had given the first signal expression. On Thursday afternoon (July 9) the President, on his way home, despatched a telegram of thanks to the King and the people of Great Britain for the hearty welcome given to the representative of "France, the friend of England," and his Majesty, in reply, expressed his earnest desire that the friendship between the two nations might be lasting. It was felt that this interchange of hospitality had both illustrated and carried forward a great improvement in the relations between the two countries. The French President was accompanied on his visit by M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and it was understood that the negotiations were then opened which resulted a few weeks later in the conclusion of an Arbitration Treaty between France and England, limited indeed in its scope, but yet calculated to secure the settlement, with the least difficulty, of classes of questions which may often produce an appreciable amount of international irritation.

At this period there was introduced by the Government a measure dealing with a subject which undoubtedly interested many persons, especially dwellers in the rural districts, much more keenly than even the fiscal problem. This was the regulation of the use of motor cars. It had become evident both from expressions of opinion in the House of Commons and from correspondence and editorial articles in the Press that there was a widespread and intense feeling of alarm and indignation caused by the reckless fashion in which motor cars were driven, especially along country roads and lanes, and the inconsiderate, and indeed brutal, cowardice with which, having caused serious accidents, motorists hurried off to avoid identification and prosecution. The existing law provided no adequate protection against these practices. It imposed a general limit of twelve miles an hour on the speed with which motor cars might be driven, which was quite unnecessarily restrictive on many roads, and was extensively disobeyed, even by motorists of the most careful and reputable type. These latter were quite willing that legislation should be enacted facilitating the capture and punishment of those possessors of motors whose misconduct was doing much to bring the new system of traction into general odium. The leading features of the Government Bill, introduced by Lord Balfour of Burleigh (July 7) in the House of Lords, were as follows: The registration of all motor cars by County and County Borough Councils; the affixing of a number, to be always visible, to each motor car, together with an indication of its registration district; the licensing of all hired drivers; the abolition of any general speed limit, but with discretion to local authorities to prescribe low speed limits within their areas subject to Local Government Board sanction; and severe penalties of fine or imprisonment for reckless or dangerous driving. Very much in its original form the Bill passed the House of Lords, the Government resisting and being sus-

tained by considerable majorities in resisting amendments directed to secure a general limit of speed, or the dependence of licences to drive on proved competence. An amendment was introduced, however, limiting speed to ten miles an hour within certain specified limits and places, and the responsibility was placed upon local authorities of putting up sign-posts at dangerous spots. In the Commons, though the Bill on the whole was favourably received, the abolition of all general speed limit was not generally approved. The second reading having been obtained on August 4, Mr. Long, President of the Local Government Board, moved in committee (Aug. 7) that motor cars on public roads should never be driven beyond twenty-five miles an hour. Large majorities, however, negatived both that figure and fifteen miles an hour, and twenty miles an hour was then agreed to as the speed limit. On the other hand, the preponderant opinion in the Commons was, as in the Upper House, against a provision requiring a proof of fitness to drive in an applicant for a licence, and an amendment introducing such a provision, though moved by Mr. Long, was rejected by 74 votes to 51. Rather curiously the House of Commons altered the Bill, so that conviction for reckless driving could only entail imprisonment for the second offence, and then only for three instead of six months. The House of Lords accepted the modifications made by the Commons, including the limitation of the duration of the measure to three years.

Having regard to the bitterness of the opposition to the passage of the Education Act of 1902 and to the organisation in different parts of the country of associations for "passive resistance" to rates levied under that Act for the support of secular instruction in Voluntary Schools, there was a remarkably pacific tone about the debate (July 9) on the annual Education Vote. Sir W. Anson (*Oxford Univ.*), Secretary of the Board of Education, gave a very interesting account of the manner in which the Act had been brought into operation, with special reference to the constitution of the local authorities through which it was to be administered. A large majority of the local councils concerned had formulated schemes which, modified in many cases as the result of suggestions made by the Board of Education, had received the approval of that Board. Sir W. Anson explained the principles on which the Board had acted in the exercise of their influence upon the schemes in question, and Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), who had been a protagonist of the opposition to the Act, offered a very frank recognition of the judicious and conciliatory spirit in which it had been worked from headquarters. Lord E. Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*) bore testimony to the fact that "the councils had undertaken the work of organising their Education Committees with great zeal and energy and so far with considerable success." It was almost exclusively from Wales that any note of serious discontent was sounded in this debate. Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carmarvon Dist.*)

complained that the Board had been "hectoring" towards some of the councils, and inquired what its policy would be in view of the determination of three-fourths of the Welsh County Councils to refuse aid from the rates to "schools not within their control and where sectarian tests were imposed." Sir W. Anson altogether denied the "hectoring," and would not be drawn into any statement in advance as to the line which would be adopted in the event of an organised defiance of the law. His earlier speech had brought out clearly the very unsatisfactory condition of secondary education, with which it would be one of the main duties of the new authorities to grapple. With improvement in that direction would be associated the working of a scheme, which he explained, and which was welcomed by Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) as an educationist, for securing more liberal education to pupil-teachers in elementary schools.

The same evening there took place a short discussion with reference to the recent resignation of Mr. M. E. Sadler, head of the Special Inquiry and Report Department of the Board of Education. This event was much regretted by all persons interested in education. There were no two opinions as to the eminent efficiency with which Mr. Sadler had discharged the duties of his post. The numerous reports which he had written himself and those which had been prepared under his direction in regard to educational work in foreign countries and in British Colonies had been in a high degree informing and enlightening. But unfortunately a disagreement, which proved irreconcilable, arose between him and the heads of the Board of Education as to the measure or character of the subordination of his work to the administrative interests of the office. From a Blue-book which had appeared two or three weeks earlier and from Sir W. Anson's speech in reply to Mr. Emmott (*Oldham*), who maintained that Mr. Sadler had been unwisely treated, it appeared that the Board had been willing in the early months of the year to make a substantial increase to the resources at the disposal of Mr. Sadler for the prosecution and extension of his work in the department. They insisted, however, in terms which he refused to accept, on the subordination of his work to that of the general interests of the work of the Board. He apparently considered it essential to its success and usefulness that its chief should enjoy an amount of independence and freedom from interruption certainly unusual, and probably unknown in the case of the head of a branch of any other State department. Sir W. Anson showed that he and Lord Londonderry had really wished and sought to retain Mr. Sadler's services, and he strongly repudiated the suggestion that they had been influenced by, or subjected to, pressure within the department unfavourable to that distinguished official. The sum required to complete the vast vote of almost 11,250,000*l.* for the Board of Education and its expenses was then obtained without a division.

On the report stage of the London Education Bill, which occupied the House of Commons on July 14 and 15, the questions chiefly discussed were connected with the relations between the County and the Borough Councils. The Government throughout clung to the idea of enlisting fresh local interest in the working of the "provided" elementary schools by giving a predominant share on the boards of managers to persons nominated by the Borough Councils, and they successfully resisted various amendments intended to reverse the arrangement reached in this respect at the committee stage. Sir W. Anson accepted, however, amendments moved by Mr. Peel (*Manchester, S.*), providing that the schemes of the Borough Councils respecting the management of schools and their grouping under one body of managers should be drawn up "after consultation with the local education authority," i.e., the County Council Education Committee. The Government also consented that the nominees of the County Council should amount to one-third, those of the Borough Council supplying the remainder—instead of one-fourth and three-fourths as in the Bill when it came out of committee. After considerable discussion as to the best means of securing the presence of an adequate number of women on the boards of managers, which was on all hands recognised as important, it was agreed (July 16), at the instance of the Government, that not less than one-third of each of such boards should be women. The Bill was read a third time on July 22, by 228 votes to 118, both Mr. Bryce and Mr. Buxton admitting that it was in some respects an improvement on the general Act of 1902.

In the second week of July two events happened which excited much interest among Churchmen, and from which it seemed possible that important consequences might flow at a future date. On the 9th and 10th there was a joint meeting at the Church House, Westminster, of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and the Houses of Laymen of the two provinces, to consider the question of the formation of a national representative Church Council. On the first day a resolution was passed, with only three or four dissentients, declaring it desirable that such a council should be formed, but that, pending its formation and coming into working order on a voluntary basis, the question of seeking legal constitution and authority for it should be reserved. The second part of this resolution did away with the difficulties in the way of supporting the first, felt by those who, with the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Wace), feared lest the new body should have dangerous powers for dealing with the rubrics. A resolution was also agreed to declaring in favour of the reform of the two Convocations, and of their sitting together from time to time as one body; and in regard to the proposed council, it was resolved that the acceptance by each of its three Houses, sitting either together or separately, should be necessary in order to constitute an act of

the whole body. On the following day, after a long debate and a division, in which a motion by the Bishop of Worcester, for the possession of the franchise for the lay Houses only by confirmed members of the Church of England, was defeated by 84 to 66, as well as, by a large majority, a motion for a communicant franchise, the following awkwardly worded and not unambiguous resolution was passed: "The initial franchise of lay electors shall be exercised, in each ecclesiastical parish or district, by those persons of the male sex (possessing such house-holding or other vestry qualification in the parish or district as may be defined by the committee to be hereafter appointed) who declare themselves in writing at the time of voting to be lay members of the Church of England and of no other religious communion, and are not legally and actually excluded from communion, and by such other persons residing in the parish or district as are lay communicants of the Church of England of the male sex and of full age."

On July 11 a numerous deputation waited on the Archbishops to present to them a Declaration on Ritual which had been subscribed by some 4,000 clergymen of various degrees of High Churchmanship. It set forth that the signatories, desiring to promote the peace of the Church, to strengthen the hands of the Bishops, and to reassure such of the faithful laity as might be disquieted by present difficulties, declared (1) their sense of the sacred obligation of a loyal observance of the Prayer-Book services, and of not varying them without episcopal authority; (2) their belief that the Ornaments Rubric "retained the ceremonial system which was lawful under the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.," and that "for the peace of the Church this ought to be frankly recognised as the lawful inheritance of the English Church," without derogation to "the lesser ceremonial usage which has so widely prevailed;" (3) their anxiety for "the complete restoration of the synodical action of the Church," pending which consummation they submitted that on questions demanding treatment, and on which it was not at present possible to get the judgment of the Church as a whole, "the admonitions and requests of the Bishops, acting in formal consultation with their clergy," should be obeyed; and (4) they protested against the work of the Church as a whole being judged by the conduct of a few who offended by excess or defect of ritual, or by divergence from the fundamental doctrines of the Church.

This Declaration had been before the country for several weeks before it was finally presented, and the second clause in particular, though not it alone, had excited a good deal of hostile criticism among Low, and among some Broad, Churchmen. The Archbishop of Canterbury welcomed the deputation, the document they presented and the speeches supporting it as serving to make clear the fact that the great body of High Churchmen were "absolutely loyal to our Church's system

and authority and rule." He also expressed his cordial satisfaction with points (1) and (4) in the Declaration, and his concurrence in the spirit of (3), though he pointed out that the condition of "formal consultation with their clergy" on the part of the Bishops was capable of such diverse constructions that he could not hastily commit himself to accepting it. As to (2), however, which he described as the "backbone" of the Declaration, the Primate pointed out that, though emphatic, it was by no means free from ambiguity, almost each word employed by the signatories as to the significance of the Ornaments Rubric having been the subject of prolonged controversy among competent persons. He recognised that there was a very strong case for saying that additional knowledge had become available since the decision of the Privy Council on the subject, and it might not be impossible to secure that this new light should be made use of. But of course that could only be done through some constitutional authority. The Archbishop of York, while also welcoming the spirit of the movement embodied in the Declaration, indicated that he could not quite hope that peace for the Church lay in the recognition of the ceremonial of the First Prayer-Book.

In the House of Lords (July 10) the Earl of Northbrook asked whether our commercial relations with India would form part of the proposed inquiry. He said that India had been overlooked by the Colonial Secretary, although she took more than a third of the whole of our exports to the British Empire. The adoption of preferential tariffs in India would be economically inexpedient and politically dangerous. Lord Northbrook's views received the general support of another ex-Viceroy, Lord Elgin. The Marquess of Lansdowne, in his reply on behalf of the Government, declared that it was not their policy to conduct the inquiry "in a hole-and-corner fashion," but to give to the public the facts, the statistics and the information upon which they would themselves rely in forming their judgment. Not only in regard to the case of India, but in regard to all the subjects to which the inquiry would have reference, the Government would gladly welcome any assistance, either from their lordships or from any other quarter.

A Parliamentary paper was issued on July 13, covering the communications that had passed between the British and German Governments since May, 1897, in regard to Germany's withdrawal of most-favoured-nation treatment from Canada. On April 15, 1903, Baron Richthofen informed Sir Frank Lascelles that it was doubtful if his Government would be able to secure the consent of the Reichstag to the prolongation of the law granting to Great Britain most-favoured-nation treatment if Germany were differentiated against in important parts of the British Empire, and if, in particular, the report were confirmed that German goods would in future be less favourably treated than British, not only in Canada, but also in

British South Africa. Lord Lansdowne intimated (June 20) that persistence by the German Government in the attitude it had taken up would raise a very wide and serious issue, and in his further despatch of July 8 refused to allow Baron Richt-hofen's despatch to be explained away, since it was regarded by our Government "as not lightly given and not to be lightly received." Lord Lansdowne pointed out that the suggested refusal to give to the United Kingdom most-favoured-nation treatment if any more of our Colonies accorded preferential treatment to British imports would be unjustifiable in view of the liberal terms on which German imports were admitted into the United Kingdom. The British Government, however, he went on to say, had no intention of drawing a distinction between their own interests and those of the self-governing Colonies.

This attitude of firm identification of the interests of the Mother Country with those of the Colonies in presence of Germany's fiscal menaces awakened a good deal of sympathy ; but the processes working towards disintegration among the Unionists went forward nevertheless. On July 13 some sixty Unionist Members gave their adhesion to a movement, inaugurated by a private meeting held that day under the chairmanship of Sir M. Hicks-Beach, for the formation of a "Unionist Free Food League"; and, with a view to obtaining opportunity for the expression of their views, notice was given of a motion in the House of Commons, asking that any statistical and other information obtained by the Government in pursuance of their fiscal inquiry should be laid before the House as soon as possible. Mr. Balfour, however, when asked by Sir M. Hicks-Beach (July 15) if he would give facilities for the discussion of such a motion, said that, in his opinion, no useful purpose could be gained by a discussion on a general abstract motion. Not only Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman but Lord Hugh Cecil called the Prime Minister's attention to the fact that the Colonial Secretary had invited discussion on the questions he had raised. But Mr. Balfour's only reply was that there had been a good deal of discussion since that invitation was offered, and that he could only now give facilities for the discussion, if the leader of the Opposition desired, of a vote of censure on the Government. This attitude on the part of the Prime Minister, though for a time it somewhat checked the open display of Unionist divisions, excited bitter irritation among the Free Trade members of that party, who felt that they were being gagged. There was also a good deal of feeling that the leader of the House of Commons was not treating it with sufficient respect.

At the discussion of the War Office Vote in the House of Commons, on July 16, Mr. Brodrick announced that it had been decided to keep 25,000 men permanently in South Africa, partly for local reasons, such as the ample training ground there and the healthy climate, and partly to provide Indian reinforce-

ments if necessary. The extra cost would be about 1,500,000*l.* per annum, and the Government hoped that some assistance towards the maintenance of the troops would be obtained from India. Whether any contribution would be asked for from the Colonies would have to be considered. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman objected to this additional expenditure at a time when the country was gasping for economy, and deprecated the policy of requiring India to contribute to the cost of the Army in Africa. Mr. Beckett contended that the increase of the establishment in South Africa should be accompanied by a reduction in India or at home.

There was a discussion (July 21) in the House of Lords on the proposal to place part of the cost of the troops in South Africa on the Indian revenue, which Lord Ripon, who raised the subject, viewed with much anxiety. Lord Hardwicke said that the Government of India had come to the conclusion, conjointly with his Majesty's Government, with a special view to the possibilities of an invasion of India from the north-west, that on the outbreak of hostilities the present British garrison of India would not be sufficient. The Government of India would be asked to pay a certain proportion of the extra cost, above the cost that would have been incurred in England, of keeping troops in South Africa, on 12,500 men who would be at their disposal. This extra cost would be 750,000*l.*, and it was proposed that India should pay 400,000*l.* The arrangement, it was intimated by Lord Selborne, embodied the judgment of the Committee of Imperial Defence. The views of the Indian Government had yet to be received as to the proposed plan. Lord Northbrook did not think the presence of these troops in South Africa would confer such a benefit on India as to make it desirable that the Indian Government should provide a considerable proportion of the cost of their maintenance. Lord Goschen, on the other hand, had been favourably impressed by Lord Hardwicke's statement. The Duke of Devonshire was unable to promise that nothing would be done in the matter before Parliament had been further consulted. He pointed out that the proposal might really have the effect of relieving the Government of India of a burden they would otherwise have to incur.

On the previous day (July 20), at the annual meeting of the British Empire League, its president, the Duke of Devonshire, had made a speech which threw a curious half-light on the conflicting currents of opinion in the Cabinet on the issues raised by Mr. Chamberlain. He declared that we were bound to let the Colonies know that the fiscal question had already reached a stage at which it had become far more a question of internal British politics than even of Colonial politics. It had passed from the sentimental to the practical stage, and he was sure that our Colonies would not resent it if they were told plainly and clearly that, if this country

were induced to assent to any considerable changes in the fiscal and commercial arrangements which had hitherto been thought conducive to its interests, it would do so in its own interest, and not simply as a means of conciliating their good-will. A scheme of preferential arrangements, to be fair and just to the various parts of the Empire, could only be secured by "something in the nature of a bargain to which each party would be bound to adhere," and this would involve the surrender by the Colonies of "some of that independence and perfect freedom of action in their fiscal, commercial and industrial legislation to which hitherto they had appeared to attach in their own interest so great an importance."

At the same time organisations were being developed or were already in active operation for the education of public opinion on both sides of the great issues which had been raised. The Unionist Free Food League has already been mentioned. A Free Trade League had been established, mainly by Liberals, though among them a special organisation in defence of that cause seemed hardly necessary. The Cobden Club engaged vigorously in the vindication of its traditional principles against unexpectedly bold and widespread attacks. In connection, on the other hand, with the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association a "Tariff Committee" had been constituted and had begun the diffusion of leaflets setting forth the justification for "the fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain." Another important movement sympathetic to the Colonial Secretary was that of the Tariff Reform League, which, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Sutherland, held its inaugural meeting in London on July 21. There was a large attendance, including several Peers and some thirty Members of the House of Commons. An Executive Committee was appointed containing the following Members of Parliament: Messrs. Griffith-Boscawen, Evelyn Cecil, E. Goulding, A. Lee, J. T. Middlemore and Parker Smith, and Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir A. Henderson, Sir Gilbert Parker and Sir Thomas Wrightson. On the same Committee were also the Duke of Westminster, Mr. T. A. Brassey, Mr. H. J. Mackinder, Mr. L. S. Amery, Sir Vincent Caillard, and Dr. Rutherford Harris.

In the absence of any opportunity for free discussion in the House of Commons, men looked to the debates casually raised in the Upper House, and certainly found them interesting, if not definitely enlightening as to the probable course of events. Thus, on July 23, in reply to questions from Lord Lytton relating to the publications above mentioned as issued by the Tariff Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, the Duke of Devonshire said the leaflets in question were issued with the general consent and approval of the Colonial Secretary, but he was not a member of the Tariff Committee and was not aware of, nor personally responsible for, all that appeared in its publications. The answer to the question

whether the fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain was the policy of the Government was distinctly in the negative, and the Colonial Secretary himself had several times stated so. The Government had up to the present time no new fiscal policy to propose. Lord James of Hereford delivered a speech strongly hostile to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and made an appeal to the Duke of Devonshire to stand in the way of this grave disaster, as he had formerly done against the threatened disaster of Home Rule. Lord Spencer, Lord Cross and Lord Northbrook combined to urge on the Duke the importance of an early declaration of the fiscal policy of the Government as a whole. In response, the Duke of Devonshire said that no member of the Government, so far as he was aware, had said a single word to identify himself with the policy which had been announced by the Colonial Secretary. What the Government had said was that there was a case for inquiry, and they had not in the least changed their position that an inquiry was necessary. Until that inquiry was completed, and until they had had time to consider its results, the Government had no new policy to propose, and the fiscal policy of the Government was the policy which now existed.

On the same day, in the Commons, the Foreign Office Vote was the occasion for a wide-ranging debate, which included the question of Imperial retaliation with many others. Sir C. Dilke charged the Government with extraordinary vacillation in their treatment of Germany, which had oscillated between unreasonable cringing, as in the case of Venezuela, and the quarrelsome temper in which they discovered the Canadian grievance against Germany. In this connection Sir E. Grey pointed out that for four years Ministers apparently brought no complaint against that Power in respect of the withdrawal of the most-favoured-nation treatment from Canada, and that even at the last Colonial Conference the matter was treated as one of no great importance.

To this Mr. Chamberlain replied that at the time of the Colonial Conference in 1902 it was felt in Canada that the Mother Country was not protecting her children sufficiently. At the same time, the matter was not treated as one of great practical importance, because Canada's trade with Germany was not very large and the Dominion had it in its power to strike a counter blow. Much sentimental importance, however, attached to the question. When the Dominion Government decided to put on a discriminative duty as against German goods the German Government warned his Majesty's Government in a formal note, not merely that they would develop the policy of retaliation against Canada, but that they would do it with the special object of preventing other Colonies from following Canada's example. This was a threat of retaliation directed at the Colonies and at ourselves. The Government replied by making it clear that they would not permit this foreign discrimination to continue if they could stop it; and he rejoiced to

think that this declaration of policy, supported, as he believed it was, by the vast mass of the people, had had its effect; for the Government had since been invited to enter into negotiations on the subject, which would, he felt confident, lead to much more satisfactory results than the previous negotiations, which failed because the Government had no weapons in their hands.

Mr. Asquith having also pressed the point of the curious inactivity of the Government with regard to the German treatment of Canada until they were embarking on a new fiscal campaign, Mr. Balfour retorted by challenging the Opposition front bench to say whether it was their view that we must never retaliate, whatever fiscal attacks were made by a foreign country on our Colonies. To this no reply appeared to be ready, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who followed, being only able to say, as Mr. Asquith had done, that fiscal retaliation was in most cases a weapon even more injurious to those who used it than to those against whom it was used.

Among the other topics touched on during this debate was the Manchurian situation, as to which, while acknowledging that Russia occupied a special position in that country, Lord Cranborne (*Rochester*), Under Foreign Secretary, agreed that it was unsatisfactory that her promised military evacuation had not taken place. Japan, he said, was undoubtedly rendered uneasy by this state of things, and the United States were also anxious, on commercial grounds. His Majesty's Government would be glad to come to an understanding with Russia about Manchuria, but there seemed to be two parties in the Russian Government with whom they had to deal, and they had not yet been able to find out with any clearness what the Russian Government wanted. Yet there were the elements out of which an agreement ought to be possible. British trade with China, Lord Cranborne said, was two-thirds of the whole of China's foreign trade and was increasing. He also denied that there was any reason for holding, with one or two Members, that we had been worsted in competition with regard to railways in China. The British position in Persia, again, he maintained, was improving, and under the new Treaty duties there could not be raised against British goods without our consent.

The very important question of the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa was touched on in the debate on the second reading of the South African Loan and War Contribution Bill (July 27). Sir William Harcourt, after an elaborate analysis of the claims upon the new loan of 65,000,000*l.*, declared that this was the beginning of loans. It was perfectly obvious that the requisites of those countries would demand loans for development in addition to and far beyond the present loan if anything was to be done at all that was in contemplation. He went on to say that the cost of those undertakings "depended upon the question of labour." The alleged fact that the mining industry declared that it could not be solvently con-

ducted except "on the basis of Asiatic labour" made the problem a formidable one, for if the mines were entitled to cheap labour, so were all other industries. He demanded that the Government, who had admitted that the overwhelming opinion of the Colonial population was against Asiatic labour, should declare their opposition to the introduction of such labour. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, pointed out that of the new loan only 30,000,000*l.* was war debt, 25,000,000*l.* odd was for existing liabilities, and the rest for immediate developments. The Colonies, he believed, would have no difficulty in raising any funds required for future development. As to coloured labour, he deprecated the tempting of Kaffirs from the mines by offers of higher wages for work on railway making, as it would throw the whole of the mining industry—on which everything in the Colony depended—out of gear. Railways were necessary to serve this industry, and to distribute the produce of Boer farms to the centres created by this industry. Lord Milner, therefore, had suggested that Indian coolies should be introduced under specific conditions for railway building. This had been done by the self-governing Colony of Natal, and the principle was applicable to the Transvaal, which, apart from Imperial interests, was to be treated as a self-governing Colony. The introduction of any Asiatics must, therefore, be approved by the Transvaal as if it were a self-governing Colony. Mr. Chamberlain favoured the introduction of coolies, but he considered that the opinion of the Transvaal was at present hostile to Indian labour. He believed in time the opposition would change to a demand, but till that time such labour could not be introduced. The question of Chinese labour, to which, probably, the objection would be much greater than to Indian coolies, had not yet arisen.

In the course of a general discussion on the Colonial Office Vote (July 30), Mr. Chamberlain, replying to Sir R. Reid, expressed the opinion that it would be unwise to dispense in the new South African Colonies with the peace preservation legislation, which was chiefly necessary in order to cope with the difficulties due to the bitter feelings between the Boers who surrendered during the war and the "wild Boers" who held out to the end. He mentioned as a sign of a better state of feeling that in the neighbourhood of Pretoria an agricultural association had been formed, and that it included Boers of both sections. It was still necessary, however, that the Government should be armed with strong powers so that persons who should seek to undo the work of pacification could be deported. With regard to the future of the Transvaal his view was still optimistic. He attached no importance to a letter published in the *Times* from General Botha, full of complaints against the Transvaal Administration. Its most noteworthy passage, in his opinion, was the final paragraph, which showed how energetically the people were working to repair the ravages of war. As had been pointed out, if labour could not be obtained and the mines had

to be closed, there would be for a time, at any rate, great financial embarrassment in the Transvaal, but he believed the labour difficulty would be settled. At any rate his policy was to leave the people to work out their own salvation. He pointed out that it was an error to suppose, as some Members did, that the Legislative Councils of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were the mere creatures of the Government. It was true that they were nominated Councils on which the Government had a majority, but the moderate Boers were represented upon them, and, indeed, every class of the community. The chief Boer leaders stood aloof, but for that we could not be blamed. Great attention would naturally be paid to public opinion as voiced by the people's representatives.

Justifying his action in regard to the language question in Malta, the Colonial Secretary reminded the committee that he had always insisted that the people of Malta must be allowed a free choice as to whether their children should learn English or Italian. In 1902 85 per cent. of the parents chose English. The elected members of the Council, who had very little influence over the population, had opposed the policy of the Government persistently, and had refused time after time to vote money for education. They had been warned repeatedly that this could not go on indefinitely; they had disregarded these warnings, and so it had been necessary to revert in Malta to the Constitution of 1887.

The last ten days of July were agreeably relieved, amid the heats of Parliamentary controversy and the chills of growing estrangement among old political allies, by the very successful visit of the King and Queen to Ireland. Its general character and leading incidents are referred to in a later chapter and also in our "Chronicle," but it may be observed here that the gracious cordiality and fine tact displayed by their Majesties at all points of their Irish tour—qualities which everywhere awakened the most loyal and appreciative response—were recognised as having sensibly contributed to the advancement of the true unity of the United Kingdom.

The same period was pleasantly marked by the visit to London of some eighty Members of the French Legislature—Senators and Deputies—to confer (by invitation) with Members of the House of Commons respecting the question of international arbitration. On July 22 the Commercial Committee of the House entertained them at a dinner, at which some of the most eminent men of both parties were present. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who spoke for his countrymen, said that the Parliamentary Group of Arbitration to which they belonged knew that they could not do away with war altogether, nor did they even as yet aim at a simultaneous reduction of armaments. But they hoped to organise and acclimatise arbitration, to make it the rule instead of the exception. Mr. Balfour declared that it was the deliberate intention of the

two countries to place on a permanent basis some organisation which should prevent causes of petty friction. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman having spoken very genially in both languages, Mr. Chamberlain said that he saw no ground whatever in the future for any possible difference of a serious nature between the two countries.

The irritation excited by the Prime Minister's refusal to afford an opportunity for a full discussion of the new fiscal policy found strong and even bitter expression, especially on the part of Lord Hugh Cecil, when (July 28) Mr. Balfour moved the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule with a view to the advancement of certain Government measures, and was, doubtless, in part accountable for the strenuous resistance offered from the Ministerial as well as the Opposition benches to the passage of the Sugar Convention Bill. The second reading of that measure (for the prohibition of the import of bounty-fed sugar) was moved the same afternoon by Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds Central*), President of the Board of Trade. He pointed out that the House of Commons by its resolution of November 24, 1902, approving "the policy embodied in the Convention relating to sugar, signed at Brussels on March 5, 1902," had already sanctioned the Bill. The Brussels Convention had for the first time struck a forcible blow against the system of bounties, which arose from the operations of the cartels with the support of prohibitive tariffs. Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*), who moved the rejection of the Bill, declared that every additional penny placed upon the price of a pound of sugar involved a burden of 15,000,000*l.* on the consumers. The Bill also involved a policy of certificates of origin. Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*) asserted that it was a Bill to promote a foreign monopoly held by Germany in sugar, and that it was the initial step of the new policy of dear food. Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*) objected to the Convention because it reserved a surtax that gave foreigners the absolute monopoly of their own markets, while we were asked to take an active part in a considerable interference with the course of trade. Mr. Bryce dealt with the Constitutional question involved. He laid down the axiom that no treaty requiring legislation could possibly have any effect or bind any country until after legislation had been passed. Mr. Bonar Law (*Blackfriars, Glasgow*), Secretary to the Board of Trade, strenuously supported the Bill, maintaining that under the Convention sugar would still be cheaper here than elsewhere; that the sugar-refining industry would gain, and that capital would be attracted to the West Indies. In conclusion, Mr. Law urged that fiscal theories must be revised in view of present facts.

On the 29th, when the debate was resumed, Mr. Winston Churchill, in the course of a brilliant speech, much applauded by the Opposition, said that the Bill was an insidious attack on the principle of Free Trade. It was part of

a general scheme for raising the cost of articles of consumption in the supposed interest of particular industries in the country. It was a working model for Mr. Chamberlain's greater scheme, and involved the certainty of dearer food. But foreign countries welcomed the Convention because of the injury they suffered from the bounty system, which was of value to us in the expansion of our trade by secondary processes of manufacture. Even if the Colonies gained, Great Britain would lose six times as much as they gained.

Mr. Chamberlain stated that the threat of penalties contained in the Bill would only be put in force to an insignificant extent, and he denied Mr. Churchill's assertion that the Bill was a model of the new fiscal plan. The bounty system, he asserted, had paid Germany well, especially in the secondary industries connected with the production of beet-sugar. Further, the ultimate object of the bounty was to secure, as it was in the process of securing, a monopoly. The Bill would prevent this monopoly, and would ensure, by a varied area of supply, stability of price. The price of sugar had gone down since the Convention, and the jam trade was not in the slightest danger, though it might suffer. Again, under the present system the refining trade remained stationary when it ought to have leaped forward. The West Indies were capable of supplying this country with the greatest part of its demand. When a part of the Empire suffered an injustice we ought, Mr. Chamberlain urged, to remedy it, even at the cost of some sacrifice, if sacrifice was entailed. Summing up his main contentions, he asked the House to pass the Bill, because to reject it would be to perpetrate an act of bad faith, because it would secure free trade in sugar and increase the sources of our supply, because it would protect us against monopoly, and because it would repair an injustice to the West Indies.

The second reading of the Bill was carried by 224 votes against 144. The opposition to its progress was carried on with equal vigour, but in smaller Houses, through the Committee stage (August 4 and 5). Mr. G. Balfour, in resisting an amendment to the first clause, pointed out that, recognising that in some cases countervailing duties would be preferable to prohibition, sanction was given alternatively for the establishment of such duties against foreign-grown sugar, as to which it might be reported by the Permanent Commission (sitting at Brussels) that any direct or indirect bounty had been granted on its production or export. Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) moved the insertion of words which would have sanctioned the exclusion of bounty-fed sugar coming from the self-governing colonies. He contended that without such an extension of the powers conferred under the clause we should be exposing ourselves to a charge of bad faith from other States. Mr. Gerald Balfour replied that no such charge could possibly be made, as, in depositing the ratification of the Convention, it had been distinctly

stated by the Government that they would not in any circumstances consent to be bound to penalise bounty-fed sugar imported into the United Kingdom from any of the British self-governing Colonies. A good deal was said in the course of the debate as to the meaning of the term "foreign countries," and the Solicitor-General gave it as his opinion that Egypt and the Soudan, as well as Zanzibar, must be considered foreign countries; as to Protectorates which, like that of Uganda, were more directly under our rule, the British Government would be bound by the spirit of the Convention to prevent bounties being given on sugar. Mr. Lough's amendment was rejected by 147 to 65. A proposal by Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*) to bring "sugared goods," such as chocolate, within the scope of the clause was supported by the front Opposition bench and also by several Ministerialists, but defeated by 156 to 88. The Bill was ultimately reported without amendments; and early on August 6 read a third time by 119 to 57.

It was read a second time in the House of Lords on August 10, on the motion of Lord Lansdowne, by 108 votes to 16, and carried through its remaining stages the same day. Besides Lord Spencer and Lord Tweedmouth, Lord Welby and Lord Farrer spoke against the Bill—the last-named economic authority saying that he had no doubt that its operation would raise the price of sugar—but none of the Unionist Peers who had exhibited their fiscal independence on many occasions during the latter part of the session raised their voices against this Government measure.

The London Education Bill's second reading had been moved in the Upper House on July 28 by Lord Londonderry (President of the Board of Education). It was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury (who took occasion to point out that no religious grievance could possibly exist in London, as a Board School was within easy reach of the inhabitants of every street) and by the Bishops of London and Rochester, and by Lord Donoughmore; and opposed by the Bishop of Hereford, who said that his fears of last year had been confirmed, the Act having done real injury to the Church, and by Lords Kinnaid, Coleridge, and Tweedmouth. Lord Spencer offered the same general objections to the Bill as to the Act of 1902. He feared also that the "passive resistance" movement would spread all over the country and wished that the Government had saved London from it. The Duke of Devonshire, declining to re-argue the case for last year's Act, contended that it was clearly undesirable to exclude London from its operation, and indeed would be fatal to efficient administration. He acknowledged that the School Board had done admirable work, but could not agree that that system was an ideal one, demanding perpetuation. The Bill was read a second time by 69 votes to 26. No important amendment was carried in Committee of the Lords, the most interesting feature of that stage being,

perhaps, the fact that the Bishop of Rochester moved an amendment reversing in favour of the County Council the proportions of nominees of that body and of the Borough Councils on the boards of managers for provided schools, as fixed in the Commons (see p. 168). The Government resisted the proposal, however, and was sustained by 49 to 24.

There was a little more appearance of difference of opinion between the two Houses, but with no serious consequences, as to some details of the Irish Land Bill. The second reading in the Lords was moved by the Duke of Devonshire on August 3. The prolonged debate which followed was, with an exception or two, quite friendly towards the principle of the measure, and the Peers who took part in the discussion generally expressed a wish that it might be successful as a final settlement of the land question, and might lead to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. There was a protest from Lord Hampden against the measure as viciously corrupt; but in the end the Bill was read a second time without a division. Its provisions were considered in committee by the Lords on August 6 and 7, and on report (Aug. 10), and again (Aug. 11) on the third reading. On two or three points amendments directed to the improvement, from the landlords' point of view, of the guarantees for equitable treatment proposed in the Bill were carried against the Government, but were struck out, at the instance of the Irish Secretary, when the Bill came again (Aug. 12) before the Commons, and were not insisted on by the Peers. On the other hand, the Commons, after a protest from Mr. Redmond and Mr. Healy, and the rejection by 102 to 70 of a counter-proposal by the latter, agreed to a Lords' amendment providing that landlords who sold their properties under the Bill, and their successors, should receive 25 per cent. of any profits received by the Land Commission in respect of any minerals.

Without any demur the Nationalists accepted a plan embodied in an amendment moved by Mr. Wyndham, but based partly upon amendments introduced in the Lords, with regard to sporting rights. It would have, he explained, the following effect: Where a landlord had not the exclusive right of sport, he would be able to obtain it by arrangement with his tenants before he sold his estate; if he had the exclusive right and did not reserve it, it would go to the Land Commission to be dealt with as the Commission might determine. If, on the other hand, the landlord had not an exclusive right and did not acquire the right, it would vest in the tenants. The landlords, he said, attached great value to their sporting rights, and had insisted on the retention of those rights up to a certain point. They had given way, he reminded the House, on several most important points, and the House, without a division, accepted the above arrangement. In the same connection, and in much the same spirit, the Commons, while at Mr. Wyndham's instance they struck out words introduced by the Lords expressly

empowering the Land Commission to buy and resell to a landlord any demesne, even though not adjacent to the main property sold, accepted words giving the Land Commission a discretion to dispense with the condition of such adjacency.

On the whole, therefore, the net effect of the modifications of the Bill by the Lords, as modified by the Commons, was to put the measure in a form somewhat more calculated than previously to induce the landlords to sell to their tenants with a view to remaining resident in the country.

Two of the legislative failures of the Government must be mentioned. The Port of London Bill, which had been reported after examination by the Joint Committee of both Houses, to which it was sent after being read a second time in the Commons, could not be advanced into law, but it was decided to treat it as a private Bill and thus to obtain for it in 1904 the advantage of the rule under which private measures can be brought in again at the stage which they have reached in the preceding session. The Bishopricks of Birmingham and Southwark Bill had been carried through the Upper House, where it was introduced, as a Government measure, and placed by the Prime Minister among the Bills which must be pushed into law. Towards the end of July, however, it was found that the obstructive resistance with which it was threatened by a group of Members who had very little interest in the work of the Church in the densely populated districts concerned, could not be overridden by the forces at the disposal of the Government. The failure of Parliament to give sanction to the arrangements proposed, and desired by Churchmen of all parties in the dioceses of Worcester and Rochester, for the efficiency of episcopal administration and of Church work generally in those dioceses—arrangements to be financed entirely out of Church funds and mainly by the generosity of individual Churchmen—awakened widespread regret and not a little indignation.

In the last few days of the session the deplorable condition of Macedonia was more than once referred to in Parliament. A good deal of annoyance was felt at the observation by the Prime Minister (Aug. 10) that so far the "balance of criminality" lay "rather with the revolutionary bands than with the Turkish troops"—an observation which, it was widely thought, seemed to imply—most evil as the deeds of some of the bands in question had been—a want of appreciation of the scale and quality of the horrors committed by the officials and regular or irregular soldiers of the Sultan. It was, however, generally agreed that the policy re-stated by Mr. Balfour (Aug. 14), and by Lord Lansdowne in the Upper House on the previous day, on behalf of the Government, of supporting the two Powers most immediately concerned in their endeavours to improve Turkish administration, while strenuously pressing upon the Porte the necessity of preventing excesses in the suppression of the in-

surrection, was the best, and indeed the only, course which for the time Great Britain could pursue.

On the eve of the prorogation there was laid on the table of the House of Commons the Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. The Commission found that the number of alien immigrants had greatly increased during the last twenty years, a large proportion of them being Russian or Polish Jews. No case had been established for the total exclusion of such aliens, but, on their entrance, they should be controlled and regulated. The greatest evils produced were overcrowding in certain districts of London, and the consequent displacement of the native population. It was recommended that a Department for Immigration be established either connected with the Board of Trade and Local Government Board or independently; that authority be conferred upon properly appointed officers to inquire whether any immigrant came within the classes of undesirables—*viz.*, criminals, prostitutes, idiots, lunatics, persons of notoriously bad character or likely to become a charge upon the public funds; that any such immigrant might be ordered by a court of summary jurisdiction to leave this country, and the owner of the vessel on which he was brought might be ordered to reconvey him to the port of embarkation. It was further recommended that where the immigrant was found to be suffering from infectious or loathsome disease, or mental incapacity, the medical officer should have power to debar him from landing, and the shipowner should be compelled to reconvey him to the port of embarkation. If the immigration of aliens into any area were found substantially to contribute to overcrowding, the same might be declared a prohibited area. It was recommended that immigrants be furnished with lists in their own language of prohibited areas, and that all alien immigrants be registered with their intended place of residence; that, upon conviction, a judge might direct the alien to leave the country, and, if the alien disobeyed, he might be punished as a rogue and vagabond. Sir Kenelm Digby dissented from some of these recommendations, holding generally that the admitted evils of the situation could be better combated by a more vigorous administration of existing laws. In this view Lord Rothschild concurred. The other commissioners were Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., Major Evans-Gordon, M.P., Mr. Henry Norman, M.P., and Mr. William Vallance, Clerk to the Whitechapel Guardians.

There was a generally friendly debate in the House of Commons on August 12 on the Atlantic Shipping Agreements between his Majesty's Government and the Cunard Company and the International Mercantile Marine Company. The loan of 2,600,000*l.* to the Cunard Line at 2½ per cent., and the subsidy of 150,000*l.*, were, indeed, severely criticised by Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) as being more than an equivalent for the building of two swift vessels capable of continuously steaming 24½ knots. Sir W. Allan (*Gateshead*), however, pointed out

that when the subsidy was divided among the nineteen steamers that had to be kept efficient, and which the Government could take practically at any time they wanted them, it would only represent 8,000*l.* each; and that "when the interest to be paid by the Cunard Company on the loan was added to the one-twentieth of the capital sum to be paid back and deducted from the total subsidy, the balance was only about 16,500*l.* per annum." Mr. Arnold-Forster declared that "under this arrangement nine-tenths of the cost was borne commercially, and the remaining tenth was a military contribution, a thoroughly sound transaction;" while Mr. Bryce, though protesting vigorously against any settled policy of subsidies, admitted that "this present case was not an ordinary subsidy. It was rather a bargain for certain naval purposes," though he did not think it a good bargain.

On August 13 the Indian Budget, which is dealt with in a later chapter, was discussed in the Commons. Lord George Hamilton drew attention to the very satisfactory Budgets of 1901 and 1902, and stated that in the Budget for the year ending in April, 1903, the realised surplus was 3,190,000*l.* The Indian Government was thus in a position in which it had not found itself for twenty years, and was able to take off taxation. Twenty-five per cent. was to come off the salt tax and the limit of exemption of income tax was to be raised from 33*l.* to 66*l.* An attempt made by Mr. Shackleton (*Clitheroe*) and Sir J. Rolleston (*Leicester*) to obtain a resolution declaring for the abolition of the Indian import duties on manufactured goods, was opposed by Lord Percy (*Kensington, S.*), Under Foreign Secretary, on the part of the Government, as imprudent and wanting in consideration to the poorer taxpayers, and was defeated by 98 votes to 30. The important announcement was made in the Indian Secretary's speech that the Home Government had given way to the Indian Government as regarded providing a part of the cost of the proposed extra garrison to be kept in South Africa, with a view to having reinforcements ready in a healthy climate near to India. Accordingly, the 12,500 troops proposed to be kept in South Africa at India's disposal would not be kept there. Lord George Hamilton declared that he personally deplored the position taken up by the Indian Government, and believed that it would be regretted. Lord George Hamilton also dwelt on the importance of enabling Lord Curzon to carry out the reforms he had initiated, and stated that his tenure of the Viceroyalty would be extended for two years.

The session closed with further manifestations of irritation at the manner in which the House of Commons had been prevented from making its contribution to the fiscal "inquiry." On August 11, Mr. Robson (*South Shields*) attempted to initiate a debate on that engrossing topic, but the Speaker ruled that it was not relevant to anything in the Appropriation Bill, the second reading of which was before the House. In reply to questions,

Mr. Balfour announced that the Board of Trade would this year supplement the not inconsiderable amount of information which it was its custom to supply, and that he hoped a large and important instalment of this additional information would be made public in the course of the next four weeks. It was the desire of the Government to give all the information they could to the House and the country, so as to enable the people to make up their minds upon the problems which had been raised or which might be raised hereafter. He pointed out that it was highly important that as little conjectural matter as possible should find its way into the departmental reports. Subject to that consideration, all the information which the House desired to have would be supplied if it could be obtained.

Lord H. Cecil saw his opportunity for reproving the Government for allowing the Colonial Secretary to sanction the publication of leaflets containing, he said, those very conjectural elements which the Prime Minister condemned. He did not believe there was any precedent for the course pursued by the Colonial Secretary, who was using his prestige as a Minister of the Crown to gain his ends and at the same time claiming all the liberty enjoyed by an unofficial Member of Parliament. This was, he declared, amid the loud cheers of the Opposition, a Constitutional scandal, and he also protested vehemently against the Prime Minister's "policy of silence."

These attacks were renewed by Mr. Bryce, Mr. Churchill and others on August 14. Mr. Balfour, for his part, emphatically, but not very convincingly, repudiated the suggestion that there had been the slightest interference with the liberties of the House. In the same concluding debate, several Liberal Members protested against the severity of the measures taken to enforce payment of the education rate, and Mr. Bryce asserted that "passive resistance" had the sympathy of many Conservatives as well as Liberals, and that the education question could not be left where it stood. Thus, bitterly enough, closed a session of altogether unexpected difficulty and stress. Mr. Balfour had by universal acknowledgment displayed great tactical skill in avoiding any declaration of Government policy on the fiscal issue which would have involved a Cabinet split, and in preventing any full discussion of the subject in the House of Commons. But his tactics had caused strong resentment among an important section of the Unionist party, and there had been about them a certain excess of adroitness which was doubtfully congenial to the temper of the English people at large.

The King's Speech on the prorogation was, in accordance with precedent, optimistic where possible, as, naturally, in its allusions to his Majesty's Continental tour, the return visit of President Loubet, and the King and Queen's visit to Ireland. A cheerful tone also marked its reference to the work of resettlement and pacification in the new Colonies in South Africa, to

the Customs Convention there, with its preferential treatment of imports from the Mother Country, and to the general condition of India. As to Macedonia, "general anxiety" as well as hope for "some improvement" was mentioned. The legislation which has been described in the preceding pages was passed in brief review, in the usual congratulatory terms. To make our own record more complete, it may be mentioned that it was noted in the King's Speech that "the law relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors in Scotland" had been "consolidated and greatly improved." There was no doubt as to the consolidation. A dozen or more public and a good many private Acts had been "reduced," as Lord Balfour of Burleigh proudly said, to "one harmonious whole." And there appeared also to be good ground to hope that by its provisions with regard to the constitution of licensing authorities, to clubs, and to grocers' licenses, the new Act would prove, though not a measure of drastic reform, yet a very sensible contribution to the social welfare of Scotland.

CHAPTER V.

Opinions of Economists on the Fiscal Question—Death of Lord Salisbury—Report of War Commission; Lord Rosebery thereon—Trade Union Congress—The Macedonian Question—The Cabinet Councils; Mr. Balfour's Pamphlet; The Fiscal Blue Book; Resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ritchie and Lord G. Hamilton; Effect on Public Opinion—Mr. Balfour's Sheffield Declarations—New Cabinet Appointments—Resignation of the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Chamberlain's Opening Speeches at Glasgow and Greenock—Speeches by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Ritchie, Lord Spencer, Mr. A. Chamberlain, Lord Rosebery and others—Unionist Free Food League's Officers and Policy—Mr. Chamberlain at Newcastle—Lord G. Hamilton on the Cabinet Councils—Mr. Asquith at Newcastle—Arbitration Agreement with France—Alaska Boundary Decision—British Policy as to Macedonia—Russo-Japanese Controversy—Guildhall Speeches—Fiscal Campaign continued; Numerous Speeches; Mr. Balfour at Bristol—Visit of the King of Italy—Mr. Chamberlain in South Wales—Mr. Asquith at Barnstaple—Queen's Hall Free Trade Unionist Meeting—Lord Rosebery in South London—The Duke of Devonshire's Advice to Electors; the *Spectator*; Lord Cowper—Mr. Balfour on Army Questions—Opposition to the Education Act—Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Commission—Close of the Year.

THE Recess was dominated, if possible even more conspicuously than the latter part of the session, by the fiscal controversy. Had it not been so, the terrible exposures of the War Commission, to which reference will shortly be made, would have largely engrossed the public mind, and much more attention would have been given than was in fact accorded to the organisation and spread of the movement already alluded to as that of "Passive Resistance" to the payment of rates under the Education Act of 1902, and also to the general refusal of the Welsh County Councils to discharge, except in so far as they thought fit, the responsibilities imposed upon them by Parliament in that measure. For about a month after the prorogation

the fiscal discussion was mainly confined to the newspapers; but their conductors appeared to think that their *clientèle* could hardly have too much of it, in the way of ordinary letters from correspondents, with or without the writers' names, leading articles of the usual type, and also series of special dissertations by economic experts, signed and unsigned, elaborately adjusted to suit the knowledge and powers of comprehension of the untrained reader. Of economists, with names known to the country, distinctly the larger proportion declared themselves against Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, so far as at present formulated, in a manifesto which was published on August 15. This document was signed by Mr. Leonard Courtney, Professors Edgeworth (Oxford), Alfred Marshall (Cambridge), Bastable (Dublin), W. Smart (Glasgow), J. S. Nicholson (Edinburgh), Gonner (Liverpool), Messrs. A. L. Bowley, Edwin Cannan, L. R. Phelps, A. Pigou, C. P. Sanger, W. R. Scott and Armitage Smith. While avowing themselves not at all averse to a considerable sacrifice of material wealth for so great an object as the consolidation of the Empire, they declared that in their judgment the means proposed were likely to defeat rather than attain that end, by engendering irritating controversies among the members of the Empire, and that, by leading to the revival of Protection, they would conduce both to the injury of material well-being and to the damage of political purity at home. They went on to lay down, in correction of what they held to be popular errors, a series of propositions, the most striking of which, in a somewhat shortened form, were as follows: It was not true that an increase of imports involved the diminished employment of workmen in the importing country. It was very improbable that a tax on food imported into the United Kingdom would result in an equivalent, or more than equivalent, rise in wages. To the statement that a tax on food would raise the price of food, it was not a valid reply that the result might possibly not follow. The point to be borne in mind was that in consequence of an import duty the price was generally higher by the amount of the duty than it would have been if other things had remained the same. It seemed to the signatories impossible to devise any tariff regulation which should at once expand the wheat-growing areas in the Colonies, encourage agriculture in the United Kingdom, and at the same time not injure the British consumer. The suggestion that the public, though directly damaged by an import duty, might yet obtain a full equivalent from its yield was incorrect, because it left out of account the interference with the free circulation of goods, the detriment incident to diverting industry from the course which it would otherwise have taken, and the circumstance that in the case of a tax on foreign wheat—English and Colonial wheat being free—while the consumer would have to pay the whole, or nearly the whole, tax on all the wheat, the Government would get the tax only on foreign wheat. In general those who lightly under-

took to reorganise the supply of food and otherwise divert the course of industry did not, in the signatories' opinion, adequately realise what a burden of proof rested on the politician who, leaving the plain rule of taxation for revenue only, sought to attain ulterior objects by manipulating tariffs.

Though, however, a distinct majority of economists of high standing were against Mr. Chamberlain there were several whose signatures were not attached to the above declaration. They included Professor Foxwell (London University), Professor Hewins (London School of Economics), Mr. L. L. Price of Oxford and Dr. Cunningham of Cambridge. The three first-named wrote separately to the *Times*, dissociating themselves from the declaration on various grounds, partly as holding it to be premature in view of the absence of any full exposition of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and partly as differing from some of the doctrines laid down. Professor Foxwell observed that "with scarcely an exception the historical group of English economists declined to sign the manifesto." Dr. Cunningham, in a paper read (September 15) before the Economic Science Section of the British Association during its meeting at Southport, welcomed proposals for fiscal change on economic grounds, believing that they would tend to secure the position of this country as a great manufacturing community, and, on political grounds, holding that our present fiscal policy was tending towards Imperial disintegration. In particular, he urged that if we wished to preserve Canada as an integral part of the Empire, we were bound either to attempt to break down American Protection, so that Canadian loyalist sentiment might have fair play, or to give the Canadians some countervailing advantage that they could appreciate. An Imperial Council of Trade was needed, and should be organised, of an advisory character, in which every Colony and Dependency should have a voice as well as the Mother Country. Its aim should be the cosmopolitan economic policy which we had rightly adopted, and which was for the benefit of the whole world alike; but it was expedient to try to attain the object we had in view by such retaliatory duties as were likely to break down hostile tariffs, and by giving such temporary stimulus to Colonial industries as would tend to a mutually beneficial division of employment throughout the British Empire.

Except by an occasional letter Mr. Chamberlain came hardly at all before the public during the first few weeks of the recess, but anything which could be construed as throwing light on the development of his thought was eagerly canvassed. Thus a letter from him to Mr. Griffith-Boscawen, M.P., published August 18, was freely quoted as a proof that Mr. Chamberlain had abandoned the idea of taxing food. The letter, however, after stating that a tax on raw material had never been proposed, and was unnecessary alike for a mutual preference with the Colonies and for bargaining with foreign countries, contained

nothing more definite than the assertion: "As regards food there is nothing in the policy of tariff reform which I have put before the country which need increase in the slightest degree the cost of living of any family in this country." It pointed, in fact, not to the abandonment of food taxes, but to the attempt to take off duties from other articles by way of compensation for a tax on wheat.

Lord Salisbury, whose illness had for some considerable time been regarded with grave apprehension, died at Hatfield on the evening of Saturday, August 22. This event produced a deep and mournful impression. The nation saw in it the disappearance of a statesman who, having regard to his conspicuous intellectual ability and culture, his lofty patriotism, his prolonged and successful tenure of the highest offices under the Crown, had been the most striking representative living into the post-Victorian era of the greatness of the age which had passed away. The appreciative comment on Lord Salisbury's career, which was heard from all quarters in Europe, except perhaps Germany, dwelt more on the elevation of his character than on his diplomatic success. But Englishmen recognised that, if as Prime Minister the dead statesman had sometimes failed to exercise an effective control over his colleagues, as Foreign Minister he had proved himself exceptionally safe and sane. In particular it was felt that his diplomatic skill and personal influence had been of great service in the steady improvement of Anglo-American relations, and in averting the dangers of a European coalition against Great Britain in the most critical period of the South African War. In Japan his loss was mourned as that of a friend, the Japanese nation being flattered by the treaty which, as they felt, admitted their country into the circle of first-rate Powers.

The country was startled, and almost horrified, by the publication, on August 26, of the report of the Royal Commission on the War, which, although exceedingly moderate and restrained in its tone, clearly showed that the Government had been quite unprepared for the war. The authorities were kept well informed of the military preparations of the Transvaal by their own intelligence officers. From June 11, 1896, when Major Altham sent home a confidential document warning the Government that it was a mistake to suppose that during the month or six weeks which must elapse, in case of war, before sufficient troops could be concentrated in South Africa to allow of an advance, the Boers would make no serious attempt to invade Natal or Cape Colony, there were frequent reports from both Major Altham and Sir John Ardagh. But the Commissioners "were definitely informed by Lord Lansdowne that the papers of the Intelligence Division were never officially communicated to him as the basis of any proposals through the regular channel, i.e., by order of the Commander-in-Chief." Lord Wolseley, indeed, on several occasions, urged

the desirability of modest reinforcements of the Army in South Africa, and his recommendations were, in one way or another, fully complied with; but he had clearly altogether underestimated the necessities of the case, and it did not appear that any highly placed soldier had formed any even approximately adequate conception of them.

The generals who were sent out to South Africa at the beginning of the war had no instructions in regard to the wishes of the Government as to any particular plan of campaign, and there was no general plan of operations in South Africa. But the most appalling revelations were in reference to the military stores in the first days of the war. The reserve of 151,000,000 rounds of ammunition included about 60,000,000 rounds which were unfit for use. The sighting of the rifles in reserve was found to be incorrect. The whole of the uniforms in stock for the equipment of Reservists had to be discarded, as they were red or blue instead of khaki. The ammunition pouches shed the cartridges on the march. Altogether, we were not sufficiently prepared for the equipment even of a comparatively small expeditionary force. Further, with regard to *personnel*, Sir George Taubman-Goldie, in a minute appended to the report, declared that the dearth of trained men and trained officers, and the stripping of our home defences in 1900 "produced the most perilous international situation in which the Empire has found itself since the days of Napoleon." Lord Esher, who also appended a note to the report, recommended the reorganisation of the War Office Council on the lines of the Board of Admiralty, and the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief. He added that "the condition in 1899, as disclosed in Sir H. Brackenbury's memorandum" (written at the time of the Colenso reverse), "of our armaments, of our fortresses, of the clothing department, of the transport, of the Army Medical Corps, of the system of remounts, shows that either the Secretary of State was culpable of neglect, or that he was in ignorance of the facts."

It was difficult to say whether the statesmen or their military advisers or the military system which had evolved them received the greatest amount of discredit from the grave and measured findings of Lord Elgin's report. The nation, it was perfectly clear, had been absolutely unprepared for any kind of land war. The War Secretary, primarily, ought to have known this and prevented its being so, but the whole group of front bench politicians, who had triumphed over their opponents in 1895 on the ground of the neglect by the latter to secure an adequate supply of the then new kind of ammunition, were responsible for the condition of defencelessness to which the country was reduced. Mr. Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, had warned Lord Lansdowne, as War Secretary, in 1897 and 1898 of the dangers, which the former discerned clearly enough, connected with the Boer armaments, having regard to the difficult questions at issue

between the British Government and that of the South African Republic. But there was nothing to show that he had ever insisted on the collective consideration of the situation by the Cabinet, or that he had even made any representations to the War Office on the subject in 1899. As to the War Office the terrible reiteration of the phrase "not thought out," in the findings of the Elgin report, as to one vital question after another, exhibited the fundamental weakness of our military system. And, worst of all, there were indications of doubt in the minds of the Commissioners, and of more than doubt in that of one of the ablest of their number—Sir George Taubman-Goldie—as to whether there was any guarantee that the state of affairs in 1899, in respect of preparedness for war, would never be reproduced. A study of the voluminous and painfully interesting evidence taken by the Commissioners, and especially that of Sir T. Kelly-Kenny, the Adjutant-General, could not fail to deepen public anxiety on this head. The report was signed by all the Commissioners—Lord Elgin (chairman), Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, Lord Esher, Sir George Taubman-Goldie, Sir John Edge (Member of the Indian Council in London), Admiral Sir George Hopkins, Sir John Jackson (an eminent contractor), Lord Strathcona (High Commissioner for Canada) and Sir Frederick Darley (a distinguished Australian judge).

There was a great outburst of indignation in the newspapers, not by any means confined to those opposed to the Government, in the first week or two after the appearance of the War Commission's report. In one or two quarters feeling went so far as to demand the impeachment of Lord Lansdowne, but in view of the widely diffused, though not correspondingly diluted, discredit which, as has been pointed out above, flowed from the findings of the report, this tendency to seek a single scapegoat did not develop itself widely or in much strength. Anger against the Government as a whole might very possibly have taken a menacing form if the public mind had not been, as has been said, so markedly preoccupied by the fiscal question. As it was, there could be no doubt that the generally unfavourable course of the bye-elections in ensuing months was appreciably helped by reflection upon the revelations of the Elgin report. For the rest, it served powerfully to stimulate a desire for drastic reorganisation of the War Office and of our military system generally. In particular, the recommendations of Lord Esher, supported by Sir G. Taubman-Goldie, in favour of an assimilation of the administration of the Army to that of the Navy caught hold of the public mind. To that line of reform Lord Rosebery pointed, but was still more emphatic as to the method and agency by which it should be approached. In a letter (published Sept. 12) replying to a correspondent who asked his opinion, he said that while the state of things existed which was recorded in the report of Lord Elgin's Commission,

we were not, outside our fleet, in possession of the minimum of national security. With that report in their hands foreign statesmen might commit the mistake of holding Great Britain cheap. This in itself was a danger, for it meant an increased risk of war. As regarded the immediate question of the report, there were three main points that should be borne in mind: "Firstly, whatever be the departmental responsibility of a particular Minister, that in no way diminishes the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. Secondly, we should not forget our own responsibility. The nation itself is not dissociated from liability in this matter. After all the disasters and ineptitudes of the conduct of the war it gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to the Government which had managed it. Thirdly, What is the practical remedy? . . . The time has come for a new departure. We must place the War Office for a time under an expert. We are so fortunate as to possess a great soldier in the prime and vigour of life, who unites high capacity for business, finance and administration with ripe and recent military experience. We should entrust, or ask the King to entrust, the War Office to Lord Kitchener, with the fullest authority to reorganise our present system, with a view, probably, to its being administered by a board, as in the case of the Admiralty. His relations to the Cabinet would easily be settled by more methods than one—whether they should be with the present Cabinet or another is a question beyond my province. That is for the nation to decide. But of this I am sure—that by singular fortune we possess the man for the crisis, and that none of the flimsy formulas which have been urged should be allowed to prevail against his appointment."

Meanwhile, on a point of military administration, which of late, as often before, had been under discussion—the excessive expenses to which officers in the Army were liable—the Commander-in-Chief was taking action. In a Special Army Order (issued Sept. 7) Lord Roberts insisted that the colonels could and ought to put a check upon extravagance, and that they must be superseded if they failed to do so. General officers were directed to ensure, by careful periodical inspection, that officers' messes should be so conducted as to allow of commissions being held by men of moderate means.

A matter of grave importance from the military point of view, but of far wider national moment, to which attention had been called recently in the Press, and (July 6) by speeches in the House of Lords by Lord Meath, the Bishop of Ripon, and others, was the alleged physical deterioration of the labouring class. Having consulted, as he had promised, with the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the Duke of Devonshire, as President of the Council, appointed (Sept. 4) a committee, containing military, medico-statistical, and educational experts, to make a preliminary inquiry into these disquieting allegations.

The first debate (Sept. 8) at the Trade Union Congress

was on Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals. Its predominating tone was strongly hostile both to the proposals and to their author, whose conduct in "making light of Labour representatives"—to quote the phrase of one of the speakers—was clearly much resented. Two delegates from comparatively small unions—the United Patternmakers and the Hosiers—spoke in favour of inquiry. No vote could be taken, however, on an amendment in that sense, as it was ruled out of order as not having been sent in early enough, and in the end a resolution condemning "the change proposed by Mr. Chamberlain in our present fiscal policy as most mischievous and dangerous" was carried with only two dissentients.

On the same day the question of the representation of labour in Parliament was discussed on a resolution, "heartily endorsing the policy of direct labour representation, as decided upon at the last conference of the Labour Representation Committee," and calling upon all unions not yet affiliated to join that body forthwith, "so that the entire labour movement may be consolidated for definite political purposes." An amendment to this resolution—accepting its "hearty endorsement" of direct labour representation, but declaring that "the qualification for membership of the Labour Representation Committee should be the same as for the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee"—was moved and supported by delegates, including Mr. Bell, M.P. (Secretary of the Railway Servants Union), who were anxious lest the independence of the Labour party should be pushed to the point of isolation. The amendment was, however, defeated by 209 to 53, and the resolution adopted by 208 to 82, or, on a vote "by card" (representing the number of constituents), by 506,000 to 285,000. The prevailing aversion to compromise was still more strongly shown in the debate and division (Sept. 9) on the Taff Vale judgment. A resolution was moved instructing the Parliamentary Committee to press for legislation "definitely securing the immunity of trade union funds from being sued for damages"—restoring them, that is to say, to what was very generally understood to be their position before the decision of the House of Lords on the Taff Vale case. To this an amendment was moved, the effect of which would have been to favour legislation limiting the liability of trade union funds to cases of illegal action committed under the sanction of the rules of the union concerned. This was supported by Mr. Bell, M.P., and Mr. B. Tillett of the London Dock Workers, as being all that could be expected from Parliament, which could not be reasonably asked to put trade unions in a position of exceptional privilege. Notwithstanding this weighty support the amendment was defeated by 276 to 28, and the original resolution subsequently carried *nem. con.* Another resolution, passed unanimously, amid cheers, on the same day, protested against "the Government's insult to labour" in having ap-

pointed a Royal Commission upon the position of trade unions which contained no representative workman (see p. 143), and recommended that no representative workman should give evidence before a commission so constituted.

On September 10 the universal sweep of a resolution in favour of limiting the hours of labour for all trades and occupations in the country to eight per day was objected to on behalf of the builders' labourers, and other occupations. They, it was proposed, should be excepted, inasmuch as it often happened that circumstances made it impossible for them to work a full eight hours in a day. An amendment suggesting the "forty-eight hours' week," of the resolutions of former years was favoured by several speakers, but held to be out of order for want of sufficient notice. The amendment suggested by the bricklayers' labourers was rejected by 116 to 68, and, on a vote by card, there were for the original resolution 824,000, and 228,000 against it. The majority (Sept. 11) against compulsory arbitration in trade disputes was, by card, 889,000 to 251,000—very much the same as at the previous year's congress.

The horrible details sent by various correspondents, of Ministerial as well as anti-Ministerial newspapers, of the atrocities committed by the Turks in the suppression of the spreading insurrection in Macedonia, produced increasing distress and indignation among the British public, who were unable to divest themselves of a feeling of special responsibility for the lot of the Macedonians, in view of Great Britain's part in converting the Treaty of San Stefano into the Treaty of Berlin. On one day (Sept. 14) the *Times* contained letters from four Bishops (Hereford, Worcester, Durham and Gibraltar) very well qualified to express the sentiments of Churchmen of all the leading schools, in which the peculiar responsibility of the country (for the reason just referred to) was solemnly emphasised. Opinion was not less strongly roused among Nonconformists, among whose leaders Dr. Guinness Rogers wrote a letter urging a public demonstration on the subject. Meetings of protest were held in provincial towns and in London—at the City Temple (Sept. 24) under the auspices of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation, and (Sept. 29) at St. James's Hall, where a great assemblage was addressed by the Bishop of Worcester, Mr. Bryce, Sir E. Fry, Lord Stanmore, and the Rev. R. J. Campbell of the City Temple.

Meanwhile, in response to an appeal from the Primate, Mr. Balfour had written a letter (published Sept. 26) in which he said that he fully sympathised with the horror and indignation felt at the state of affairs in Macedonia, and the desire to give expression to that feeling in public meetings, provided that such action were according to knowledge. He pointed out that the problem in Macedonia was complicated by the fact that the Christian population was itself rent into fragments by differences of race aggravated by differences of religion. It was, he main-

tained, "this fundamental divergence between the distribution of sects and peoples in Macedonia on the one hand, and Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia on the other," which "rendered so irrelevant the regrets that were heard as to the exclusion in 1878 of Macedonia from the Greater Bulgaria." The best hope of dealing with so difficult a problem, contended the Prime Minister, lay in the continued co-operation of Austria and Russia, supported and advised by the other Powers, and such support and advice his Majesty's Government were giving and intended to give.

In further elucidation of the policy of the British Government it was officially announced by the Foreign Office that the British Ambassador (Sir N. O'Connor) had been instructed to inform the Porte that neither Turkey nor Bulgaria must expect support from Great Britain in resisting, openly or secretly, the execution of the reforms already promulgated, which in the opinion of the British Government were the minimum of what was necessary, and that far prompter and more effective measures were required to give effect to them than had hitherto been adopted by the Turkish authorities. The Bulgarian Government, it was added, had received a corresponding intimation; but the tone and the net effect of British policy, as thus indicated, was perceptibly more stringent and peremptory towards the Porte as compared with Bulgaria than was the case with the policy of Austria and Russia. It was probably the recognition that this was so, and perhaps some fuller knowledge of the actual course of Lord Lansdowne's diplomacy, which made Mr. Bryce, at the St. James's Hall meeting, maintain that they would "misjudge the zeal of the Government for justice and humanity if they measured it by the terms of Mr. Balfour's letter." He hoped therefore that their meeting and the others being held all over the country "would strengthen the hands of the Government in the course which they were not unwilling to pursue." The resolutions which were passed declared it necessary that the direct rule of the Sultan should cease "in Macedonia, and be replaced by an administration directed by persons who cannot be controlled or dismissed by the Turkish Government," and called upon the British Government, in view of our obligations under the Treaty of Berlin, and the events leading up to it, both to take steps to arrest the horrors in Macedonia and to urge upon the other Powers the advantage of some such policy as that above specified. A fund for the relief of distress in Macedonia was also to be immediately organised.

But a fortnight before the incidents just referred to the political outlook at home had been altered in a sudden and dramatic fashion. Inevitably, the first meeting of the Cabinet after the prorogation was anticipated with much eagerness and in some quarters with a good deal of anxiety, as it was recognised that a decision would have to be arrived at on the fiscal

question before Mr. Balfour addressed the delegates of the Conservative Associations at Sheffield and Mr. Chamberlain entered upon his autumn campaign. A bye-election in Argyllshire, which had turned partly on the fiscal issue, had resulted (Sept. 2) in the loss of a seat to the Government by a large majority, and, as above recorded, the Trade Union Congress had with practical unanimity passed a resolution condemning Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. On Thursday, September 17, the seat of St. Andrews Burghs was also lost to the Government by a small turnover of votes, but in the meantime the Cabinet had met. When after somewhat protracted sittings on Monday and Tuesday, September 14 and 15, the Cabinet broke up without any announcement being made it was supposed that the crisis had been postponed. On Wednesday, September 16, there appeared a pamphlet by Mr. Balfour, entitled "Some Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade." It was declared to be a Cabinet memorandum circulated among Mr. Balfour's colleagues during the recess. Its general tone was academic and rather vague, and it did not make any definite proposals. The main argument was that the increase of foreign tariffs and the growth of kartells and trusts made it necessary that the British Government should be armed with the power of retaliation. The original Free Traders, Mr. Balfour maintained, had fallen into two errors. "They failed to foresee that the world would reject Free Trade and they failed to take full account of the commercial probabilities of the British Empire." Thus "Insular Free Trade" had come about with its inevitable limitations and disadvantages. The writer held that if we excluded coal from the sum of our exports, and still more, if we excluded machinery, there were signs in the official returns not only of a diminution relatively to our population, but of a diminution absolute, plainly to be attributed to the hostile tariffs everywhere in force against us. Mitigation of the evils threatening us could only be sought in negotiation, and "our negotiators can but appeal to self-interest, or, in the case of our Colonies, to self-interest and sentiment combined." We are disabled from making any such appeal to foreign countries unless we are in a position, "instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand." It was essential, therefore, that liberty to negotiate should be recovered. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were barely touched upon in the pamphlet, but it was pointed out that Mr. Balfour had said nothing that was in actual opposition to them.

On the following day (Sept. 17) the Board of Trade Blue-book, which was to be so frequently quoted in the controversy as the "Fiscal Blue-book," was issued. It dealt with the exports and imports of the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the United States during the past half-century or thereabouts; with the proportion of our exports which went to foreign

protected countries and to the self-governing Colonies; the relative rates of wages and cost of food, and the condition of the people generally, in Great Britain and in the chief protected countries; the policy of the foreign kartells and trusts; the capitalised wealth of Great Britain; the progress of shipping, railways and banking, and the excess of imports over exports—in fact it offered material help towards the consideration of almost every point in the controversy that had been raised. The Blue-book had been prepared under the general supervision of Mr. Llewellyn Smith of the Board of Trade, in compliance with Mr. Gerald Balfour's instructions, and it was recognised as a publication of great informatory value.

But before the British public had had any time in which to consider calmly the speculations of the Prime Minister, or the facts and figures so fairly and lucidly arranged for them by the officials of the Board of Trade, they were startled by, unquestionably, one of the most sensational political events recorded in the long series of volumes of the ANNUAL REGISTER. On Friday, September 18, the morning newspapers announced simultaneously the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain and of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie. Resignations were not unlooked for, but it had not been expected that Mr. Chamberlain would resign unless his colleagues declared themselves absolutely opposed to the ideas of Protection and Preference. That they had done so seemed hardly conceivable in view of the retirement of convinced Free Traders like the Secretary for India and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some light, however, was shed on this astonishing development by the publication on the same day of letters which had passed between the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary. They were of such profound interest as to demand *verbatim* reproduction. On September 9 Mr. Chamberlain had written:—

“MY DEAR BALFOUR,—In anticipation of the important Cabinet which is to meet on Monday, I have most carefully considered the present situation as it affects the Government and also the great question of fiscal reform.

“When you in replying to the deputation on the Corn Tax, and I in addressing my constituents at Birmingham, called attention to the changes that had taken place in our commercial position during the last fifty years and suggested an inquiry into the subject, I do not think that either of us intended to provoke a purely party controversy. We raised, not for the first time, a question of the greatest national and Imperial importance in the hope that it would be discussed with a certain impartiality by both friends and opponents, and that the inquiry thus initiated might lead to conclusions accepted by a majority of the people of this country and represented accordingly in the results of the next general election.

“Whether our view was reasonable or not, it was certainly not shared by the leaders of the Liberal party. From the

first they scouted the idea that a system which was generally accepted in 1846 could possibly require any modification in 1903, and the whole resources of the party organisation were brought into play against any attempt to alter or even to inquire into the foundations of our existing fiscal policy.

"Meanwhile the advocates of reconsideration were at a great disadvantage. Owing to admitted differences of opinion in the Unionist party the political organisations of the party were paralysed and our opponents have had full possession of the field. They have placed in the forefront of their arguments their objections to the taxation of food and even to any readjustment of the existing taxation with a view of securing the mutual advantage of ourselves and our Colonies and the closer union of the different parts of the Empire. A somewhat unscrupulous use has been made of the old cry of the dear loaf, and, in the absence of any full public discussion of the question, I recognise that serious prejudice has been created, and that, while the people generally are alive to the danger of unrestricted competition on the part of those foreign countries that close their markets to us while finding in our market an outlet for their surplus production, they have not yet appreciated the importance to our trade of Colonial markets, nor the danger of losing them if we do not meet in some way their natural and patriotic desire for preferential trade.

"The result is that, for the present at any rate, a preferential agreement with our Colonies involving any new duty, however small, on articles of food hitherto untaxed is, even if accompanied by a reduction of taxation on other articles of food of equally universal consumption, unacceptable to the majority in the constituencies. However much we may regret their decision, and however mistaken we may think it to be, no Government in a democratic country can ignore it. I feel, therefore, that, as an immediate and practical policy, the question of preference to the Colonies cannot be pressed with any hope of success at the present time, although there is a very strong feeling in favour of the other branch of fiscal reform which would give a fuller discretion to the Government in negotiating with foreign countries for freer exchange of commodities and would enable our representatives to retaliate if no concession were made to our just claims for greater reciprocity.

"If, as I believe, you share these views, it seems to me that you will be absolutely justified in adopting them as the policy of your Government, although it will necessarily involve some changes in its constitution. As Secretary of State for the Colonies during the last eight years, I have been in a special sense the representative of the policy of closer union, which I firmly believe is equally necessary in the interests of the Colonies and of ourselves, and I believe that it is possible to-day—and may be impossible to-morrow—to make arrangements for such a union. I have had unexampled opportunities of

watching the trend of events and of appreciating the feelings of our kinsmen beyond the seas. I stand, therefore, in a different position to that of any of my colleagues, and I think I should be justly blamed if I remained in office and thus formally accepted the exclusion from my political programme of so important a part of it. I think that, with absolute loyalty to your Government and its general policy, and with no fear of embarrassing it in any way, I can best promote the cause I have at heart from outside, and I cannot but hope that, in a perfectly independent position, my arguments may be received with less prejudice than would attach to those of a party leader.

"Accordingly I suggest that you should limit the present policy of the Government to the assertion of our freedom in the case of all commercial relations with foreign countries, and that you should agree to my tendering my resignation of my present office to his Majesty and devoting myself to the work of explaining and popularising those principles of Imperial union which my experience has convinced me are essential to our future welfare and prosperity.

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

Mr. Balfour's reply was not written until September 16. It was as follows :—

"MY DEAR CHAMBERLAIN,—I did not answer your letter of the 9th, which I received shortly before my departure from Scotland for the Cabinet meeting, as I knew that we should within a few hours have an opportunity of talking over the important issues with which it deals. The reply, therefore, which I am now writing rather embodies the results of our conversation than adds to them anything which is new.

"Agreeing as I do with you that the time has come when a change should be made in the fiscal canons by which we have bound ourselves in our commercial dealings with other Governments, it seems paradoxical, indeed, that you should leave the Cabinet at the time that others of my colleagues are leaving it who disagree on that very point with us both. Yet I cannot but admit, however reluctantly, that there is some force in the arguments with which you support that course, based as they are upon your special and personal relation to that portion of the controversy which deals with Colonial preference. You have done more than any man, living or dead, to bring home to the citizens of the Empire the consciousness of Imperial obligation, and the interdependence between the various fragments into which the Empire is geographically divided. I believe you to be right in holding that this interdependence should find expression in our commercial relations as well as in our political and military relations. I believe with you that closer fiscal union between the Mother Country and her Colonies would be good for the trade of both, and that, if much closer union could be established on fitting terms, its advantages to both parties

would increase as the years went on and as the Colonies grew in wealth and population.

"If there ever has been any difference between us in connection with this matter it has only been with regard to the practicability of a proposal which would seem to require, on the part of the Colonies, a limitation in the all-round development of a protective policy, and on the part of this country the establishment of a preference in favour of important Colonial products. On the first of these requirements I say nothing, but if the second involves, as it almost certainly does, taxation, however light, upon food stuffs, I am convinced with you that public opinion is not yet ripe for such an arrangement. The reasons may easily be found in past political battles and present political misrepresentations.

"If, then, this branch of fiscal reform is not at present within the limits of practical politics, you are surely right in your advice not to treat it as indissolubly connected with the other branch of fiscal reform, to which we both attach importance, and which we believe the country is prepared to consider without prejudice. I feel, however, deeply concerned that you should regard this conclusion, however well founded, as one which makes it difficult for you, in your very special circumstances, to remain a member of the Government. Yet I do not venture, in a matter so strictly personal, to raise any objection. If you think you can best serve the interests of Imperial unity, for which you have done so much, by pressing your views on Colonial preference with the freedom which is possible in an independent position, but is hardly compatible with office, how can I criticise your determination? The loss to the Government is great, but the gain to the cause you have at heart may be greater still. If so, what can I do but acquiesce?

"Yours sincerely,

"A. J. BALFOUR.

"P.S.—May I say with what gratification, both on personal and public grounds, I learn that Mr. Austen Chamberlain is ready to remain a member of the Government? There could be no more conclusive evidence that in your judgment, as in mine, the exclusion of taxation of food from the party programme is, in existing circumstances, the course best fitted practically to further the cause of fiscal reform."

The interpretation generally placed on this interchange of letters was that Mr. Balfour and his colleagues who remained were in cordial sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's aspirations, but that they recognised that the adoption of his proposals as the Government policy would entail a crushing defeat at the next general election. While, however, Mr. Balfour was claimed by the followers of Mr. Chamberlain as at heart a convert to their views, it was hoped, though with misgiving, by many of the Free Trade Unionists that he had definitely, if

only for the time, saved the party from being committed to a policy of the taxation of food. Yet they felt that for the thorough-going Free Trader there was no longer any place in the Government; and the announcement, on September 21, of the resignation of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Secretary of State for Scotland, and of Mr. Arthur Elliot, who had only taken office in the spring (see p. 99) as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, was received by their own section of the Unionists, as well as, of course, by the Opposition, as a satisfactory assurance of readiness in prominent politicians to make sacrifices for principle. What for the time caused general wonder was the fact that the Duke of Devonshire did not resign. The Ministerialist organs expressed great satisfaction at his remaining in the Government, and the Unionist Free Trade Councils regretful surprise. A painful impression was produced by the publication on October 1 of the letters of resignation of Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton. These letters (accompanied in Lord George Hamilton's case by a letter of explanation to the Chairman of the Conservative Council in the Ealing Division) appeared to show that although Mr. Chamberlain's letter of resignation was written on September 9 no mention was made of it, or of the indefinite postponement of the preferential policy, at the Cabinet meetings of September 14 or 15. Lord George Hamilton wrote his letter of resignation, as he said, "on the afternoon of September 15, in ignorance of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation and the consequent elimination of all that related to preferential tariffs from the Government programme." The first intimation he received of the great change that had been settled came to him through a morning paper of September 18. That newspaper also contained the "Gazette" of the acceptance of his resignation. Mr. Ritchie afterwards announced, in reply to an inquiry from a daily paper, that he also was in ignorance of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation till his own had been accepted. In their letters to the Premier both Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton gave prominence to their objections to Mr. Chamberlain's preferential projects among their reasons for resigning, though both of them also intimated their disbelief in the possibility of securing through a policy of fiscal retaliation any advantages sufficient to counterbalance the dangers which it would involve.

There can be no doubt that these letters produced a widespread impression that the Free Trade element in the Cabinet had been reduced under conditions hardly compatible with that mutual confidence which was assumed to characterise the relations between Ministerial colleagues. It was under these circumstances that the Prime Minister went down to make an anxiously awaited declaration of policy at Sheffield, in connection with the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations. His speech was made at night,

and in the earlier part of the day the delegates had had an animated conference. The supporters of Mr. Chamberlain, led by Mr. Chaplin and Sir Howard Vincent, were in a decided majority, and the Free Trade Unionists had considerable difficulty in gaining a hearing. Lord Hugh Cecil created great excitement by declaring that if Conservatives went in for Protection he would have nothing to do with such an apostate party, but Mr. Winston Churchill's plea for freedom of discussion was well received. Even so staunch an agricultural Tory as Sir F. C. Rasch pronounced vigorously against a tax on corn, and the attempt to commit the conference to an expression of approval of Mr. Chamberlain's policy before the Premier had spoken was defeated.

Addressing a great meeting in the evening, Mr. Balfour said that for a long time past there had been a growing uneasiness as to the condition of British trade in relation to the trade of the world, and the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's speech in May—"the great speech of a great man"—was largely due to the fact that it fell on ground already prepared by circumstances. The result of Canada's attempt to give us preferential treatment had made us realise our helplessness to deal with a situation of that kind under our existing tariff system. "You cannot go to war over tariff questions. Tariff attacks can only be met by tariff replies." Mr. Balfour went on to say that Cobden, though a patriot, had an imperfect sentiment of nationality. That sentiment had grown prodigiously since Cobden's time, and concurrently with it the system of Protection and of tariffs which had walled us off, not only from foreign countries, but from our own Colonies. By this system we had suffered "deeply and profoundly," and were threatened with still greater injury by the development of the Trust system under the protection of tariffs. The evil had gone too far to be cured. The great commercial nations of the world would not abandon Protection. But there was at least a palliative—the assertion of our right to bargain with other nations. His request, therefore, was "that the people of this country should give to the Government of this country, from whatever party that Government may be drawn, that freedom of negotiation of which we have been deprived, not by the force of circumstances, not by the action of overmastering forces, not by the pressure of foreign Powers, but by something which I can only describe as our own pedantry and our own self-conceit." The evil of fiscal divisions as regards our Colonies had been allowed by us and by them to reach a point at which it was incapable of any complete solution. Even an attempted solution would imply taxation of food, and for that public opinion was not ripe. The mandate for which he asked, therefore, only extended to liberty of negotiation with foreign countries. He had no idea of a general tariff war, or of a general tariff. But he did think we might inform any foreign Government which was treating British goods with outrageous

unfairness that unless it modified its policy we should feel compelled to take this or that step in our defence.

Mr. Balfour went on to say that if he was asked, "Do you desire to reverse the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations?" he would reply, "Yes, I do." He proposed to alter that tradition "by asking the people of this country to reverse, to annul, and delete altogether from their maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes." The country ought never to have deprived itself of that liberty, and it ought publicly to resume, in the face of Europe and the world, that liberty of which it deprived itself. His object, in resuming that liberty, was to mitigate as far as possible the injury done to us by hostile tariffs, which had divided one fragment of the Empire fiscally from another, had diverted our industries into channels in which they would never have naturally flowed, and had restricted and hampered our export trade. It was true that the remedy he proposed would not be complete, even if it could be tried in its integrity, and it could not be tried in its integrity, "because I believe the country will not tolerate a tax on food." But, limited though it was, it would strengthen the hands of British Ministers in negotiating with foreign countries. In a speech at an overflow meeting, Mr. Balfour observed that personally he would have preferred to leave the topic of tariff reform an open question, but "neither my colleagues in the Government nor in the House of Commons nor the country would tolerate that view." They had insisted on his giving them a lead, and he had done so. The Prime Minister added that if the Conservative party should signify, in a plain and unmistakable manner, its dissent from the conclusion at which he had arrived, he should make his bow and do his best, in an unofficial capacity, to serve the cause to which he always had been and always should be faithful. "But," said Mr. Balfour, "while I am the leader of the party, I should be unworthy of my position if I did not try to lead the party, and I mean to do it."

This and a similar declaration in the earlier speech were received with cheers, and they sufficed to secure the acceptance of the Prime Minister's policy by the assembled delegates of Conservative associations. As has been said, the active friends of the more advanced policy of Mr. Chamberlain were in a decided majority among the delegates, and Mr. Chaplin on their behalf had given notice of a preferential tariff rider to the official resolution. If he had moved it Sir J. Gorst was ready with a "Free food" amendment. But the rider was withdrawn, and *nem. con.*—though, as they desired it to be known, without the support of Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. Winston Churchill—the conference resolved to thank the Prime Minister for instituting an inquiry into our fiscal system, and to welcome the policy which he had declared for securing to this country fiscal

freedom in our negotiations and commercial relations with foreign countries.

For the moment it seemed as if Mr. Balfour might possibly have succeeded in providing at least a *modus vivendi* for the divergent sections of the Unionist party. In the same week, although, as he had to announce (Oct. 2) at a subsidiary meeting at Sheffield, he had been unable to persuade Lord Milner to leave South Africa in order to fill Mr. Chamberlain's place at the Colonial Office, he accomplished the difficult task of the reconstruction of his Ministry. Its most striking feature was the advancement of Mr. Austen Chamberlain from the Postmaster-Generalship to the great post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. As a promotion it was generally held to be well deserved, but without doubt it strengthened the impression that the Government must be regarded as in fundamental sympathy with the fiscal projects of the ex-Colonial Secretary. Mr. Brodrick was transferred to the India Office, and succeeded at the War Office by the Secretary to the Admiralty (since 1900), Mr. Arnold-Forster, who was known to have intimately studied military as well as naval matters for many years, and to be an ardent Army reformer. The Post Office was taken over by Lord Stanley, who after honourable service in the South African War had for some time been Financial Secretary to the War Office. Mr. Graham Murray, from Lord-Advocate, became Secretary for Scotland—an appointment favourably regarded north of the Tweed. For the charge of the Colonial Department the Prime Minister selected Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, a King's Counsel and politician without administrative experience, but favourably regarded in South Africa, where he had presided successfully over a commission dealing with the commercial concessions granted by the Transvaal Government before the war, and also in Newfoundland, where he had taken part in an important arbitration in regard to the claims of Mr. R. G. Reid against the Colonial Government. He was an able member of a prominent and able family, apt to succeed in what they undertake; but the general feeling was that the appointment was one which would have to justify itself. The element of weight was, and must, perhaps, in any case have been for a considerable time, deficient in the new Cabinet appointments as a whole.

But their collective shortcoming in that respect, and the corresponding disadvantage to the Ministry, were vastly emphasised in the public judgment by the announcement, which appeared on the same day (Oct. 6) as that on which the new appointments were published, that the Duke of Devonshire had, after all, left the Ministry. His letter tendering his resignation, which was dated October 2, attributed his resolve to reconsider his position to the general tone and tendency of the Prime Minister's speech at Sheffield. It was unnecessary, in the Duke's opinion, for Mr. Balfour to describe the great controversy of 1846 as of no interest except from an historical point of

view, or to assert a desire "to alter fundamentally the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations." He had hoped for an explicit declaration of adherence to the principles of Free Trade as the ordinary basis of our fiscal and commercial system, and an equally explicit repudiation of the principle of Protection. The absence of such declarations was bound to encourage the advocates of direct Protection, and to discourage those who, like himself, and, he had hoped, the Prime Minister, without regarding its economic principles as of peculiar sanctity, believed the present system of free imports, and especially of food imports, to be, on the whole, the most advantageous to the country. Mr. Balfour had said that the subject could not be left an open question among members of the Government. In these circumstances the Duke of Devonshire thought he had said enough to prove to Mr. Balfour that there was no longer such agreement between them as to make it possible for him to be a satisfactory exponent of the Premier's views or those of the Government in the debates which must inevitably take place in the next session. He concluded with an expression of deep regret, and of anxiety at the cleavage in the Unionist party which must result from "the unexpected scope and strength" of Mr. Balfour's declarations at Sheffield.

Mr. Balfour in his reply, dated October 3, expressed surprise at the Duke's communication. In view of much confidential correspondence and intimate conversation before September 16, when the Duke decided to remain in the Cabinet, he felt that he had a right to consider that decision as final, and so regarded it. He subsequently consulted the Duke as to the filling of vacancies, and accepted some of his proposals. His last communication was written only forty-eight hours before the receipt of the Duke's telegram announcing his intention to resign and his desire that his resignation should be announced forthwith. Mr. Balfour expressed himself as quite unable to discover in his Sheffield speech any valid ground for this "singular transformation." In intention the speech was entirely forestalled by his pamphlet; and if there was any unintentional discrepancy between the written and the spoken word the Duke ought to have made inquiries before preferring the latter. For himself, he did not believe any such discrepancy existed, and in the case of any other man in the world would have attributed his action to anxiety to pick a quarrel.

Specifying his grounds for complaint against the Duke, Mr. Balfour said that so far from the Sheffield speech making for party division, it had produced greater harmony than had prevailed since the fiscal question came to the front six months before. "Had you resigned on the 15th, or had you not resigned at all, this healing effect would have suffered no interruption. To resign now, and to resign on the speech, is to take the course most calculated to make yet harder the hard task of the peacemaker." The Duke's withdrawal from the Government

at any time would have been a serious loss, but he had, in fact, left it when, in the opinion of its opponents, its fortunes were at their lowest and its perplexities at their greatest. Mr. Balfour believed that to be a mistaken view, but in any case he could not pretend to view with equanimity the loss of a colleague "whose services to the Unionist cause no changes and chances of political fortune could tempt any Unionist to forget."

The prevailing feeling excited by this remarkable exchange of letters was that Mr. Balfour's reproaches would have been much better left unpublished, but that the slow movement of the Duke's mind—whether its conclusion was a sound one or not—had indeed given the Prime Minister substantial cause of complaint. At the same time the impression already mentioned persisted with regard to the unfortunate quality of the circumstances attending the resignation of those Free Trade Ministers who left the Government immediately after the Cabinet Councils in mid-September.

On the same day (Oct. 6) Mr. Chamberlain opened his historic fiscal campaign by addressing an audience of some 6,000 persons in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. Though no longer a leader, he said, he was still a loyal servant of the party to which he belonged. As a pioneer, he went in front of the Unionist army, and if the army was attacked would go back to it. In no conceivable circumstances would he allow himself to be put in any sort of competition, direct or indirect, with Mr. Balfour, "his friend and leader, whom he meant to follow." Glancing at the commercial history of the last thirty years—1872-1902—Mr. Chamberlain observed that our export trade had increased in that time by about 20,000,000*l.* a year, against 110,000,000*l.* in the case of the United States and 56,000,000*l.* in that of Germany. Moreover, we were exporting less and less of manufactured goods, and importing more and more. Our exports to foreign countries had decreased by 46,000,000*l.*, but those to our Colonies had increased by 40,000,000*l.*, and they might be still further increased, to the extent, he believed, of 26,000,000*l.* a year, by a system of preferential tariffs. The result of such an increase as that, he calculated, would, on a moderate estimate, be new employment, at 30*s.* a week, for 166,000 men, or the subsistence of 830,000 persons. As to the Imperial aspect of the question, he was convinced that we must draw closer to the Colonies or drift apart. His proposals included no tax on raw materials. Roughly, he suggested a duty of 2*s.* a quarter on foreign corn, with a corresponding duty on flour, corn from British possessions to come in free. Maize would be altogether exempt from duty, partly because it was the food of some of the very poorest of people, partly because it was raw material for farmers, who fed their pigs on it. There would also be a duty of 5 per cent. on foreign meat and dairy produce, excepting bacon, as the poor man's food; a substantial preference to Colonial wine, and perhaps fruit. If the weight of

the new taxes fell exclusively upon the consumer, as some contended that it must fall, it appeared from figures supplied by the Board of Trade that they would increase the cost of living by 16½ farthings a week to the agricultural labourer, and by 19½ farthings to the artisan in towns. He did not himself believe that the consumer would pay the whole of the taxes, and considered that the actual increase of expenditure would more probably be 9½ farthings to the labourer, and 10 farthings to the artisan. On the other hand, he proposed to take off three-quarters of the duty on tea and half the duty on sugar, with corresponding reductions on coffee and cocoa; that would mean a weekly reduction of 17 farthings to the agricultural labourer, and 19½ farthings to the artisan. As a set-off to the loss of revenue entailed by his scheme, which he estimated at 2,800,000*l.*, he suggested a tax averaging not more than 10 per cent. on foreign manufactures, which would yield 9,000,000*l.* a year, and might be used for further reduction of the taxes on food or of other taxes which pressed hardly on the community.

Much criticism was aroused, both at home and in the Colonies, by a proposal which Mr. Chamberlain was reported to have suggested, in the speech above summarised, that we should make to the self-governing Colonies. He was understood to be putting forward the idea that the Colonies, while protecting those industries which already existed, should not set up others which would compete with British industries. In speaking of what the Colonies were prepared to do in return for a preference from Great Britain, Mr. Chamberlain was reported as having said: "The Colonies are prepared to meet us. In return for a very moderate preference, they will give us a substantial advantage. In the first place, I believe they will reserve to us the trade which we already enjoy. They will arrange for tariffs in the future in order not to start industries in competition with those which are already in existence in the Mother Country. They will not—and I would not urge them for a moment to do so—they will not injure those industries which have already been secured. They will maintain them. They will not allow them to be destroyed or injured even by our competition. But outside that there is still a great margin—a margin which has given us that enormous increase of trade to which I have referred. That margin, I believe, we can permanently retain."

The apparent suggestion, that the Colonies would refrain from using their tariffs so as to protect new industries in competition with ours, was at once disclaimed in Colonial quarters, and was commented on very unfavourably here as connecting Imperialism with the economic stunting of the Colonies. In the corrected version of Mr. Chamberlain's speech the sentence above, beginning "They will arrange for tariffs," did not appear; and in the preceding sentence the qualifying words "much, at any rate, of" were introduced before the words "the trade which we already enjoy". The remainder of the passage quoted,

however, including the last sentence, stood practically unaltered. So also did a sentence suggesting that we should say to the Colonies: "After all, there are many things which you do not now make, many things for which we have a great capacity of production—leave them to us as you have left them hitherto".

Another difference between the Press reports and the authorised edition had reference to the product of the suggested 10 per cent. tax on manufactured articles imported into Great Britain. According to the newspapers, Mr. Chamberlain estimated it at 9,000,000*l.*, but in the revised speech the statement read, "A duty, I say, averaging 10 per cent., would give the Exchequer at the very least 9,000,000*l.* a year, while it might be nearer 15,000,000*l.* if we accept the Board of Trade estimates of 148,000,000*l.* as the value of our imports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods."

On the following day, speaking at Greenock, Mr. Chamberlain dwelt with much vivacity upon the necessity of being in a position to retaliate against foreign tariffs. There was abroad a deliberate policy to exclude the manufactures of this country. "I never like being hit," he said, "without striking back again." If foreign goods were to be brought into this country to undersell our own manufactures, either the Fair Wages Clause and the Factory Acts and the Compensation to Workmen Acts would have to be repealed, or the workmen must take lower wages, or they must lose their work. "Agriculture, as the greatest of all trades and industries of this country, has been practically destroyed, sugar has gone, silk has gone, iron is threatened, wool is threatened, cotton will go! How long are you going to stand it?" The fear expressed in some quarters of the consequences to us of counter-retaliation by other countries was craven and only worthy of the Little Englander. He did not believe in a war of tariffs, but if there were one, we should not come off second best. For ours was the greatest market in the world.

The campaign was opened on the part of the Opposition by Mr. Asquith with an address to a Liberal gathering at Cinderford, in Gloucestershire, on October 8. After characterising the condition of the Ministerial party as one of unconcealed and almost avowed demoralisation, he observed that Mr. Chamberlain was haunted by two spectres, the approaching decay of British trade and the possible breaking up of the British Empire. As to the former, it was difficult to see how our trade could have been decaying during the last thirty years when all the statistics available pointed to an enormous accumulation of wealth. "During that period the amount assessed to the Income tax has doubled; the interest upon our foreign investments has more than doubled; the deposits in our savings banks have multiplied two- or three-fold; the bankers' cheques cleared, taking the annual average, have risen in amount from 530,000,000*l.* to over 800,000,000*l.* sterling; and last, but not least, the wages of the working classes have risen, measured not merely in terms

of money, though there has been a considerable rise in money wages, but much more measured in their real terms, in the terms of that which money can buy. As the Board of Trade has told us, 100s. buys as much as 140s. twenty years ago."

The fact was, he went on to argue, that Mr. Chamberlain entirely ignored our home trade. Moreover, he made exports alone the criterion of the volume of foreign trade, and he had taken no account of gains from the carrying trade—reckoned by the Board of Trade at 90,000,000*l.* a year. Then the year 1872, on which he had based his comparisons, was not a fair test-year, as having been one of altogether abnormal prices. For the Empire, it was a calumny to assert that it would break up in default of preferential tariffs. In any case, let it be remembered that Protection was an inclined plane, and there was no halting-place till you reached the bottom. Raw materials, Mr. Asquith argued, would have to be taxed as well as food, whether for preferential or retaliatory purposes.

On October 9 Mr. Ritchie, addressing his constituents at Croydon, had considerable difficulty in obtaining a hearing. Dealing with the new policy, which as Chancellor of the Exchequer he would have had to carry out, he complained that it had been launched on the country by the Colonial Secretary without any examination into it or consultation upon it, and in defiance of his own clearly expressed defence of one-sided Free Trade in 1882. Mr. Ritchie then made the interesting disclosure that when he suggested the removal of the 1*s.* corn tax as unnecessary and liable to misrepresentation, Mr. Chamberlain desired that it should be retained, while preference should be given to the Colonies. This Mr. Ritchie resolutely opposed, on the ground that you could not stop at 1*s.*, and if it were given to Canada you could not stop at Canada, and on a threat of resignation carried his point with the Cabinet. Mr. Ritchie concluded by referring to the circumstances of his actual resignation. The *Times* had stated that other Ministers concluded at their last Cabinet meeting that Mr. Chamberlain had resigned. In reply to this, he declared that he and two of his colleagues whom he had consulted had no idea before September 17 either that the preferential policy would be abandoned or that Mr. Chamberlain would resign. In the course of his speech Mr. Ritchie offered an interesting criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion that the imposition of taxes on some food imports might be compensated for by a reduction of the tea and sugar duties. Of these taxes on tea and sugar 8,000,000*l.*, Mr. Ritchie reminded his hearers, had been raised for war purposes; therefore, "you and the consumers of the country are entitled to have those 8,000,000*l.* off without new taxation on bread or meat, so soon as the finances of the country justify the remission of taxation."

On the same evening, at an Eighty Club meeting, Lord Spencer attacked Mr. Chamberlain with unusual vehemence, as

"one of the most reckless and unscrupulous of statesmen, who never hesitated to use any weapon that would advance his cause." Mr. Chamberlain, at the same time, was, in his belief, the real leader of the Conservative party, and Mr. Balfour's Sheffield policy was really Protectionism.

The reconstruction of the Ministry was completed by the advancement of the new Marquess of Salisbury from the Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs to the office of Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the Cabinet, and the succession of Lord Londonderry, retaining the Presidency of the Board of Education, to the Duke of Devonshire's position as Lord President of the Council, as well as by a number of lesser appointments, all announced October 12. Mr. Arthur Lee was made Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Bromley-Davenport Financial Secretary to the War Office, Mr. Pretymann Secretary to the Admiralty, Lord Donoughmore Under-Secretary for War, Lord Hardwicke Under-Secretary for India, and Lord Balfour a Junior Lord of the Treasury. It was hardly thought that Lord Salisbury's record as Under Foreign Secretary, in which office he had fallen into more than one considerable indiscretion of speech, warranted his elevation to Cabinet rank. Mr. Bromley-Davenport's appointment was regarded in many quarters as a strange piece of tactlessness, since the new Financial Secretary to the War Office—no doubt an able man—had not long before been conspicuously engaged in an attack upon Lord Roberts in connection with Colonel Kinloch's case (see p. 54).

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, in addressing a meeting of his constituents at Acocks Green on October 12, struck back vigorously, on his father's behalf, at what he called Lord Spencer's "vulgar abuse." Dealing with the remark quoted above from Mr. Ritchie, in regard to the claim of the consumers of the country to a reduction of the tea and sugar duties, he maintained that the additional taxes on these articles were not merely for war purposes, but as Sir M. Hicks-Beach had said, to help in meeting the growth of our permanent needs, and argued that whenever a reduction of taxes was possible, the claim of the income-tax payer to further relief would have to be considered. It was contrary, he maintained, to all canons of sound finance that that impost, which was our first reserve in time of war, should stand at even 11*d.* in the pound in time of peace.

On October 13 Lord Rosebery delivered an important speech on the fiscal question at Sheffield. After reviewing the course of events which had led to the recent resignations, he said that Mr. Balfour had found refuge in a half-way house to the more logical policy of the Colonial Secretary. There was, he maintained, nothing in the existing state of things to prevent the policy of retaliation being carried out, either by the Secretary of State saying to a foreign Government, "If you will not let in our goods on easier terms, if you will not break down your

tariff wall, I will go to the House of Commons and move that the duty on your goods be raised so much," or else by orders in council. But the real protagonist in the fiscal controversy was Mr. Chamberlain. "His policy," said Lord Rosebery, "is not new. We in the Imperial Federation League, . . . we worked at it some twenty years ago; but we worked at it in vain. In fact, this idea is no more new than the idea of retaliation. Colonial tariffs and retaliation are experiments which we have tried in the past, and which we have recalled because of their disastrous effects; and we began in the Imperial Federation League with the assistance of a very able economist, the late Sir Rawson Rawson, to discuss tariffs with the object of finding a means of uniting the Empire. But we always broke our teeth against this final obstacle. It was that we could not believe that any sane Minister would be found to advocate taxation of food and raw materials, and we knew perfectly well that there was no means of giving preference to the Colonies unless you taxed both food and raw materials. Now, our old friend, this commercial project, comes up again in a new form. It is advocated with all the rhetoric of one of the ablest of our orators. I see before me a mass of glittering soap bubbles. That is the scheme. But when I endeavour to grasp any one of these intangible and attractive objects, I find that it dissolves in my hand."

Lord Rosebery went on to contend that everything in Mr. Chamberlain's plan was assertion and hypothesis. A great commercial country such as Great Britain could not reverse a commercial system, on which so much prosperity had been built up, purely on hypothesis. Again, he held that Mr. Chamberlain's proposal would tend to dislocate, and in time dissolve, the union of the Empire. The British Empire could not "rest on a schedule of forbidden industries." "Do you suppose," said Lord Rosebery, "that these young and growing communities, full of energy, full of ambition, will consent when a British Minister goes to them and says: 'Well, you must leave us that industry, you must promise not to engage in it,' that they will fetter themselves by any such promise or undertaking? Do you not see that, if they did anything of the kind, they would be false to their own race, and their own children in times to come would rise up and curse and disavow them?" No fair or practicable Imperial tariff could be framed without taxing wool and timber, which were raw materials, and Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged that the tariff could not include raw materials. All that was left was to try to execute commercial treaties or understandings with each separate Colony. Everything periodically, perhaps annually, would have to be revised in our commercial relations with every Colony. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unceasingly engrossed in the attempt to conciliate wholly incompatible and antagonistic interests. "I have one more objection to mention," said Lord Rosebery,

"and it is this. I, as a profound and convinced Imperialist, do not wish our people at home, at any time of scarcity or of depression or famine, to weigh the interests of their material well-being against the conception of the Empire. It will be a bad day for Great Britain—it will be a worse day for the Empire at large—when the artisan returning to a stinted meal—stinted by taxation or scarcity—may say to his family: 'Ah, things would have been very different had it not been for this Empire, for the preservation of which we are now so heavily taxed.' I do not wish that interest and that conception ever to be brought into antagonism. They are in perfect harmony now. For God's sake do not let us disturb that harmony."

There was a scene of immense enthusiasm when, in concluding, Lord Rosebery said that so far as his strength went he would "not allow to be dispelled" his "ideal of the future of the British Empire—a strong mother with strong children, each working out her own political and fiscal salvation on her own lines, in perfect freedom, and under the conditions of her climate and locality." In the country at large this strong sounding of the Imperial note in opposition to Mr. Chamberlain had an appreciable effect, and Lord Rosebery's frequent speeches during the Recess modified the prevalent idea that he would not again pursue politics steadily. On the other hand, a powerful impression was produced by the strenuousness with which Mr. Chamberlain threw himself, practically single-handed, into the prosecution of the campaign which he had initiated. It was understood that many of the Ministers sympathised, if in varying degrees, with his aspirations; but, in view of the limitation placed by Mr. Balfour (with Mr. Chamberlain's express concurrence, no doubt) on the official policy of the Unionist party, such sympathies had to be indicated in a carefully guarded fashion. Practically, therefore, Mr. Chamberlain, by himself, faced the attacks of all the Opposition leaders, and of several of the weightiest of the Unionist chiefs also; and though it could hardly be said that he disposed effectively of all the criticisms showered upon him, he exhibited a fighting vigour and resource which could not fail to win a large amount of admiration from the English people.

At a meeting of the Unionist Free Food League (Oct. 16) a letter was read from the Duke of Devonshire to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, accepting an invitation to join the league, on the condition that its objects did not involve opposition to the policy of the Government so far as this was limited to reserving the right of proposing tariff legislation to Parliament with a view to negotiating commercial treaties, and that when the league sought to broaden its constitution, with a view to extended operations, he should, if chosen its president, be consulted as to the nature of the extension. The Duke added that he must be regarded rather as an adviser than a combatant. These conditions—which, it may be added, were accompanied by the Duke's recognition of the function of the league as being

that of restraining the future action of the Government within the limits just mentioned, and supporting them against their Protectionist followers—were unanimously accepted, and on October 23 the Duke of Devonshire was elected president of the Unionist Free Food League; Lord Goschen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Ritchie vice-presidents; and Lord James of Hereford treasurer. The league had received the adhesion of forty-four Members of Parliament.

In the meantime, on October 16, Lord Goschen had spoken at a conference at the Passmore Edwards Hall on food-prices in relation to poverty. In condemning the proposed taxes on food he pointed out that though we had to import 78 per cent. of the wheat which we used, it cost us from 8s. to 12s.—sometimes as much as 13s.—below the price in protected France, which imported only 2 per cent. Again, wheat cost 7s. a quarter less in England than in protected Germany, which imported no more than 30 per cent., while wages there were 20 per cent. lower than in this country, so that in that “fiscal paradise” the workman got less for his work and paid more for his food. Lord Goschen could not accept Mr. Chamberlain’s figures as to the net result of his scheme of imposts and deductions on the working man’s weekly budget. According to the closest calculation which he had seen the working man stood to lose just a penny a week. And even if the remissions should fully balance the new duties in their effect on the working man’s budget he could not admit that a reduction in the price of tea and sugar would really make up for an increase in that of such an absolute necessity as bread. Further, Lord Goschen pointed out that the food taxes if once put on as part of a system of Imperial preference, could not be taken off without the consent of the Colonies. It would be unwise, he held, thus to put the Chancellor of the Exchequer in chains.

So far as Mr. Chamberlain was concerned, therefore, the policy of the Free Food League was one of uncompromising opposition, but as regarded the Government its aims were for the present limited to the exercise of a friendly restraint. Mr. Victor Cavendish, who, to the surprise of the public, had just accepted office as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, almost immediately after the resignation of the Duke of Devonshire, whose heir presumptive he was, took occasion to explain in a speech at Derby (Oct. 23) that the Duke’s attitude had been adopted in order to prevent the Government from going too far, and to be “a sort of drag on the wheel”—an aspiration of which Mr. Chamberlain spoke in ironical terms.

At Bolton (Oct. 15) Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman denounced as a “wicked slander” on the Mother Country and the Colonies alike the assertion that the Empire could only be saved from dissolution by a revolution in fiscal policy. He also charged the Prime Minister, who agreed with Mr. Chamberlain and yet would not go with him because the times were not ripe,

with practically acknowledging himself ready to sacrifice the Empire in order to keep his party together and his Government in office. Mr. Morley also, in a vehement Free Trade speech at Manchester (Oct. 19), said that he had never known a group of politicians in a more squalid or humiliating position than that occupied by the Government at the present time.

On the other hand, symptoms began to appear about this time that among Liberal Unionist politicians there was a strong numerical preponderance in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy as compared with that of the Duke of Devonshire. Thus at a conference of the Durham and North Riding Liberal Unionist Association, held at Newcastle on October 20, a letter was read from the Duke of Devonshire deprecating, in existing circumstances, any attempt to define the position of the party organisations in regard to fiscal policy. In the teeth of this caution a resolution was carried, after considerable discussion, and after the defeat of a motion in favour of inquiry by a Royal Commission, declaring that the time had come when the fiscal policy of the country should be reconsidered, with a view to promoting a closer union of the Empire and securing a modification of foreign hostile tariffs. The resolution was strenuously supported by Mr. Pike Pease, M.P., and in a more reserved fashion by Lord Grey, but the result of its adoption was that several of the best-known members of the party in the North of England withdrew their names from the list of the vice-presidents or of the executive council of the association, those who thus protested including Mr. Arthur Elliot, M.P., Mr. F. W. Lambton, M.P., Sir Lowthian Bell, Mr. Hugh Bell, Mr. Crawford Smith, M.P., and Professor Jevons.

It was doubtless with knowledge of this victory—dearly bought though it was—for his policy that Mr. Chamberlain, who had been suffering from gout since his meetings in Scotland, addressed a great meeting at Newcastle on the evening of October 20. He declared that our industrial supremacy was lost, and that our prosperity was now dependent on Colonial trade. When the Colonies made their proposals they were not thinking of themselves alone, or even principally. The plan which he had laid before the country involved no sacrifice either for the tax-payer at home or for the Colonies. He did not ask the people to increase the amount of taxation in this country. He only asked them to transfer it from one article to another. There was an annual balance, according to his calculations, of 92,000,000*l.* of trade in things that might have been made here, but which had gone to the foreigner at the end of the thirty years since 1872. That meant a loss to the country of 46,000,000*l.* a year in wages, and that lost trade would give continuous employment to nearly 600,000 men, at 30*s.* per week.

Dealing with the question of uniting the Empire, Mr. Chamberlain said: "I take all my opponents, and I say that there is not a man of them who can give you any alternative to what

I am proposing, any alternative for attaining the object which I have in view. You cannot weld your Empire together, you cannot draw closer the bonds that now unite us, except by some form of commercial union."

In a further speech at Tynemouth (Oct. 21), Mr. Chamberlain declared that in regard to the Cabinets of September 14 and 15, whatever any member of the Cabinet might have heard or thought, he had distinctly declared that unless the policy of preferential tariffs was accepted by the Government he could not continue in the Cabinet. He also gave an explanation of the decision of the Government to remove the corn tax. He said that the Canadian Minister at the Colonial Conference asked for a drawback to Canada on this tax, and promised, if Canadian corn were allowed to come in free, that Canada would make an advance on the 33½ per cent. preference which she already gave. Mr. Ritchie threatened resignation unless he was permitted to take off that corn tax without giving any preference to our Colonies. "We could not afford to lose our Chancellor of the Exchequer the day before ["just before" is the version in the corrected edition] the Budget was to be introduced. We had to accept the view which was forced upon us, but we claimed—those of us who thought as I do claimed—that under the circumstances this matter must be brought before the country."

Another contribution to the story of the evolution of the Cabinet crisis was offered by Lord George Hamilton. Addressing his constituents at Ealing (Oct. 22), he made the interesting statement that on the last day of the session (Aug. 14) the Cabinet met and had before them two documents—the pamphlet entitled "Insular Free Trade," and another document containing substantive proposals, including preferential tariffs and taxation of food, which it was proposed to put forward officially in the name of the Government. The Cabinet agreed as to the publication of the first document, but the discussion was adjourned without any agreement being arrived at as to the second. At the Cabinet meeting of September 14, Lord G. Hamilton said that he and Mr. Ritchie understood that these old proposals were still before them, though they were sometimes puzzled by the turn which the conversation took. Consulting afterwards with the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Balfour, in view of what had passed, the conclusion was arrived at that they all four had no alternative but to send in their resignations, and the Duke of Devonshire was commissioned to see the Prime Minister about it. "We were none of us then aware of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation, but we all knew that so long as he was a member of the Government the question of preferential tariffs could not be eliminated from its programme." On September 15 the Cabinet discussed other matters. The Free Trade Ministers met again, and, understanding that there was no change in the situation, Lord George Hamilton sent in his letter of resignation.

On October 24 Mr. Asquith followed Mr. Chamberlain at Newcastle. He said that the ex-Secretary for the Colonies entirely ignored the whole of our home trade, which, according to the estimate of the Board of Trade, measured by the statistics of wages, was from five to six times greater than our export trade. Taking two typical domestic industries, the building and the coal-mining trade, he could point in one case to a growth of 60 per cent., and in another of more than 100 per cent. In the course of thirty years the tonnage of our shipping had increased by 100 per cent. The tonnage cleared in the Tyne had risen between 1870 and 1900 from 4,500,000 tons to 8,000,000, or nearly 100 per cent. In regard to retaliation Mr. Asquith recalled a passage from the biography of Mr. Gladstone, describing his experience when he was at the Board of Trade between 1841 and 1845. Mr. Gladstone had said: "We were anxiously and eagerly endeavouring to make tariff treaties with many foreign countries, France, Prussia, Portugal, and the state of our tariff, even after the law of 1842, was then such as to supply us with plenty of material for liberal offers. Notwithstanding this we failed in every case. I doubt whether we advanced the cause of Free Trade by a single inch." Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, it seemed, was to be set going as the result of two gigantic conferences—one of the various trades, each seeking advantage for itself, and the other of the Colonies, both self-governing and Crown, and India, to reconcile their divergent and even antagonistic interests. "What a vista of confusion, bickerings, interminable negotiations and immeasurable delays, with the prospect of mutual misunderstandings and endless demands for reconstructions and remissions!" Mr. Asquith also asked why, if the foreigner would pay an import duty, it was necessary in Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to exempt maize and bacon, as being the food of the poorest. On the other hand, if the consumer did not pay the import duty why should remissions be required, in his interest, on tea and sugar to balance the proposed corn and meat duties?

Even amidst the constant succession of speeches from leading politicians on the fiscal question, spiced with occasional glimpses into the generally veiled procedure of Cabinet councils, two or three external questions claimed and secured at least passing attention. On the whole it must be said that the general result of the light thrown in various ways on the conduct of foreign affairs was to produce a favourable impression as to the temper and the ability which they were being dealt with by Lord Lansdowne. On October 14 the signing of the arbitration agreement with France marked the first definite, though probably by no means the most important, result of the happy improvement in Anglo-French relations, to which attention has been called at several points in the previous portion of the year's narrative. The scope of the treaty was limited to the reference to the Hague tribunal of questions of a juridical character, or relating

to the interpretation of existing treaties, which might arise and prove incapable of settlement by diplomatic means. It was expressly stipulated that the arrangement should not apply to questions involving the vital interests, the independence, or the honour of the contracting parties. Nevertheless, it is right to record here that in both countries there was a considerable and growing body of opinion, especially among the mercantile, manufacturing, and artisan classes, favourable to a treaty requiring the reference even of larger and more difficult questions, not indeed to foreign arbitration, but to a commission composed of judges belonging to the two nations concerned, such as was proposed in the Anglo-American Treaty of 1897, which, however, failed to obtain the majority necessary for ratification in the United States Senate. An important propagandist work in this direction had been conducted for several years in both countries by Mr. Thomas Barclay, an international lawyer, and at one time president of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, whose advocacy had secured a large number of representative adhesions. He prosecuted this work in the course of 1903, when influential and representative committees were established in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Cardiff, and other important places. Later in the year he conducted a campaign in the United States in favour of the revival of a treaty of the same kind as that of 1897 already referred to, and obtained a considerable amount of encouragement.

It should be remembered that the Anglo-American Treaty would have required that five out of the six members of the proposed Commission—three from each country—should concur in any award to make it binding. No such requirement existed in the special agreement for the settlement of the Alaska frontier dispute between the United States and Canada, which was signed at the beginning of 1903, and which took effect through the hearing of the issues involved in the autumn before a tribunal composed of three American and three British jurists. Only an absolute majority was required, and it was secured by the concurrence of the Lord Chief Justice of England (Lord Alverstone) with the three American representatives in pronouncing that, on most of the issues involved, the American case was sound. Unfortunately the other two British members of the commission, who were Canadians, not only did not agree with their colleagues, but disagreed so strongly that they refused to sign the award. It was deeply regretted in Great Britain that the decision of the tribunal, which was an interpretation of the terms of a treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia—the United States having succeeded by purchase to the rights of the latter Power—was, in the main, unfavourable to the feelings and interests of Canada, cutting her off as it did from all access by sea to the Klondyke gold region. Nevertheless, it was believed that, in the end, Canada, as well as the Empire as a whole, would gain through the peaceful and honourable re-

moval of a serious cause of difference with the United States. And it was observed with great satisfaction that Mr. Aylesworth, one of the Canadian members of the commission, on his return home, delivered a speech of the most excellent feeling, in which he deprecated in the strongest manner the idea—which had found expression in some quarters in the first moments of natural irritation—that the award would operate to the injury of the relations between Canada and the Mother Country.

Correspondence which was issued from the Foreign Office on October 16 was welcomed as showing that his Majesty's Government had been exerting itself during the previous month both by direct remonstrance addressed to the Porte as to the excesses committed by Turkish troops, and by communications addressed to the Governments of Russia and Austria-Hungary, in the interests of the unhappy Macedonian subjects of the Sultan. There was an earnestness of tone about Lord Lansdowne's despatches which commended itself to public feeling, and it was recognised that in his hands British influence had been used towards a strengthening and development of the scheme of reformed administration proposed by the two neighbouring Empires for enforcement in Macedonia. General approval was also felt in regard to the Note (published Oct. 23) which had been addressed in August by Lord Lansdowne to the Powers who signed the Berlin Act, regarding the grave charges of maladministration in the Congo Free State. It was not held that the reply issued from Brussels to those charges and published about the same time was at all adequate, and satisfaction was felt that the British Government had taken the lead in bringing this difficult and painful subject before the judgment of Europe.

The improvement in the relations between France and England was recognised as being of special advantage as the autumn wore on, and the danger of war between Russia and Japan—allies respectively of the two Western nations—became increasingly evident. British sympathies were very decidedly with the Japanese. So, doubtless, though less openly manifested, were those of the French people with the Russians, and it was felt that if Anglo-French relations had been in the irritable condition which subsisted for a considerable period after the Fashoda dispute and during the Boer War, a growingly menacing situation would have been very likely to arise. As it was, nothing of the kind happened, and on both sides of the Channel there was the greatest anxiety that, whatever might be the issue of the diplomatic controversy between St. Petersburg and Tokio, there should be no clouding of the revived friendship between France and England. At the same time there was, no doubt, much satisfaction in this country at the thought that, by the aid of the British alliance, Japan was able to maintain her negotiations with her colossal rival for the preservation of some reasonable balance of power in the Far East, without any

apprehension that she might have to face alone—as in 1895—an overwhelming combination of force.

Here it may be convenient to mention that in his speech at the Guildhall banquet, on November 9, the Prime Minister felt able to use language of considerable hopefulness in regard to the Russo-Japanese crisis. He thought—Mr. Balfour said to the Lord Mayor and his guests—that they might feel reassured by reflecting that there was no more passionate advocate of general peace than the Tsar, and that our allies of Japan were as certain to show moderation, discretion and judgment in the demands they made as firmness in supporting those demands. With regard to the Near East, he would not say that the Austro-Russian scheme for the reform of the Turkish provinces was perfect—its authors made no such claim for it—but he would say that it was the minimum of the demands of Europe, and a minimum that must be enforced. There was a firmness of tone in this reference of the Prime Minister to the Macedonian question which was obviously likely to be of service in accelerating the Sultan's acceptance of the Austro-Russian scheme, and the realisation of any possibilities of substantial good lying in that project; and the British public therefore cordially approved his declaration.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Choate, paid a cordial and admiring tribute to the late Sir Michael Herbert, and suggested that the highest mountain on the new boundary line to be delimited under the Alaskan award should be called Mount Herbert. The Lord Chief Justice, referring to that award, and to the angry criticisms to which at first it was subjected in Canada, said, "If you do not want a judicial decision, do not ask British judges to be members of the court." Both the Prime Minister and Mr. Choate, it should be said, referred in eulogistic terms to the speech by Mr. Aylesworth mentioned on the preceding page.

Resuming his campaign (Oct. 27) at Liverpool, Mr. Chamberlain said that his ideal was an Empire which had no barriers within itself, but which raised duties on foreign goods only. But it was necessary to proceed step by step, and the proposal which he made was a great step towards Free Trade through the Empire. He went on to declare that when Free Trade was originally carried, the working-classes were neither represented nor consulted. It was a manufacturers' and a middle-class movement. "Rightly or wrongly, the leaders of the Free Trade movement believed that the big loaf meant lower wages." The Radicals of those days were represented by the Chartists, who asserted that Free Trade was a red herring drawn across the path of electoral reform. The Trade Union Congress had pronounced against his policy, but he appealed to the men who appointed the trade union officials. Free Trade could not be reconciled with trade unionism. Of what use was it to prohibit sweating in this country if they allowed sweated goods to come

from abroad? If protected labour was good, then it was good to protect the results of labour. What the people wanted was not so much the lowest possible prices as constant and remunerative employment. Now he hoped to give them more employment—first, by keeping a firmer hold upon home markets; secondly, by having something to bargain with in foreign trade; thirdly, by encouraging the trade with our own kith and kin across the seas, which was the best of all trades.

These were general considerations, but almost wherever he went Mr. Chamberlain took occasion to argue that local interests would gain from the adoption of his proposals. Thus at Liverpool he assured his audience that the shipping industry would benefit, and could not lose, by their operation. British shipping could not permanently contend against the subsidies and the protective barriers of foreign Governments. British ships, moreover, had to submit, quite rightly, to regulations, such as the insistence upon a load-line, from which foreign ships entering British ports were exempt. The foreigner had a different register for tonnage, and where a British ship paid dues on 1,500 tons, a foreign ship, with precisely the same cargo-carrying capacity, might pay dues on only 1,000 tons. Certain foreign countries excluded British shipping from their coasting trade, and Russia and the United States so defined a coasting trade that a voyage from Riga in the Baltic to Vladivostok in Siberia, or from Portland, Maine, to San Francisco, was reckoned as a coasting voyage. In this matter of shipping something should be done. There must be some way of bargaining to get rid of these unfair restrictions. "It is for that power of bargaining, and, if necessary, of retaliation, that Mr. Balfour has asked and that I have asked. And, after all, if there be any difference between us whatsoever, it is only that I go farther than he does, and that I ask, not in the future, but to-day, for the preference to our Colonies which will bind them and us together."

Almost as if in reference to this declaration, the High Commissioner for Canada and the Agents-General of the other self-governing Colonies, when presenting Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Chamberlain's successor, with an address (Oct. 30) of congratulation upon his accession to office, took occasion to point out that there was unquestionably a feeling in the Colonies, as in the Mother-Country, that closer bonds of union were now necessary to render the structure of the Empire more secure; and they went on to observe that better trade relations had been rendered possible by the abrogation of the German and Belgian treaties, and by the preferential tariffs of Canada and South Africa.

Reverting to the local aspects of Mr. Chamberlain's addresses, it may be mentioned that, speaking again at Liverpool (Oct. 28), he had referred to the case of watch-making, which was a flourishing industry at present. At that moment an American salesman had come over with 17,000 or 20,000 watches, prepared to offer them at any price below the cost at which the

British workman could make them, even if he took half-wages. Again, in the glass trade, 240,000,000 bottles were imported into this country. The men who previously made these things in England were thrown out of work and dropped into the ranks of casual employment. On the same day, before the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Chamberlain said, in reply to Lord Goschen, that he had come to the conclusion that in no single case with which he was acquainted was it a fact that on the average the extra price to the consumer had been in any real proportion to the amount of the tax.

As an illustration of the closeness of the fighting in this great controversy, it may be mentioned that, on October 31, Sir William Harcourt, speaking at Rawtenstall, Lancashire, said that, though it was true the working classes had not the franchise when Free Trade was adopted, if Mr. Chamberlain had known Lancashire in the forties he would have known that the working classes spoke out, and had reason to speak out. "If he had seen, as I saw," said Sir William, "the starving mobs marching about Lancashire—a very different Lancashire from that of to-day—when I was at school in Preston, when people were shot down by the military—I think the last people that ever were shot down by the military in this country—he would have known that the spirit of the working classes demanded Free Trade. And they got it. And now, happily, they have the suffrage, and they can speak by their representatives." As to the general condition of English trade when Protection was in full operation, it was described, Sir W. Harcourt recalled, in a resolution of the Court of Common Council, in December, 1842, which declared that "the continued and increasing depression of the manufacturing, commercial and agricultural interests of this country and the widespread distress of the working classes are most alarming." If it were said that, despite our greatly increased wealth and more widely diffused well-being (which Mr. Balfour had admitted), other countries had increased their exports, and increased them more rapidly in proportion than we had, Sir William rejoined: "Of course they have; a baby grows quicker than a grown man. They are infants in trade compared with us. We are an old-established firm." And on the same day Mr. Asquith, at Paisley, dealing with the question of "dumping," argued that if foreigners, under a Protective tariff, were driven to try to get hold of our markets by dumping here at less than cost price the products of sweated labour, the reason might be that Protection was not, after all, a panacea for the diseases of industry. In any case, he contended, it was but a system of lop-sided preference that Mr. Chamberlain proposed, for the Colonies showed not the faintest inclination to respond to his appeal.

Replying on the more remote historical part of the case against him, Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham (Nov. 4), addressing an audience of 10,000 people, pointed out that England

headed the commercial nations of the world before we adopted Free Trade (which had not been denied). The repeal of the Corn Laws, he went on to maintain, was brought about by an economic crisis not really due to the effects of the Protective policy. The riots referred to by Sir W. Harcourt were, Mr. Chamberlain said, directed not in favour of Free Trade but against the Manchester manufacturers and others who were at that time supporters of Free Trade, and the twenty-five years of prosperity which followed were caused by the discoveries of gold, the enormous increase of railways, the development of steamship communication and the impetus thus given to the trade of the world generally. Our trade with our Colonies had increased by leaps and bounds. If that trade declined, if it did not increase, then whatever might be the truth as to the comparative figures dealing with our foreign trade there would not be sufficient employment for our population. Men like Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Ritchie, Lord Goschen and the Duke of Devonshire were Imperialists in theory but not in practice. They wished to see an Imperial union but refused to do anything to secure it. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach boasted that he had refused a preference on wine, on tea, on sugar, on corn. He gloried in his refusal to do a little more for our brothers than for strangers. The Free Food League were understood at first to be determined Free Traders. But they had announced that they would support the Government in taking measures against "dumping." They had shown that they were not against Protection, but only against a preference to the Colonies. Mr. Asquith had declared that the Colonies had shown no inclination to respond to the offer made to them. He would not be so presumptuous as to predict beforehand exactly what all these States, each with its separate Government and separate interest, would do in a case which had not arisen. But a preferential system had been asked for by the Colonies at the Ottawa Conference and at the two Colonial Conferences in London.

Then followed the local application. It had been said that when one trade went another immediately took its place. There was, Mr. Chamberlain maintained, no evidence of that. In the jewellery trade we were 170,000% to the bad in 1902. In brass manufacture the imports of foreign countries had increased threefold in ten years. In the pearl-button trade 6,000 work-people used to be employed and at the present time there were about 1,000, and very few had full employment. (It was afterwards pointed out that the increase of imported jewellery was due to a large purchase made by some British jewellers from the Court of Morocco, and that the pearl-button industry had decayed because linen buttons and studs had taken the place of pearl buttons.) Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to exhibit a Free Trade loaf and a loaf reduced by the amount of the whole tax that he proposed, and pointed out, amid great laughter and

applause, that it was a "sporting question" which was the bigger. Some people thought this piece of "business" not quite dignified, but Mr. Chamberlain remained the arbiter of taste on matters political in his own territory.

Next day (Nov. 5) came a speech to business men at Manchester from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the promise of whose appearance on the same platform as Mr. Balfour at Bristol a few days later lent piquancy to his criticisms of Mr. Chamberlain. He maintained that, if any fair comparison of values were taken, it would be found that the value of our exports was largely increasing. But if one looked at the volume, which was a better test than value, the increase had been simply enormous. The proposed duty of 10 per cent. on imports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods would hamper production. Any duty, for example, on iron and leather, would injure many industries for which they were the raw material. A duty on machinery would make a most serious difference to farming. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals would raise the prices of the whole supply of corn, meat, and dairy produce, whether foreign, Colonial, or home, while the Exchequer would receive probably less than half of what the consumer would pay. After resenting with dignity and natural warmth the charge of being practically a Little Englander, Sir M. Hicks-Beach said that he objected to the proposed system because he objected to Protective taxation, especially on food, and because he objected to sowing the seeds of trouble and discontent between the Colonies and the Mother-Country.

Lord Goschen followed, on the same side, on November 6, by a closely reasoned address to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, on "Tariffs—Protective, Preferential, Retaliatory." He appealed to Mr. Balfour to define what he meant by a mandate. Lord Goschen said that he had no objection to heroic legislation to meet extraordinary circumstances—*i.e.*, to dealing with cases of outrageous unfairness, so long as a corresponding disadvantage to the country in taking such retaliation was not apparent; but he was totally opposed to any idea of general powers being conferred on the Executive Government by a general election, without a further appeal to Parliament, to meet the foreigner by a retaliatory tariff. Then as to the supply of corn in time of war, if the United States were neutral, it would, he contended, be a great advantage for us to be able to draw on the States rather than Canada, because if our corn came in neutral ships, it would relieve our Navy of the immense anxiety of having to convoy all the British ships which would be bringing us corn. Lord Goschen forcibly pressed such questions as, Where were the masses of at present unemployed able-bodied workmen, for whom Mr. Chamberlain said that his scheme would secure employment? and, Were the tea and sugar duties—put on for war—to be held back and kept on, in order to form an equivalent for the imposition of the corn duty? and again, Was the

proposed duty on manufactures to be fixed so high as to prohibit the introduction of ninety millions worth of goods, or only so high as to get nine millions from its introduction? "All these matters," said Lord Goschen, "should be cleared up."

At this stage there must be noted the public sealing of the reconciliation between the divergent sections of the Liberal party, whose jars, and even "definite separation," were noted in last year's volume. On November 7, at Leicester, Lord Rosebery declared that what was needed was not fiscal reform, but commercial repose; time to bind the wounds of the Empire and to recover our commercial equilibrium. He pointed out that Mr. Chamberlain held a threat over the people of this country that they were neglecting a liberal offer which was made now by the Colonies, and could never be repeated. But he could not find the offer. Mr. Deakin, Prime Minister of Australia, spoke of it as an offer from Mr. Chamberlain. Nor was there any offer from Canada, but rather indications of a wish among manufacturers for more effective protection against British competition. Lord Rosebery concluded with eloquent appeals to the Free-Trade Unionists to unite with other Free Traders in fighting the great fight, and to Liberals to let no memory of past dissensions impair their union on this matter of vital moment to the future of British commerce and British dominion.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman responded in terms of the greatest cordiality. All true Liberals, he said, speaking at Frome (Nov. 17), would welcome Lord Rosebery's appeal for unity, especially at a time when the permanent importance, wisdom and vitality of the principles of Liberalism were being proved by events. They rejoiced to have the help of Lord Rosebery's powerful influence for the assertion of those principles and their adaptation to new needs and circumstances.

The Prime Minister had very little that was fresh to say on the great dividing issue when he spoke (Nov. 13) at a Colston dinner at Bristol. It having become necessary for the Government to take a definite line of policy on the fiscal question, they had adopted the policy of the fiscal reformers. "By a fiscal reformer," said Mr. Balfour, "I mean a man who, looking at the whole circumstances of his time and of his country, feels that some change, some deep and genuine change, is required in our fiscal system in order to enable us to deal with a situation which was not in existence when our present system was framed by our fathers and our grandfathers, a condition of which they never even dreamed." The only alternative to the Ministerial proposals for the defence of our trade which he could find that the Liberals offered was education. It almost made the sacred cause of education look ridiculous to suggest that technical, or secondary, or any other form of education would make up for an 80 per cent. duty upon our staple manufactures.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who appeared at the same ban-

quet, said that he agreed that we ought to have the power of negotiation, and be in a position, when other nations treated our exports unfairly, to apply such measures as should seem expedient with regard to theirs. Foreign countries, he was sure, attached immense importance to our free market. He was still determinedly opposed to the "unauthorised programme," but between standing absolutely on the old lines and making a "genuine change" he had no hesitation.


With reference to the appeal for freedom to negotiate, Sir Henry Fowler, who spoke at another Colston banquet at Bristol on the same evening (Nov. 13) as Mr. Balfour and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, pointed out that the Government, with the sanction of Parliament, had that power already. Was, then, the country to be asked to give the Executive absolute power of dealing with the taxation of the people outside the House of Commons? That would be unconstitutional indeed. The need for light on this point was emphasised in Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's speech (Nov. 17) already referred to. A right in the Executive Government to impose retaliatory duties, subject only to subsequent ratification by Parliament, as in the case of treaties, was a weapon which the latter statesman maintained ought not to be confided to the best of Governments. Sir H. Fowler further asked, Would Mr. Balfour tell the country what he meant by retaliation? He (the Premier) had once said that retaliation could not in practice be confined to the individual article on which the controversy arose, and he added that it could not be tried in its integrity, because the people of this country would not tolerate a tax upon food. Thus they came back to the central principle that, if retaliation was to be of the slightest value, it must be a tax upon food and raw material. It was an illusory, futile and impracticable idea that there could be any other sort of retaliation except that.—It seemed a pity that the two Colston banquets could not have been held together.

In the course of a Free Trade speech at Thornton Heath (Nov. 18) Mr. Ritchie dealt with Mr. Chamberlain's account of the repeal of the corn tax, which, he said, had been interpreted as signifying that he (Mr. Ritchie) sprang his decision on his colleagues at the last moment. His answer was to give the dates. The Budget was introduced on April 23, 1903. Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to the Cabinet was in November, 1902, before he left for South Africa, and, said Mr. Ritchie, "I not only expressed my firm determination at the time not to assent to the proposal, but I distributed to my colleagues a reasoned argument against that proposal, dated November 14. From that time onwards I spoke on more than one occasion to the Prime Minister in the same sense as I spoke to the Cabinet in November." Mr. Ritchie went on to describe how, when Mr. Chamberlain returned to England in March, there was a discussion on the subject with him, but, that, though not converted to Mr. Ritchie's view, he ultimately withdrew his opposition, and on March 31 the

Budget was settled by the Cabinet, though not introduced till April 23.

A very agreeable incident in the middle of November was the three days' visit of the King and Queen of Italy. Arriving on the 17th, they were met at Portsmouth by the Prince of Wales, and were welcomed and entertained at Windsor by King Edward and Queen Alexandra with a warmth which happily reflected the sentiment of the British towards the Italian nation. On the 19th their Italian Majesties visited the City, receiving addresses on the way from various metropolitan municipalities, and being very heartily acclaimed by crowds in the streets. At the Guildhall they received an address from the City Corporation, which dwelt upon the "unbroken friendship which had so long subsisted" between the two nations, and were then entertained at luncheon, with a brilliant company, by the Lord Mayor. In thanking Londoners for their welcome, King Victor Emmanuel observed that they understood the "message of sincere affection" of which he was the bearer to their beloved Sovereign and to the people of England. After a felicitous allusion to the "traditions of mutual trust" between the two countries which had been created by the sympathetic support lent "by this free people" to the Italian nation in their days of struggle for unity and independence, King Victor Emmanuel expressed his desire that they might "always proceed united in the path of progress and civilisation." Sgr. Tittoni, the Italian Foreign Minister, accompanied his Sovereign, and Reuter's Agency understood that the conferences which he held with Lord Lansdowne "completely established and confirmed the accord existing on all points between Great Britain and Italy."

Before returning to the prosecution of his propagandist work, Mr. Chamberlain had an interesting farewell official interview at the Colonial Office with the Colonial Agents-General. Speaking on their behalf, Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner for Canada, said that while there might be differences of opinion as to the details of the policy by which the ties binding together the different parts of the Empire might be strengthened, there was a generally expressed desire among the people in the Colonies for a closer and more effective union with the Mother Country; and Mr. Chamberlain had done more than any man to promote Imperial unity and the development of the Empire. In the course of his reply, Mr. Chamberlain declared that his supreme object, which had never varied from the time he first had an opportunity of stating what were his ideas and aspirations in accepting the office of Colonial Secretary, had been to unite the Empire and to bring all its parts into closer, more definite, and more organised communication. With that view he had made one suggestion after another, always trying a fresh line when he encountered reluctance on the part of the Colonies. In this way he had ultimately fallen back on the line embodied in the resolutions of the Colonial Premiers, in which, while declaring their readi-



ness without any reciprocal treatment to give British imports a preference, they asked that the British Government should favourably consider a policy which should lead to even greater concessions on their part. It was, he added, his hope, and now "almost his assured conviction" that he would be able to bring his fellow-countrymen in these islands to an acceptance of that policy both in their own direct interest and as being "the only policy likely to lead to that great ideal on which he believed the prosperity and welfare of all parts of the Empire depended."

South Wales was the next scene of Mr. Chamberlain's missionary enterprise. Local references were prominent features in the speeches he delivered at Cardiff (Nov. 20) and Newport (Nov. 21). He even detected indications that all might not permanently be well with the South Wales coal trade, notwithstanding the peculiar quality of its product. But the industry on the condition of which he dwelt most fully, as illustrating the effects of unresented foreign tariffs, was that of the manufacture of tin plates. He showed how this industry, through the operation of the United States tariffs, had decreased, its exports to America having fallen from 459,000 tons in 1892 to 65,000 tons in 1902; while behind the tariff wall in the States a great and prosperous industry had grown up. The recovery of this industry, to which Sir W. Harcourt had referred, was only partial, and due partly to the South African war and partly to increasing colonial demands. At Newport he declared that he would never be satisfied till there was in this country full employment at fair wages for every industrious man. At present, he said, men were being crowded out of employment by the decline of industries, and did not find other work as was supposed on the "happy-go-lucky theory of Mr. Asquith." Not only were British products kept out of foreign markets, but the foreigner had invaded our own shores. "The foreigners are sending goods here under cost-price to injure, disorganise and finally to destroy your industries; and meanwhile they take away your employment." He concluded with an eloquent picture of the future of the Colonies, who were now in their infancy, but might soon grow to be giants in comparison with their parents. "Without their aid we shall sink from our high place among the nations."

At Barnstaple (Nov. 25) Mr. Asquith, who spoke almost as often as Mr. Chamberlain, and proved a highly effective opponent of the proposed fiscal changes, took up the case of the tinplate industry, and contended that it was the strongest possible instance on the side of Free Trade, since in spite of hostile tariffs it had a greater market both at home and abroad than ever before in its history. He challenged Mr. Chamberlain to name an industry of any magnitude which had been ruined by "dumping." He was ready enough to admit that all was not well with our commerce, but the real cause was to be found,

not in our fiscal policy, but in imperfect education and adherence to antiquated methods.

On the same day (Nov. 25) took place a gathering of historic significance. This was the meeting arranged by the Free Food League at the Queen's Hall. The Duke of Devonshire, who took the chair, as president of the league, expressed himself not unwilling to be known in history as the brake on the Ministerial locomotive, from which the engine-driver had got down and allowed another to take his place who was running the engine full speed down the line and "against all the signals." Dropping metaphor, the Duke plainly avowed his desire to know whether the Unionist Ministers meant to join their late colleague in his retrograde career, or sit still as silent spectators while that colleague assumed all the duties, privileges and responsibilities of leadership. There was, no doubt, as the *Times* noted, a "hardening" of the Duke's attitude towards the Government, while towards Mr. Chamberlain he was absolutely uncompromising, saying of his arguments and their conclusions that he (the Duke) would have no part or lot in a policy founded on "inversions of fact." Lord Goschen spoke with great effect at the same meeting, one of his chief points being the depression of trade and the very unsatisfactory condition of the working classes (who were increasingly eating horseflesh) in Protectionist Germany. On the platform was a remarkable array of Unionist politicians, including all the recently retired Free Trade Ministers; Lord Northbrook, Lord Cowper and Lord James of Hereford; and, of Members of Parliament, Sir M. Hicks-Beach (who did not speak), Mr. W. F. D. Smith (who spoke), Mr. Beckett, Mr. R. F. Cavendish, Sir E. Vincent, Sir J. Dickson-Poynder, and several others, notably Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. Winston Churchill. The two last named had distinguished themselves by holding a tolerably successful Free Trade meeting in the Birmingham Town Hall, presided over by Mr. Moore-Bayley, chairman of the Central Birmingham Conservatives. The principal resolution passed at the Queen's Hall meeting expressed readiness to consider any Government proposals for mitigating the effects of hostile tariffs in special cases (the Duke of Devonshire, it should be noted, repudiated as impossible the idea that the country could be asked to give the Government discretionary power to impose taxation without the express consent of Parliament), but offering strenuous opposition to any fiscal policy which involved the taxation of food or the establishment of any general protective or preferential tariff. Altogether the meeting was an impressive demonstration of the weight and earnestness, if not of the numerical strength, of the Unionist opposition to any substantial departure from Free Trade.

A day later Lord Rosebery addressed a great meeting in the Surrey Theatre. Tinsplates, he said, had been rattled in the wings to produce stage thunder, and the whole scene was one

of devastation. Yet the Board of Trade Blue-book showed clearly enough that we were neither ruined nor in danger of ruin. In fact, Mr. Chamberlain had discovered a disease which did not exist, and proposed to apply a remedy worse than the disease. Lord Rosebery admitted that circumstances were conceivable—if, for example, there were a systematic attempt made by any commercial combination, or by any country, to ruin any of our great staple industries—in which retaliatory measures might be called for; but no reason had been shown for any general or sweeping fiscal change. This meeting was the scene of an impressive manifestation of the desire that Lord Rosebery should resume the leadership of the Liberal party, but on that subject he carefully abstained from giving any sign as to his intention. The policy he declared was, as will be observed, really identical, on the fiscal issue, with that declared by the Unionist Queen's Hall gathering, and speculation began to be exercised as to the possibility of an early combination of the two sections of the Free Trade forces.

It was powerfully quickened by the appearance on December 12 of a letter in which the Duke of Devonshire replied to a Unionist who asked for his advice with regard to the pending bye-election at Lewisham. The Duke said that he was of opinion that an elector who sympathised with the objects of the Unionist Free Food League "would be well advised to decline to give his support at any election to a Unionist candidate who expressed his sympathy with the policy of Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League." This declaration naturally produced a profound impression. It clearly meant the "definite separation" of the Free Food Unionists from Mr. Chamberlain's section. It seemed likely also to exercise an important influence on future bye-elections. Whether it exercised any in the cases of Lewisham and Dulwich, however, was difficult to say. There the Unionist candidates had already considerably limited the effective character of the support which at the outset they had been understood to be ready to give to Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Yet he sent them both cordial letters of recommendation, and so did Mr. Balfour. The elections resulted in Conservative majorities of 1,437 votes at Dulwich, and 2,012 votes at Lewisham — majorities substantial enough, even though neither seat had been contested by the Liberals at the general election of 1900.

- It was announced (Dec. 15) that Lord Goschen, Lord James of Hereford, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie concurred in the Duke of Devonshire's advice. Obviously the line of action they recommended to Unionist Free Traders was "a game that two could play at." Mr. Chaplin, fresh from helping Mr. Rider Haggard to obtain (Dec. 9) from the annual meeting of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture an almost unanimous vote in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy, took occasion to point out at Ware (Dec. 15), at

a Tariff Reform meeting, that if Free Food Leaguers refused to vote for candidates who, while supporters of Mr. Balfour, sympathised with Mr. Chamberlain, the latter should retaliate. He, at any rate, was not going to "take that kind of thing 'lying down.' " Among the Free-Trade Unionists on the other hand there were not a few who went a good deal farther than the Duke of Devonshire. For a considerable time past their principal organ, the *Spectator*, had distinctly declared that the policy of the Government, as defined and expounded by Mr. Balfour, was, in essence and effect, Protectionist, and that it was necessary that those Unionists who believed in Free Trade should be ready to co-operate with Liberals in its defence. Such co-operation was advocated (Dec. 11) by Sir John Dickson-Poynder, the Conservative Member for the Chippenham Division of Wilts, in addressing his constituents at Calne. Mr. Winston Churchill also wrote a letter in support of Mr. F. Horne, the Liberal candidate for the Ludlow Division of Shropshire, against Mr. Rowland Hunt, a Unionist supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy. Mr. Hunt was returned (Dec. 23), but by a majority nearly 3,000 less than that obtained by the late Unionist Member, Mr. Jasper More, in 1892, when he was last opposed.

There were other Free-Trade Unionists who thought that the Duke of Devonshire had gone too far in advising them to withhold their support from Tariff Reform candidates. Thus in the *Times* of December 23 a letter was published from Lord Cowper deprecating that advice, and stating that, while a Free Trader, he considered that there were other questions of importance before the country besides that of fiscal policy. He specified the Education Acts, the government of Ireland, and the remodelling of the Army, and indicated briefly the disastrous results which, in his opinion, would flow in regard to each of these questions from the return of the Liberal party to power. That being so, he held that a clear necessity existed for "keeping the Government in office as long as possible and staving off a general election. The question of Protection," he added, "is not actually before us, and will not be so till a general election takes place."

Of the questions mentioned by Lord Cowper, that of Irish government now possessed the least hold upon the public mind. There had been no diminution indeed in the aversion of the "predominant partner" to the idea of a Parliament in Dublin, but, whether rightly or wrongly, the view prevailed that whatever the issue of the next general election no serious attempt would be made to bring about that constitutional revolution, or that if by any chance it were made the House of Lords could be relied on to defeat it. The other two problems—Army reform and the maintenance or essential modification of the Education Acts—did engage a certain amount of public attention, and were a good deal referred to at bye-elections. The report of the War Commission was naturally much utilised on

the Opposition side, as showing that the Government had failed to make any kind of adequate preparation for a struggle which they long recognised as being very possible, and that, therefore, they must be held very largely responsible for the great cost in blood and treasure which had to be faced, and the numerous lamentable incidents which occurred, before it could be brought to a satisfactory close. The subject was referred to by the Prime Minister in a speech which he made on the defence of the Empire at the annual dinner of the United Club (Nov. 27). He defended the Government by throwing the blame for the failures of the late war on the miscalculations of their military experts, who, he said, had fallen into an error to which professional soldiers were peculiarly liable—that of undervaluing an enemy who was not organised as a regular army. The success ultimately secured, he maintained, was made possible by the improvements introduced by the Unionist Government between 1895 and 1899 in the equipment and disposition of the forces—the Liberal Government of the previous three years having apparently adopted the policy of “deliberately starving the army.” This reading of recent history was doubtless the subject of considerable private resentment in military circles. The incriminated Liberal ex-Ministers lost no time in replying. Speaking at Newport (Nov. 30), Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman not only vindicated his own action with respect to the cordite incident (on which the Rosebery Ministry fell), but was able to recall that in 1896 Mr. Balfour, after six months of office, had himself spoken in terms of cordial appreciation of the general results of the military administration of his predecessors. Lord Rosebery (Dec. 11) at Edinburgh replied on the same lines, and commented on the “breezy trivialities” with which Mr. Balfour had attempted to put aside the “awful indictment” of the War Commission.

The public were, perhaps, less interested in these recriminations than in the Prime Minister's statement that the lately appointed committee on War-Office reform, consisting of Lord Esher, Admiral Sir John Fisher and Colonel Sir George S. Clarke, had been appointed not for a prolonged investigation, but with a view to bringing to practical fruition within a few months' time ideas which had long been germinating in the public mind. By their aid he hoped that it would become possible to put the organisation of the Army on as satisfactory a basis as that of the Navy. He pointed out that our great military difficulty was the necessity of being able largely to reinforce the Indian Army in case of emergency.

Without doubt, as has been previously observed, if it had not been for the engrossing interest of the fiscal controversy, the position of the education question would have engaged a large measure of public attention, especially during the later months of 1903. Never, for centuries, had any Act of Parliament met with any similarly organised resistance either in

scale or quality. It was organised on two lines—in England on that of “passive resistance” to the payment of the education rate levied by the local authorities, or to the proportion of it which might be estimated as required for the service of the denominational or “non-provided” schools; and in Wales on the line of refusal by the County Councils to discharge the functions placed upon them by the Act in regard to denominational schools unless their managers agreed to submit to conditions not contained, and indeed at variance with those contained, in the clauses of the Act. The latter was much the more formidable of the weapons employed by the opponents of the Act. Probably in no case would the amount of money withheld by persons who objected to pay the education rate have seriously hampered the local authority concerned in the administration of the Act, even if the sum had not been recoverable. And it commonly was recovered. Yet the fact that in many parts of the country persons of excellent character, of good middle-class position, and generally well regarded by their neighbours, thought it right to refuse payment of a rate levied under the authority of an Act passed by Parliament a few months before gave without doubt food for serious reflection, even to those who held that the Act thus resisted was a wise and essentially just measure. The Central Passive Resistance Committee, by which the movement was promoted, was presided over by Dr. Clifford, minister of Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel, who, as a protagonist of the extra-Parliamentary opposition to the Education Act of 1902, before it became law, had been noted for the intemperance of his language, and continued so. But it included other influential men of a different type—as, for example, Mr. R. F. Campbell, Dr. Parker’s successor in the pastorate of the City Temple—who, it was clear, had persuaded themselves that under the Act such injustice was inflicted upon Nonconformists as to make the maintenance of a practical protest against its administration in its unamended form a plain duty.

Large gatherings of passive resisters from all parts of the country were held in the City Temple on October 29, when it was announced that up to that date 6,492 summonses had been issued against persons refusing to pay the rate, and 229 distraint sales of their goods had taken place. [By the first week of 1904 these figures had risen to 7,324 and 329 respectively.] About this time the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a letter to Dr. R. F. Horton, the well-known Congregational minister of Hampstead, suggesting—as flowing from conversations which his Grace had held with his correspondent and other influential Nonconformists—that they should have a conference to see whether an understanding could not be arrived at as to the conditions under which efficient Christian and, where parents desired it, denominational religious teaching might, without offence in any quarter, be secured in elementary schools. Dr.

Horton's reply was very friendly and respectful; but insisted that no conference could be profitably held unless it were agreed at the outset that "all schools maintained by public money must be absolutely under public control," and that all teachers in them must be appointed by public authority "without reference to denominational distinctions." Those for whom he wrote felt also that the time for a conference was either past or had not yet come, there being no indication that the Government were conscious of any defect in their Education Act.

A few weeks later the Primate wrote (Dec. 12) to Lord Ashcombe, as Chairman of the Executive of the Church Committees, a letter in which he recognised that "the attack on the recent Education Acts," as carried on under the inspiration of such leaders as Dr. Clifford, was in fact a cover for an attack on the Church. He pointed out that a national scheme of education set forth by the Free Church Council proposed, *inter alia*, to "upset the fundamental principle of the Act of 1870 by prohibiting the giving of any denominational teaching within school hours in any school whatever which receives a Government grant," and to prohibit inquiry as to a teacher's qualification to give religious teaching. The Archbishop deprecated a resort to any "such weapons as are wielded against us," and urged that efforts should be directed to making the Act of 1902 "really understood"; but there could be, he held, no giving way by Churchmen on matters vital to the religious education of children.

Meanwhile, in Wales, all or almost all the County Councils were acting in pursuance of a resolution adopted at a conference held at Swansea on May 19, to the effect that they could not apply money from the rates in aid of schools over which they did not possess entire control and in which sectarian tests for teachers were imposed. The result was that salaries of teachers in denominational schools remained unpaid, and fuel was wanting as winter advanced. Lord Londonderry, President of the Board of Education, in reply to a correspondent who drew his attention to this state of things, intimated in November that the Government would "certainly not hesitate to take, at the proper time, such steps as might be necessary to prevent the objects of the Act from being defeated." Whether this meant a general resort to the process, indicated in the Act, of *mandamus* against defaulting local authorities did not clearly appear. But the plan adopted by the Board somewhat later, of deferring till February 1, 1904, or later, the date at which the Act should come into operation in recalcitrant counties did not, by itself, seem likely to prove effective in convincing Councils of the unwisdom of further resistance.

It should be added, however, that despite difficulties in a few counties, the Act, as a whole, was in England working notably well, and enlisting the active co-operation in educational administration of persons of all classes, including many who

had been opposed to it as it was passing into law. In London preparations began to be made for the elections of the County Council who would bring the Act passed in 1903, as above recorded, into operation. Having regard to the prospect that candidates would be placed under pressure to administer the Act more or less on Welsh lines, the Bishops of London and Rochester issued a letter in which they urged Churchmen to exert themselves to see that candidates should be pledged to the fair and impartial administration of the law. In view of this appeal, Mr. McKinnon Wood, leader of the Progressive party in the County Council, stated that their aim would be to administer the Act "in a progressive spirit, free from sectarian bias, impartially in the public interest, in the interest of education and the children." Mr. Asquith, at Ipswich (Dec. 16), appeared to resent the action of the Bishops, and declared that the education question would never be settled until the control of privately appointed managers and the imposition of sectarian tests upon teachers should be abolished. In the reiterated pledges of leading Liberal politicians on this subject appeared to lie a possibility of serious difficulty in regard to any continued co-operation between them and the Free-Trade Unionists led by the Duke of Devonshire, who had been one of the Ministers principally responsible for the educational legislation of the Government.

As the year closed the fiscal controversy was still dominating the thoughts of the public. During the last month Lord Rosebery spoke on it at Edinburgh (Dec. 12), dealing largely with the bearing of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals on the British agriculturist at home, who, he maintained, would certainly gain no real benefits. On the 16th, at Leeds, Mr. Chamberlain announced that with a view to the production of a scientific tariff, which he had been challenged to propose, a non-political commission of experts would be appointed, comprising leading representatives of every industry, of India and of the self-governing and Crown Colonies. Witnesses would be invited to appear before this body from every trade, and it would endeavour to frame a model tariff. This would be very helpful to electors in forming their judgment, and to any Government which had received a mandate for fiscal reform. Certainly one of the most weighty names of those who had consented to serve was that of Mr. Charles Booth, F.R.S., the eminent student of social and industrial conditions in London, whom Mr. Chamberlain was able to quote as in agreement with his policy. Other well-known members were Mr. Chaplin, Sir Alexander Henderson, Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. W. H. Grenfell, Sir Vincent Caillard, Sir Alfred Jones, Sir A. T. Lewis, Sir Andrew Noble, Sir Charles Tennant, Mr. Charles Parsons, F.R.S., and Sir Walter Peace; and on December 30 there was added an eminent group including Sir Robert Herbert, Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies from 1871 to 1892, Sir George Ryder, just retired from the Chairmanship of the Board of Customs, Sir

Cecil Clementi Smith, formerly Governor of the Straits Settlements, and Sir John Cockburn, late Premier of South Australia. By this time the commission was not far short of fifty strong. Even the Christmas holidays did not altogether restrain the activity of Mr. Chamberlain's critics, and Mr. Haldane, speaking at Edinburgh on December 28, gave him and his commission some problems to consider, suggested by the growth of a Free-Trade party in Protectionist Germany, induced by, among other things, the oppressive power wielded there by no fewer than 400 capitalist trusts. Thus in an atmosphere absolutely undreamed of at its outset came the end of 1903.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

THE year 1903 was marked in Scotland by a noticeable revival of Liberalism and the resuscitation of Liberal middle-class interest in politics. Although the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 did not affect Scotland, and no special pains had been taken by English Nonconformists to enlist the sympathy of Scotch comrades, there was a considerable movement of sentiment in the country against what was regarded, at any rate by many Free Churchmen, as a policy marked by injustice to non-Episcopalians. Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal pronouncement in May gave a decided impetus to the Liberal revival, and brought trouble and dissension into the Unionist ranks. A Chamberlain amendment was carried at the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations, but it was deemed advisable by the two great Liberal Unionist organisations which cover the country between them to pass at their annual meetings resolutions of so guardedly Balfourian a quality as to secure at least the acquiescence of the Free Trade members of those bodies. It was recognised, in fact, that if the Free Traders were driven into secession the Liberal Unionist organisations would have to be abandoned. The bye-elections seemed to indicate that the position of the Unionist party in Scotland was becoming precarious. At the Argyllshire election in August a Unionist majority of 600 was turned into a Liberal majority of 1,586, and at the St. Andrews Burghs election in September a Unionist majority of 54 became a Liberal majority of 36. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches at Glasgow and Greenock, no doubt, produced a certain effect. Connected with those manufacturing interests which had been suffering from depression in recent years, or were apprehending it in the early future, there were many to whom the idea of State interference in their behalf

was welcome, and the prospects offered of more continuous good trade and employment seemed very attractive. But the greater part of the community appeared to remain either sceptical or distinctly hostile.

The Cabinet crisis in September caused the resignation of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretary for Scotland, which was much regretted. The advancement of Mr. Graham Murray, the Lord-Advocate, to the important office thus vacated was, however, generally approved. Mr. Scott Dickson, Solicitor-General, was promoted to be Lord-Advocate, his place being taken by Mr. David Dundas, K.C., without a seat in Parliament.

The visit of the King and Queen to Scotland was an interesting social event. Their Majesties, who stayed at Dalkeith Palace, drove thence (May 12) to Holyrood Palace, where the King received deputations and addresses from the Church of Scotland, the Town Council and the University of Edinburgh. His Majesty afterwards held a Levée, which was attended by nearly a thousand gentlemen, including Scottish Peers, judges, representatives of the Army and Navy, and other prominent Scotsmen. In the afternoon their Majesties held a Drawing-room, at which nearly six hundred ladies were presented. On the following day the King and Queen made a State entry into Edinburgh from Dalkeith, meeting with an enthusiastic reception, and opened the new Infectious Diseases Hospital at Colinton Mains. On the 14th their Majesties visited Glasgow and laid the foundation-stone of a Technical College. They thus brought themselves into touch, during their visit to the eastern and western capitals, alike with the higher social and official life of the country and with some of its best public activities in the direction of sanitary, philanthropic and educational progress.

Scotland, as already recorded (see p. 164), was provided in 1903 with the nucleus of a naval base on the Forth. She also secured a "Scottish Aldershot" at Stobs, near Hawick, where an estate of some 3,600 acres had been purchased, according to a statement by Mr. Brodrick on July 6, and the War Office was in negotiation for an additional adjoining tract of country. The most important piece of legislation during the year which specially affected Scotland was the Licensing Act (see p. 186), from which considerable results were looked for, especially in regard to the abolition of bogus clubs. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's promised Education Bill was once more postponed, and a scheme of educational reform was drawn up by Dr. Douglas, Mr. Haldane and Professor Jones of Glasgow, which it was hoped might be made the basis of future legislation. This scheme suggested the supersession of parish School Boards by School Boards elected for the districts into which counties are divided for the administration of the Local Government Act, and the creation of an Education Council located in Edinburgh, partly composed of experts, to control education of all grades, in place of the Department seated in London.

The Scottish trade of the year showed a considerable falling off as compared with 1902, but in itself was fairly satisfactory. For the first six months a respectable measure of activity was maintained in most departments. No very serious depression was experienced, but it was generally recognised that the inevitable depressed point in the trade cycle had been reached. In the shipping trade the excessive quantity of tonnage and the keen competition of foreign-owned boats produced unfavourable results. Rates had been lower in certain directions in previous years, but the working costs, especially in regard to bunker coals, remained high during 1903 in proportion to the carrying rates obtainable. The Spanish ore trade had passed practically into the possession of Spanish steamers, and from 50 to 75 per cent. of the exports from South Russia and the Danube were carried in foreign bottoms. The River Plate, however, remained a fairly good market throughout the year.

The depression in the freight market reacted upon the shipbuilding trade. Still, the total output of tonnage would have been considered satisfactory in years previous to the extraordinary impetus given to shipbuilding by the war. There was more tonnage launched on the Clyde alone during the year than in any one foreign country, with the exception of the United States. Scotland produced 362 vessels of 484,853 tons and 497,390 indicated horse-power, as against 404 vessels of 566,553 tons and 510,808 indicated horse-power in 1902. The steel trade suffered owing to the decline in shipbuilding, but during a great part of the year the large demand in America removed German competition. The sudden collapse of the American demand at the end of the year caused a great fall in prices. The malleable iron trade suffered more severely than the steel trade owing to excessive competition from Belgium. The large consumption of pig-iron, considering the reported decline in general trade, was a striking feature in the situation, which was largely due to the prosperous condition of the foundry trade. Marine engineering was somewhat dull, but general engineering was brisk throughout nine months of the year. The labour displaced from the marine shops was thus absorbed, and engineers on the whole found steady employment. The small cotton industry was placed in a deplorable condition by the abnormal rise in the price of American cotton. The spinning trade for the Eastern market was reduced by about 20 per cent., and the calico printing trade damaged to such an extent that only one factory was able to keep working at full time. The Scotch oil trade was prosperous, largely owing to the decrease in the American yield and the cessation of Russian competition. There was no noteworthy labour dispute during the year, but the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers had to repudiate the action of the Glasgow men who stopped work in consequence of a reduction, and there were threats of a general revolt against the Council. The miners sub-

mitted amicably to a reduction of their wages to the minimum by the Conciliation Board arbiter, and the steel-workers were in process of accepting a similar reduction at the end of the year.

II. IRELAND.

The great political, economic and social event of 1903 for Ireland was the passage of the Land Purchase Act. The circumstances in connection with the Land Conference leading up to the introduction of that measure and its remarkably tranquil passage through Parliament have been sufficiently related in earlier chapters. There were, no doubt, a few observers who questioned the policy of the Act and the justification for the charge which it threw on the Imperial Exchequer. But they were in a small minority. Both the leaders and the rank and file of political parties in Great Britain in the main agreed that the singular and unprecedented accord effected by the Land Conference between the landlords and tenants of Ireland afforded an opportunity for dealing effectively with an Irish difficulty that had ever stood in the way of tranquillity and progress, which it would be highly impolitic, if not criminal, to neglect.

And the immediately favourable effect of the passage of the Land Act on public feeling in both islands was considerably enhanced by the fact that it almost coincided with the very happy and successful visit of the King and Queen to Ireland. Their Majesties landed at Kingstown on July 21. The Dublin Corporation, after more than one disorderly scene, had rejected a proposal to present an address to the King by 40 votes to 37. This act, however, had no effect upon the people of Ireland except to dispose them to atone for such churlishness by an increased warmth of demonstration. A citizens' reception committee had been organised and did its work extremely well, and their Majesties were welcomed with the greatest possible cordiality on their way to and on their arrival in Dublin, where they stayed for four days at the Viceregal Lodge. This welcome was renewed with if possible increasing warmth whenever and wherever they appeared in the Irish capital and its neighbourhood. They performed while there a great variety of public functions, though avoiding anything which could seem out of harmony with the feelings of Irish Roman Catholics immediately after the death of the Pope, of whom the King spoke on his arrival at Kingstown in terms of the deepest respect. On July 22 a great number of addresses were received, representing (as his Majesty said in the course of a general reply) the cause of religion and philanthropy, of art and science, of industry and commerce, as well as "the important work of local government." At a Levée which the King afterwards held, Archbishop Walsh was introduced. On the 23rd their Majesties held a Court at the Castle. One or both of their Majesties visited the chief higher

educational institutions in and near Dublin, including Trinity College, the Alexandra College, and Maynooth, where the language used by the King concerning the good work done by that institution, and the strength and enrichment contributed by the special gifts of Irishmen to the life of the nation and Empire, was singularly sympathetic and felicitous. The King visited and showed great interest in the Guinness Trust buildings and the Corporation dwellings for the poor, and the Queen visited the Hospital for the Dying and the Royal Hospital for Incurables. On the 25th their Majesties went to stay with Lord Londonderry at Mount Stewart and on the 27th spent a long day in Belfast, welcomed everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. Subsequently they yachted round Ireland, visiting Londonderry and landing at various places on the west coast, where they went inland by motor car, and in several cases entered the cabins of the peasantry. The Royal visit was concluded at Cork, where the King and Queen visited the Exhibition, presented colours to the Royal Irish Regiment and the Royal Munster Fusiliers, received various addresses and enjoyed a very hearty reception. Before leaving Queenstown (Aug. 1) the King issued an address, expressing in the warmest terms the pleasure which he and the Queen had derived from the "tokens of loyalty and affection" which they had everywhere encountered. His Majesty added: "For a country so attractive and a people so gifted we cherish the warmest regard, and it is with supreme satisfaction that I have during our stay so often heard the hope expressed that a brighter day is dawning upon Ireland." Its realisation must "under Divine Providence depend largely upon the steady development of self-reliance and co-operation, upon better and more practical education, upon the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise, and upon that increase of mutual toleration and respect which the responsibility my Irish people now enjoy in the public administration of their local affairs is well fitted to teach."

There was no doubt that the impressions left by their Majesties were in every respect as happy as those they carried away. Unfortunately during the later months of the year there was a certain check in that "increase of mutual toleration and respect" of which the Land Conference, and the conduct of Irish Members of all parties during the debates on the Land Bill in the Commons, had afforded encouraging evidence, and towards which the influences of the Royal visit had seemed to contribute.

An agitation directed towards urging upon the tenants to adopt an uncompromising attitude in regard to terms of purchase was undertaken by Mr. Davitt, Mr. Sexton and other extreme politicians, and with the powerful aid of the *Freeman's Journal* was prosecuted so strenuously and bitterly that, to the general surprise, Mr. William O'Brien, who had been earnestly championing, in this case, a policy of moderation, announced

early in November that he should resign his seat for Cork and retire from public life. Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Nationalist party in the House of Commons, was sharply assailed for having come to terms with his tenants on the basis of twenty-four and a half years' purchase, and felt constrained to explain that he had a very small interest in the estate concerned, and received only a very small price for it. The working of the Act was, no doubt, impeded by the agitation referred to, and seemed likely to be further hindered by the discovery that, as interpreted (Dec. 21) by Mr. Justice Ross, its provisions did not specify, though he believed such to have been the intention of Parliament, that the bonus to be given to the landlord on purchase was to be entirely available to the limited owner for his own use, and not invested as part of the purchase money under the trusts of the settlement. It seemed probable that, in order to provide the "inducement" to sell required to make the Act work freely in the case of estates held under settlements, an amending measure would have to be passed as early as might be. There were, indeed, some people, in Ireland and in Great Britain also, who considered that it was not just that the limited owner should pocket the bonus, but on the whole the likelihood appeared to be that a Bill to provide that he might do so would pass with very little, if any, serious opposition.

There was a confident report towards the end of the year that the Government meant to bring in a Bill for the creation of a Roman Catholic University. The Report of the Royal Commission which had inquired into the University question pronounced that the position of the Queen's Colleges was most unsatisfactory, and recommended a Federal Teaching University with four constituent Colleges, the three Queen's Colleges and a new Roman Catholic College in Dublin. There were, however, important "riders" put in by Lord Robertson (chairman), Archbishop Healy, Mr. Starkie, and other members of the Commission, which largely modified, in different directions, the effect of their general adhesion to the Report. Dr. Healy, in particular, held it to be a grave defect in the suggested scheme that it made no provision for bringing the large body of arts students in Maynooth College within the University system.

A movement unfortunately tending to encourage sectarian animosity was that of the Roman Catholic Association, which aimed at securing public and corporate employment as far as possible for Roman Catholics. It was approved by the Roman Catholic Bishops at Maynooth on October 7, and it promptly found a counterpart in a Society for the Protection of Protestant Interests.

At the opening of the year the summary jurisdiction clauses of the Crimes Act of 1887 were in force in many proclaimed districts, but on February 2 these proclamations were withdrawn. The Exhibition at Cork, which was held again in 1903, was successful from a financial point of view, but it was

decided not to hold another in 1904. One of the most interesting events of the year was the Gordon Bennett motor race on July 2. The passage of a short Act of Parliament, which was supported by all the local bodies in Kildare, Carlow and Queen's County, secured the right to the promoters of having a route set apart for the race and all traffic suspended for the day. The race attracted a cosmopolitan crowd to the remote parts of several inland counties. The British competitors fared badly, Germany coming in first, and France second.

The fiscal agitation left Ireland almost undisturbed, Mr. Redmond advising his party to keep themselves free to make a bargain with the side which would offer the best terms. Irish trade maintained a fair level during the year. The railways received an impetus from the Royal visit, their total receipts showing an increase at the middle of December of 2 per cent. over the returns for the corresponding period in 1902. An exceptionally wet summer and autumn had a depressing effect upon agriculture. The harvest in all parts of Ireland suffered severely, and the yield of almost all kinds of crops was much below the average of the last decade. The exports of cattle to the end of November were only 848,218 as against 893,814 in the previous year. The total area under crops was increased, the reduction of 0·8 per cent. of the past year being converted into an increase of 0·9 per cent., but the area under flax in Ulster continued to shrink. The total value of the fish landed on the coasts of Ireland during the first ten months of the year (274,506*l.*) was higher by 16,248*l.* than in the same period of 1902.

In the shipbuilding trade, Ireland produced twenty-five vessels of 158,482 tons. Messrs. Harland & Wolff headed the list of shipbuilders all over the world, and launched the *Baltic*, the largest ship in the world, for the third time breaking the world's record. The output at Belfast was 155,429 gross tonnage, 107,100 i.h.p., as against 155,201 gross tonnage, 127,450 i.h.p., in 1903. The linen goods exported show, for the eleven months ending November 30, a total of 139,826,500 yards (3,691,874*l.*), as compared with 149,116,500 yards (3,697,546*l.*) in the same period of 1902. General engineering firms were fairly well supplied with work during the year. The export of their manufactures had increased in five years from 277,924*l.* to 1,174,108*l.* at the beginning of 1903. The whisky trade was depressed owing to the falling off in demand from Australia and South Africa. The Dublin Stock Market was affected by the congestion of Colonial and municipal stock, and there was hardly any demand for municipal stock. Banking shares were firm. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction announced in its report at the beginning of the year that it had spent 47,291*l.* on the development of agriculture, 55,000*l.* on technical instruction, and 10,000*l.* on sea fisheries; and there was no doubt that on all these lines its well-directed activity contributed to the economic advantage of Ireland.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

FINANCE AND TRADE.

THERE have rarely been such black years as 1903 from the financial point of view. It was an almost uninterrupted twelve months of depression with constantly falling prices for Stock Exchange securities. Happily we had no financial collapses such as have overtaken some of the trusts in America, but the lack of business and the general gloom has been in ultimate effect almost as bad as a more sensational "crisis." High-class securities, led by Consols, felt the depression most keenly, and this was due to the extent to which the war borrowing incurred between 1899 and 1902 represented credit rather than cash. The public subscriptions to the war loans—the subscriptions that is of investors—were inconsiderable compared with those of financial houses both in the United Kingdom and in America, and the stock then taken up has been dribbling out upon the market ever since. The banks and other financial houses had at least as much depreciated British Government paper as they cared to carry, and whenever some small improvement was seen sales were forced. In addition to these influences upon the price of Consols the reduction in the rate of interest on April 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. proved to have been not fully forestalled, and although holders knew all along that it was coming, yet the mere fact came with almost a shock.

British Consols stood at 93 at the beginning of 1903 and on December 31 were quoted at 88, showing a fall of five points in the twelve months. On September 29 business was done at $86\frac{1}{8}$, the lowest price marked since 1866. The Two and a Half per Cents. fell from 94 to $87\frac{1}{8}$, and India Three per Cents. declined from $100\frac{1}{2}$ to 96. Municipal stocks also fell heavily, and this class of security became so unpopular, owing to the amount of undigested securities held by the market, that the Stock Exchange underwriting houses decided not to facilitate the issue of any more municipal loans. This decision, which was inevitable and possibly salutary as a check upon the previous excessive borrowing by British corporations, has caused widespread embarrassment. Municipal authorities have now such large operations in hand—both administrative and trading—that constant borrowing has become almost a necessity of life, and the closing of the market has caused them to fall back upon huge overdrafts from their bankers.

The money market was comparatively steady during the year and the Bank of England rate of discount fluctuated between 3 and 4 per cent., the latter rate holding good for 260 days. As might have been expected, the depressed state of the stock markets discouraged attempts to issue new companies and loans, and the fresh issues were only about 110,000,000*l.* as

compared with 154,000,000*l.* in 1902. The one sensational issue of the year was the Transvaal Guaranteed Three per Cent. loan of 30,000,000*l.*, offered at par on May 11. This stock was quoted at a premium before issue, and the applications were immense, totalling 1,174,000,000*l.* Most of these were from "stags" who wished to make a profit out of the nominal premium, and the number of genuine investors applying for stock which they were prepared to pay for was comparatively small. The huge application caused much interest, and gave an altogether fictitious appearance to the British Government's credit; and then the price of the stock promptly fell to 3 per cent. discount and remained below par to the end of the year. In the autumn there was a heavy drain of gold to the United States on account of the numerous failures among financial trust companies there and the general decline in American credit.

The fall in the securities of British railways was even more striking than that in the Government's stocks. To take one or two examples. Brighton Railway Deferred Stock dropped 30 points, from 135½ to 105½; North-Western Consolidated Ordinary Stock fell 24 points, from 169½ to 145½; and South-Western Deferred Stock was 18 lower, at 49, at the end of the year, compared with 67 at the beginning. Other falls, though not so great as these, were very large. These falls were not due to any great decline in prosperity of the railways themselves. The dividends paid on account of 1903 compared favourably with those distributed for 1902, and in many instances an improvement was seen. It may be observed that the earnings for 1903 were on the whole good, especially when the unusual wetness of the summer and the effect of bad weather upon holiday passenger traffic are borne in mind.

With few exceptions foreign Government and railway stocks form a contrast to the ordinary rule of stock market depression. The war cloud in the Far East of course adversely influenced Japanese bonds, the Five per Cents. falling 13½ points, from 102½ to 89, and the Four per Cents. from 87 to 79¾—7¼ points. Russian stocks also fell. But South American securities were in strong demand on account of the prosperity enjoyed by many of the countries there. The most notable advance was Argentine Rescission Bonds, from 72¾ to 80¼. Argentine railways "boomed," and Buenos Ayres and Pacific Ordinary Stock rose from 57 to 111½—no less than 54½ points. The excellent harvests in Argentina and the expansion in exports were the principal causes of this movement. Except in the West Australian department, where some improvement was seen, gold-mining investments were much depressed. The output of gold from the Rand steadily increased, but the lack of adequate labour stopped the expected development of South Africa. Up to the present the prosperity which was expected to follow the termination of the war has been moving on leaden feet.

I wish in this summary to avoid as far as possible references

to Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal campaign, but it is at least necessary to say that the agitation sensibly interfered with the quiet recuperation so essential after a long and exhausting war. The agitation depended largely for its food on a real or imaginary condition of depression, which caused discontent among all classes, and there can be no doubt that it materially assisted to bring about that depression. Fortunately the ill effects of the campaign on foreign trade were less than was feared, and the year 1903 was able to produce Board of Trade returns which established a new "record." The total figures of imports and exports reached 903,353,000*l.*, the highest ever recorded by as much as 25,000,000*l.* The imports amounted to 542,906,000*l.* as compared with 528,391,000*l.* in 1902, and the exports, including re-exports of foreign and colonial produce, were 360,447,000*l.* as against 349,239,000*l.* The returns were specially satisfactory as showing a higher relative rate of increase in exports than in imports. The greater part of the advance in exports consisted, too, in British merchandise and manufactures, the figures being 290,890,000*l.* for 1903 as compared with 283,424,000*l.* for 1902. Advances were shown in nearly all branches of manufactured goods for export—silk manufactures, iron and steel, cutlery and hardware, wool, woollen and worsted, cotton and cotton yarns and fabrics, glass, drugs, haberdashery and earthenware. The exports of all these manufactures increased and the figures undoubtedly came with somewhat of a shock to those who had been misled into thinking that British manufactures were moribund. The figures for 1903 may, as a whole, be fairly compared with those for the previous year, since the average prices of commodities were little changed.

Although the trade returns were as a whole satisfactory it must not be concealed that there were dark spots on the record. The severe depression in the cotton industries, owing to the immense rise in the price of the raw material, came too late to affect greatly the trade figures of the year, but the situation which has arisen in Lancashire deserves special mention. The official reports as to the shortage of the new American cotton crop caused much speculation on the other side in "futures" and the fluctuations of the market were so great that the position of manufacturers became almost impossible. At the end of the year raw American cotton (middling) was quoted at 7*d.* a lb. as against 4½*d.* a lb. a year previously. The too great dependence of the Lancashire manufacturers on American cotton and the straits to which the industry has been reduced have caused an agitation against gambling in cotton and also given impetus to a movement to encourage cotton growing within the British Empire. Gambling will always occur, and as a rule may be left ultimately to defeat itself. It is little use to tilt at speculative dealings in cotton, especially at those which take place on the other side of the Atlantic, but the encouragement of cotton

growing elsewhere than in the Southern States of the Union is a most important object, and one which has attracted the attention of the King's Government.

The depression in the shipping industry has unhappily continued. There is more tonnage than work for it to do, and so long as this state of things continues freights must be at a very low level. Much steam shipping has been laid up and much more is unremunerative. The output of new tonnage has been smaller than in any year since 1897, and building has not been undertaken because there was need for new vessels but because the low prices tempted shipowners to replace their old vessels by new ones. The old ones will be sold to foreign owners who, freed from the restrictions of our Board of Trade, will no doubt compete more severely than ever with British owners. Some employment for tramp steamers was found in the latter part of the year when the Japanese and Russian Governments bought large quantities of steam coal in South Wales for their Far Eastern fleets, and some fifty steamers were for a time occupied in taking this coal to the Far East. The River Plate trade was good as regards quantity, but the rush of steamers to take part in it depressed freights. Under conditions such as I have briefly described the International Mercantile Marine Company (Atlantic Shipping Combination) endeavoured to find employment for its huge fleet, purchased two years ago at extravagant prices. The result has been according to the expectations of competent observers. The large passenger boats of the White Star and American Lines have done fairly well, but the steamers which have depended mainly on cargo have been run at a loss. Many vessels have been laid up, and the present value of the fleet must be less than half the amount at which it was recklessly capitalised. The adventure has proved a failure, and although it is hardly likely that the Combination will split up into its component parts, yet the enterprise as a menace to British shipping has ceased to be taken seriously.

F. HARCOURT KITCHIN.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE Senatorial elections are perhaps those which of all the events of French political life indicate most exactly the state of mind of what might be called the *pays légal*. Everything, even the time of year when this operation is completed, combines to give it the calm and reflective character which is suitable to the higher Assembly. The elections of January 4 for the series A, that is for the departments taken in alphabetical order from Ain to Gard inclusive, dealt with ninety-eight seats. The retiring Senators were divided as follows: Fifty-six belonged to the Ministerial majority and forty-two to the minority, of whom seven were Conservatives. The seven Conservatives were re-elected; two Ministerial Republicans lost their seats, but on the other hand the anti-Ministerial Republicans were turned out of fifteen seats. The Government received in fact a bill of indemnity from the restricted suffrage.

The session opened, in accordance with the law, on the second Tuesday of January, the 13th. The Senate once more secured M. Fallières as its President. To the Chair of the Chamber M. Léon Bourgeois was re-elected by 336 votes out of 414, and without any opponent. The Socialists claimed one of the Vice-Presidents' seats and chose M. Jaurès to represent them. This choice could not but be displeasing to a considerable number of the Ministerialists, but discipline prevailed over distastes both civic and patriotic, and the apostle of disarmament was elected by 209 votes on the second ballot. Having a grave domestic preoccupation in the illness of his only daughter, M. Léon Bourgeois had strenuously resisted the advice of his friends that he should again accept the Presidency of the Chamber, and had yielded only on grounds of State. He took advantage of this occasion to seriously urge his colleagues to put more method into their work, and specially to give up the practice too easily adopted of voting the "provisional twelfths." The blame

for this did not rest altogether on the Chamber, for at the moment when M. Bourgeois was addressing these wise observations to its members, the general report of M. Berteaux had not yet been distributed.

In the interval the sittings had to be devoted to discussing interpellations, among which that of M. Lamy must be noticed on the prohibition laid upon the parochial clergy against the use of any but the French language in their sermons, instructions or catechisings. The Government had no difficulty in proving to the satisfaction of most Republicans that this measure had only one fault, that of being taken too late. In Flanders, and still more in Brittany, the need for it was said to have long existed. Ignorance of French, it was urged, had been carefully maintained among the Celtic population of Brittany, and had made it possible to distort the most legitimate acts of the Government and even to criticise in the most unjust manner the subscriptions, largely collected, without distinction of party, in the Parisian Press, for the sardine fishers of the coast.

The general debate, which was opened on January 19, was but of very brief duration. M. Ribot, who had been for a long time prevented by serious illness from entering the Palais Bourbon, made his re-appearance there with less effect than the Opposition had counted on. The aim of his speech was to open the way for a reconciliation between the moderate elements of the Ministerial majority and the Republican Progressives in such a way as to form a new majority from which the Socialists would be excluded. On various occasions this policy of concentration had been tried, but in most cases the Ministers who attempted to work it had been in the power of the Right, and these recollections were too recent to allow the Radicals or the Progressive Members of the *Bloc* to take the hand held out by M. Ribot.

In the debate on the Budget which began on January 22 M. Rouvier had to give an answer as to the two economic facts which were most sharply criticised by the Opposition—the fall in the State funds and the reduction in the deposits in the savings banks. He showed that a craftily organised campaign had produced the beginnings of a panic among the small holders of *Rentes* and alarmed the clients of the savings banks; but that all over Europe the State funds had fallen. Besides, important symptoms which he indicated gave ground for hoping for a speedy improvement in business, while the savings banks had a reserve fund much larger than their debt. The financial condition of France thus remained excellent.

Was her Army in equally good condition? This was the question asked on the next day by another re-appearing Member, the former President Paul Deschanel, who (Jan. 23) interpellated General André as to the anti-military propaganda carried on in the barracks, the distribution of anarchist newspapers and pamphlets, and incitements to desertion. The principal object

of the interpellator was to force M. Jaurès to explain his letter to the Italian Socialist Deputy Sgr. Costa, in which he declared that the Triple Alliance had been a necessary makeweight to maintain the jingoism of the fanatics of the Franco-Russian alliance. M. Jaurès was not present at the sitting at the moment when M. Deschanel dealt with his letter; a few minutes later he tried to explain it in the tribune by the same arguments as those which he had made use of in the Press; but the Chamber did not listen to him patiently. The Minister for War, who then spoke, energetically denounced all schemes capable of weakening discipline and undertook to prosecute in the course of the year the promoters of the international socialist propaganda in the Army. The Chamber declared its approval of these declarations by 441 votes to 55, among whom was M. Jaurès.

The attitude taken by General André surprised his supporters as much as his opponents, and provoked pretty bitter comments for several days in the organs of the *Bloc*. But much more lively was the emotion stirred a few days later at the sitting of January 26 by the unexpected announcement made by M. Combes. The religious budget was under discussion, and, according to the annual custom, a motion had been made by MM. Sembat, Buisson, Allard and De Pressensé for its suppression. Instead of contenting himself as usual with promising to consider the question, the President of the Council in opposing the motion declared his conviction that society "could not be satisfied by the merely moral ideas, such as were actually given in the narrow and superficial teaching of our primary schools." He added that he considered that "the moral ideas such as the Churches teach are necessary ideas," and ended by declaring himself a spiritualist philosopher. Would this profession of faith, received with ironical applause by the Right, break up the majority? If one could judge of political matters from newspaper articles it would have seemed clear on the morrow of this memorable day that the *Bloc* had ceased to exist. The majority of 328 votes against 201 which had decided in favour of the Government was in great part composed of members of the Right. Those who had hitherto been the most faithful supporters of the President of the Council tried to find extenuating circumstances to account for his words, and some of his colleagues in the Senate thought themselves on the verge of having to find a successor to him. But suddenly everything changed, the majority of the Left was re-formed and M. Jaurès demonstrated to his friends the necessity for rallying more firmly than ever round the Government. On January 29 M. Delcassé ended with his budget intact after the annual skirmishes as to the embassy to the Vatican and the votes for the schools of the East; three days sufficed to vote the innumerable items of the War Estimates; a few short hours were given to the Fine Arts and as many minutes to Public Instruction. All

difficulties were conjured away ; even the Naval Estimates, on which the enemies of the Government and the personal enemies of M. Pelletan had arranged a coalition, only gave rise to a somewhat lively debate, in which the Minister, who was bitterly attacked, defended himself energetically and succeeded in obtaining a majority of 25 votes in his favour.

This discipline of the Parliamentary majority finds its explanation in the unity of action of which the army of the Congregations gave an example. Alike in the large towns and the humblest villages there was not one of the houses belonging to the religious brotherhoods, or to the preaching, teaching or contemplative orders, which was cleared out without resistance. A minutely studied programme made of each legal expulsion a kind of drama, in which the feminine population was called upon to play an active part. Even the children had their share in it, and were taught to hoot at a distance at the representatives of authority. "If we are driven out, we will return ; if the doors are shut we will go through the windows !" wrote one of the heads of the party. This attitude did not reduce the bellicose temper of the commission, of which M. Ferdinand Buisson was chairman and M. Rabier reporter. It was now necessary to decide whether the demands for authorisation made by the Congregations were to be considered separately by Parliament or whether the Government would name *en bloc* all those which it refused to authorise and all those which it considered well to allow. The first method would have resulted in absorbing the sittings of several months in the consideration of a tedious question ; but the second had a displeasing appearance of brutality. The Ministry had been nearly all convinced by M. Delcassé, and inclined towards examining the cases one by one. The commission declared openly for summary execution. Matters were in this state when the League for Freedom of Education, founded by MM. Cochin, de Mun and the Catholic Liberals, intervened. At a carefully arranged conference the members of the Parisian Bar belonging to the league indicated to the Congregations and their supporters means of resisting the attempts at secularisation by appeals to the courts. This was, in short, a manual of legal obstruction, brought within the reach of the least emancipated of the rural proprietors. This policy exasperated the majority to such an extent that M. Combes was imperatively requested to come to an understanding with the commission, that is, to accept the procedure advocated by M. Rabier.

But little was required to bring on an inopportune Ministerial crisis in the middle of February. From all sides affronts were offered to the Government by the recognised chiefs of the Ministerial parties. General André was forced to inflict undeserved disgrace on General Tournier, commandant of the 13th corps at Clermont-Ferrand, who had displeased the Freemasons of the district ; he injured discipline by recalling to the Polytechnic

School after a few weeks sixty young students whom he had sent into the troops for disobedience. This indulgence necessitated others, some artillerymen from Poitiers and other soldiers who had been sent to Africa for mutiny had to be pardoned. M. Delcassé, summoned before the Committee of the Chamber, presided over by M. Etienne, on the subject of his treaty with Siam, declared that he would give up any demand for its ratification, and that he was going to open fresh negotiations with the Court of Bangkok. The Committee on the Budget was in complete disagreement with the Minister for the Navy on the subject of naval construction. But the great difficulty was to be found in the Finance Law.

The voting of the Budget had been suddenly stopped by the opposition of the distillers of home-made spirits to the new measures demanded by the Minister of Finance, in order to check the huge fraud arising out of the privileges granted to the proprietors. On this question parties and programmes were dropped. A plain combination of the interests concerned was made in the face of day—Radicals or Conservatives, Free Traders or Protectionists—such titles no longer counted for anything. On one side were the representatives of the Departments in which was produced the intoxicants already subjected to the minute oversight of the Treasury; on the other the Deputies from the districts where was distilled the juice of the grapes, as in Burgundy, L'Angoumois, the Charentes and the south; the juice of the apples, as in Normandy and the west; the plums and cherries, as in Franche-Comté and the east. With extraordinary passion rural and urban France flung themselves against each other; and it was noteworthy that the public interest and equality of taxation were defended only by the Finance Minister, while the defenders of private interests were led by the most popular orators of the Chamber, who relieved each other in attacks on each paragraph, almost each word, in multiplying amendments, making use of all the resources of obstruction, interminable speeches, motions for adjournment, and other kindred devices. Never had M. Rouvier had to display so much energy combined with diplomacy. He finally (Feb. 13) won a decided victory by the rejection of the motion against clause 17, and after that sitting the demands of the coalition were less exacting. Nevertheless this opposition led to such delay in the vote for the Estimates that it became necessary (Feb. 26) to ask for a third provisional twelfth.

While the Chamber was giving this example of timidity in presence of the electors, the Senate had begun the discussion of the Bill introduced to reduce the period of military service to two years. It was a serious innovation. The military authorities asked that before removing one year in three, the stability of the army should be guaranteed by the formation of *cadres* composed of numerous non-commissioned officers, retained in the service by undeniable advantages. The principle of

this plan had been admitted, but once the voting began the Senate, in spite of its habitual wisdom, lost sight of its imperative necessity for national defence, and after two months' deliberation adopted a series of measures which left nothing of the former organisation standing. The vote of the Chamber, it is true, was still to be taken, but the new army committee and the group of military students who had recently united under the presidency of M. Camille Krantz seemed inclined to hasten the passing of the Bill, rather than to correct it, or even retard its passing by the addition of the most modest amendment.

The Senate having rid itself of this absorbing task, had in its turn to examine the Budget which the Chamber had finally passed (March 5). Three important innovations had been voted at the last moment—a Government monopoly of the sale of alcohol; the putting up to contract the tobacconists' shops, hitherto granted by the Finance Minister or the Prefects to the widows of soldiers or officials; and, finally, the suppression of the use of bodily restraint for insolvent debtors to the Treasury, particularly in cases of the imposition of fines. The Senate applied itself vigorously to the consideration of these enormous figures, and while in its turn it examined the new and old traditions of waste, by which an important part of the public funds was squandered, the Chamber opened at last the debate on the demands for authorisation presented by the male Congregations: Capuchins, Redemptorists, Benedictines, Dominicans, Passionists, both French and English. From March 13 to 26 almost all the sittings were taken up with this debate. Its chief interest from the political point of view was the definite break-up of the former Progressive group. Those who followed M. Ribot and M. Renault-Morlière opposed the suppression of the Congregations in the name of liberty; the others, with M. Barthou, put these societies on their trial, and demanded their dispersion for the public welfare. The most heated struggle was that of March 18, in which MM. Rabier (the introducer of the Bill), De Pressensé, Renault-Morlière, Combes and Ribot took part, when the Chamber finally decided to deal with the demands *en bloc*. The speech of the President of the Council was placarded all over France, and the Chamber unanimously decided that the votes of the Deputies should be likewise published, arranged in order of Departments. By 300 votes to 257 authorisation was refused to all the teaching orders, and on March 24 the same decision was taken against the preaching and contemplative orders. Finally on the 26th the more or less mercantile orders, such as the Chartreux, were also suppressed.

If the less important interpellations, such as that by M. Delafosse on Morocco (March 14) and by M. Albin Rozet on Algiers (March 27), are considered with these excited struggles, it will be seen that the winter session had been occupied in a

manner unusual to the Chamber of Deputies. It culminated in a sitting of twenty-seven hours, necessitated by the usual final bargainings for the Budget vote. Ultimately after scenes of violence more tumultuous than ever before, the session closed on the morning of the 31st.

The Budget of 1903 had been prepared with laudable care for economy and exactness. Unfortunately the votes of the Chamber had sensibly altered the work of the Budget Committee. But the great efforts of MM. Rouvier and Doumer and of the chiefs of the different offices had not been useless. The increase in expenditure had been checked, and the total expenditure showed a noteworthy reduction on that of the preceding year. The receipts were estimated at 3,528,486,845 francs; the expenditure amounted to 3,528,397,807 francs. The expected balance was reduced as low as possible, and since it is usual that all expected payments should be made, while the receipts are less ready to conform to the prognostics of financiers, the equilibrium appeared very unstable. It is to be noticed, however, that the reduction in expenditure since the last balance sheet reached 114,000,000 francs, and that the backward movement, calculated on the receipts of former years, appeared to be already checked. It was therefore permissible to anticipate with some confidence a normal development in the public prosperity; the only danger lay in the impatience of those reformers who were making efforts to replace the taxes whose yielding power had stood the test of more than a century's use by new combinations, apparently more democratic, but possibly more dangerous for the credit of the State.

On Easter Day the President of the Republic started on the journey to Algiers and Tunis, of which the programme had been so carefully prepared by the Governor, M. Révoil and the Ministry. This spring tour, which bade fair to be little more than an exhibition of official zeal and showy equipages, was on the contrary singularly disturbed. On the eve of the day fixed for the President's departure, the Governor tendered his resignation for the reason that M. Combes held him responsible for abusive articles which had appeared in a newspaper of Isère which belonged to his father-in-law. Immediately protests and petitions were voted by the members of the general and municipal councils of Algiers, but the efforts at agitation collapsed because the Minister responsible for this affair did not accompany the President. Besides it was soon known that M. Révoil, who resigned so hastily, was to be succeeded by his predecessor M. Jonnart, who had left Algiers only the year before for reasons of health and domestic sorrow. This was the first occasion on which a President of the Republic had visited the great Mediterranean Colony. M. Loubet was all the better received because he brought numerous favours. On his way he spoke some words which the Opposition interpreted as a veiled protest against the anti-religious policy of the Cabinet. "I am not too kind," he

said, in answer to an address presented to him at Perregaux ; “ I do not sign everything which is wished.” No more was required for M. Loubet to be represented as finding fault with his Ministry. In fact the *Journal Officiel* received no report of these little speeches, which made it appear that M. Combes understood exactly as his opponents did the remarks of the head of the State.

Other more surprising speeches were at the same moment severely criticised by the whole French Press. M. Pelletan, Naval Minister, had started on a cruise in the Mediterranean, so as to meet the President and M. Delcassé at Tunis. While in Corsica M. Pelletan made statements at a banquet which were wanting in consideration for Italy ; and a little later, at Bizerta, he led his audience to believe that his sentiments towards England were not at all in harmony with the *entente cordiale*. It was necessary for M. Combes, in an official address given in his department, to formally disavow the after-dinner speeches of his colleague, and in a happy phrase he attributed their aggressive tone to “ the infectious warmth of the banquets.” These withdrawals were not of a nature to add to the prestige of the Government.

Certain disturbances, of which the provincial towns were the scenes—specially Nantes, Angers, Nice, Le Mans, Le Havre—failed to produce the effect on which their organisers reckoned. In them workmen enlisted for the occasion appeared side by side with young men known for their reactionary and Clerical origin. The Government responded to this street agitation by energetic measures which immediately restored the public nerve. Then, acting doubtless in accordance with the provisions of the Concordat, they proceeded to close the unauthorised chapels in which the Catholic worship was publicly carried on. They also issued a circular inviting the Bishops to refrain from giving to members of the dissolved Congregations the work of preaching in the parishes. On this the Bishops mobilised their forces. A petition of protest against Governmental persecutions was prepared and covered with signatures. The courts, however, only imposed a 16 franc fine upon or acquitted the monks who were authors of anti-Governmental demonstrations. The Government tried to cut off the supplies of the recalcitrant prelates by suppressing their salaries. But compensating subscriptions poured in from the faithful. Everything attested the tenacity of the Clerical party, but on the other hand the Republicans were the more strongly impressed with the necessity for maintaining the concentration of their forces. The meetings of the General Councils showed this cohesion.

M. Loubet returned to Paris in time to welcome King Edward VII. Having visited Portugal and Italy, the English Sovereign was returning to his country by a State journey through France and its capital. The courtesy of this measure had been deeply felt by the people of Paris, who showed their sentiments of

sympathetic gratitude eagerly and carefully. On leaving French soil his Britannic Majesty wished it to be made known how much he was pleased with the manner in which he had been received.

The usual session opened May 19 with a two days' struggle. The Government had to reply to an interpellation on its religious policy. Violently attacked by the Abbé Gayraud and the Right, it was defended chiefly by the Radical Socialists. On to this debate was grafted a discussion as to the separation between Church and State introduced by M. de Pressensé. This motion produced great confusion among the parties. The members of the Right, not being able to reconcile themselves to voting for a measure which appeared to them dangerous, found themselves led to voting for the Government which opposed it. On the other hand the Radicals and the Socialists could not reject a motion which they had put in the forefront of their election pledges. What was called a duplicate majority was therefore formed. About thirty Deputies detached themselves from the *Bloc*, and thus helped towards the rejection of the motion which the Government opposed as premature. It might be supposed that this skirmish would produce a decided change in the grouping of forces. Great efforts were made to form a majority, of which the Progressives and the Radicals would have furnished the chief strength and of which MM. Ribot and Leygues would have been the leaders. Many Radical Socialists thought they were sacrificed by the Ministry to the demands of the Socialists. One of them even complained that he had asked for seventy-three tobacconists' licenses for his constituents, and had not obtained a single one. While the Chamber at last began the discussion of the Bill for support to the aged, introduced by M. Bienvenu Martin, Radical Socialist, while it rejected by a crushing majority the motion to diminish by 2 francs the Customs duty on corn, subtle negotiations were being made and unmade in the lobbies. In the end a new accord of four groups of the majority was the result. Their delegates met and decided to ask the President of the Council for a conference in which to emphasise the good understanding between the Government and the majority; and since a recognised means of maintaining agreement is to fight a common enemy, the resolution was made to pursue against the female Congregations the struggle hitherto carried on chiefly against those of men.

This decision, coinciding with the time of the processions of the *Fête-Dieu*, was accepted as a defiance by the associations of Catholics in the provinces. Serious disorders took place at Dunkirk and still more at Nantes, where the funeral of a Socialist workman, who was killed in the crushing of a crowd, gave occasion for demonstrations threatening public order. These incidents showed once more that the magistrates were for the most part in a different camp to the Ministry. The greater number of the demonstrators charged with striking

and wounding and otherwise outraging the representatives of authority were acquitted. Similar leniency was extended to all the monks charged with resisting the law. This attitude of the tribunals did not fail to disconcert the Ministry, which had declared in the debate in the Chamber on the attacks of the Press on MM. Pelletan and Combes that in political trials the jury was losing all courage and becoming incompetent. The situation was becoming serious. It having become useless to appeal to either magistrates or assizes against the disturbers, nothing was left but the army or the police. But was the army disciplined to the point of obeying the civil power without question? There was a sufficient number of incidents which gave rise to doubts on this point. In the west, as in the east, in all ranks in the army officers were resigning their commissions rather than lend assistance to the expulsions. The War Minister dealt severely with these refusals of obedience, but to what point would these examples of discontent lead embittered minds and exasperated Catholics?

Excited by the struggle the members of the *Bloc* drew from the premises before them the most extreme consequences. M. Massé, a Radical Socialist Deputy of la Nièvre, introduced a Bill to forbid any secularised member of a Congregation to teach for three years in the commune in which he had lived as a member of the Congregation or in the adjacent communes. The Senate refused to go so far, and after the end of June it became clear that the Ministerial policy would find some opposition in the higher Chamber, the less to be neglected since the majority in the Chamber was not very secure. Thus on June 26 the most lively discussion had taken place at the Palais Bourbon on the question of refusing *en bloc* the authorisations applied for by the teaching orders of women. M. Georges Leygues, in the absence of M. Ribot through illness, found fault with the report of M. Rabier advocating that course, for incoherence, inaccuracy and injustice. The wholesale refusal was nevertheless voted, but by the minimum majority of 285 votes against 269, and since the Deputies in office had taken part in the vote it was clear that a displacement of ten votes would have sufficed to produce a Ministerial crisis.

On the next day M. Waldeck-Rousseau made a somewhat sensational re-appearance in the tribune. The Senate had opened the discussion of the Government Bill requiring Communal authorities to build school houses where they were needed in consequence of the suppression of the schools of the Congregations. It was not difficult to show that the haste with which the Prefects had proceeded, in the expulsion of the Orders and the fixing of seals on their houses, had resulted in the necessity for building new schools for many Communes. The Municipal Councils did not care to undertake this duty at the cost of the Communes. The State on its side was not able to face such a financial responsibility. M. Waldeck-Rousseau,

himself the author of the Associations Law, made an elaborate attack on the Government for having gone beyond what was intended, and indeed for having overpassed the spirit of the law. His speech produced a considerable effect. Nevertheless, the Government carried its measure by a substantial majority. At the same time it did not appear likely that the Senate would follow the Chamber if the latter voted the complete suppression of liberty of instruction and a State monopoly.

But the session was approaching its end. On June 22 the Government had introduced the Budget of 1904, again a Budget marking time without any remarkable loan or new tax. M. Rouvier contented himself with a Budget which balanced, and this modesty stood him in good stead. The Budget Commission, nominated at once, chose M. Paul Doumer as President—M. Paul Doumer whose Parliamentary influence had slowly but surely won its way on to firm and solid ground. The members of the Commission divided the Ministerial departments among themselves and decided to defer to the winter session the publication of their reports, but to ask from the majority rather more order and method in their votes at public sittings. Having made these arrangements in accord with the Government, the Commission began its work of inspection. It was chiefly in the Navy that much was found to blame. The Minister, M. Pelletan, being violently abused by one of his civil predecessors, M. Lockroy, and attacked with more civility but equal bitterness by another, M. de Lanessan, retained when in office the sharpness of language which he had formerly used in Opposition and in the Press. He behaved aggressively towards the heads of the Navy and leant upon the meritorious but extremely shifting body of the under-employés in the arsenals and the junior officers. The Fleet had remained during the thirty years of the Republic the service most shut out from liberal ideas; the spirit of cliques reigned there, and no one questioned the Clericalism of the majority of the Admirals. The Republican party therefore approved as a whole the campaign instituted by M. Pelletan for the reform of these abuses. But Ministerial dictation was also applied to the members of the Budget Commission, and the latter, not being reduced to military discipline, difficulties followed which were finally felt by the Navy itself. Before the struggle reached an acute stage, however, the Parliamentary session came to an end. On July 4, after obtaining from the Senate the refusal of authorisation demanded by a religious order of Italian origin, the Salésiens of Dom Bosco, the Government prorogued the Chambers.

On July 6 M. Loubet left Paris to return the visit of King Edward VII. He was magnificently welcomed on his arrival in London, taken to St. James's Palace and treated by England during his three days' stay with a sumptuous cordiality which evidently impressed him profoundly. A few days later an important deputation of French Members of Parliament, having accepted the invitation of their British *confrères*, inaugurated a

new kind of friendly inter-Parliamentary relation, calculated to facilitate the good understanding between the two countries.

In June it had been arranged between Count Tornielli and M. Delcassé that the King of Italy should pay a visit to Paris, and his arrival had been fixed for July 16. But just at the time when this journey was to be made the Pope, Leo XIII., fell dangerously ill, and the visit was put off out of regard for the feelings of French and Italian Catholics. This consideration, however, was thrown away, so far at any rate as many of the former were concerned. For the death of Leo XIII. was almost welcomed by several ultra-Catholic organs as the end of a rule prejudicial to Conservative interests. Smarting under varied provocations, the French Catholic party showed a decided tendency to borrow revolutionary tactics. Not only did the tone of the newspapers which supported the Congregations surpass in violence that of the most heated demagogues, but the same methods of propaganda and election contests were employed. Thus, the President of the Council having been invited to preside at the closing sitting of the Congress of the Teachers' Friendly Societies at Marseilles, a counter-demonstration against him was arranged. Its only effect, however, was to stir up the zeal of the Republicans. At Lorient, where a strike had been declared among textile workmen, some bakeries were pillaged, and the trial showed that the leaders of these attacks were strangers, professional agitators who had taken part a year before in the disturbances in the neighbourhood of Brest. In Brittany something like a Vendean revolt was prepared, at the beginning of September, in view of the great *fêtes* got up by the Blues of Brittany for the inauguration of the monument raised to the memory of Renan in the public Square of Tréguier. The Clerical party treated this homage to the eminent writer as an insult to the Catholic religion. The rectors of the parishes denounced the outrage from the pulpit, and civil war seemed "within measurable distance." The energy and skill of the Prefect of the Côtes-du-Nord, M. Robert, met the situation effectively. The greatest precautions were taken to assure order. When two Royalist Deputies of the Côtes-du-Nord, MM. Ollivier and du Roscoat, broke regulations and attempted to present a protest to the President of the Council, the Sub-Prefect of Guingamp had them expelled from the railway station at Pontrioux *manu militari*. The result of all this agitation was to increase in Brittany the strength and the unity of the anti-Clerical organisations.

Over the country, as a whole, the session of the General Councils showed once more the firm discipline of the Ministerial party. The greater number of these assemblies rejected decidedly all the motions introduced by the supporters of the Congregations; a considerable number voted addresses of congratulation to the Government. The great military manœuvres in Limousin were as successful as usual; and the conferences

of parties sufficiently occupied the lovers of politics without exciting the country. Nevertheless, in the quiet of peace the Government did not lose sight of the imperative demands of international competition, and on September 28 appeared in the *Journal Officiel* orders reorganising the Colonial Army, and giving it a considerable strength, which was to be paid for partly by the metropolitan country, but as to the larger share out of the Colonial Budgets which had for the most part become autonomous. A real and beneficent revolution had been worked rapidly but with little noise in the conditions of the political life of that great Empire, hitherto without form, which France had determined to create.

Another and not less profound change was shown in the popular conception of the foreign relations of the country. For the idea of a kind of selfish and jealous marriage of the Republic with a great military Empire was substituted the desire to live in peace first with those peoples whose political institutions, civilisation and interests were as much in harmony with those of France as their neighbourly intercourse was frequent. The *rapprochement* of France and England had for corollary a friendly understanding with Italy. The visit of King Victor Emmanuel to France was not merely a series of official entertainments following a programme regulated by etiquette. It afforded the Parisians an opportunity of demonstrating their cordial sympathy with the efforts of MM. Barrère and Delcassé to draw together the two great Latin nations.

The autumn session opened on October 20, and was almost entirely taken up with the Budget. The discipline of the majority triumphed, not without difficulty, over the attempts made both by the Right and by the dissentients of the Left to excite Parliamentary difficulties. At the opening of the session the Government obtained, after two days' discussion, a handsome vote of confidence *à propos* of an interpellation by M. Gauthier de Clagny on the strikes of Armentières and Hennebort. A few days later a renewed attack from the defenders of the distillers of home-made spirit was sharply repulsed by M. Rouvier. Two more days, however, had to be spent in discussions in which the pettifogging spirit of the lawyers pleading the cause of the producers of alcohol had free play. And in the end, in spite of his fine spirit and energy, the Minister of Finance was obliged to make a compromise with his opponents, and accept an order of the day in which the Chamber requested him to "modify the regulations and circulars which were in opposition to the spirit and the letter of the law of March 31." This concession had no practical value, since the law itself in any case held good in its letter and purpose.

At the sitting of October 30 another difficult moment was passed without bad result. The revolutionary Socialists interpellated the Government as to a disturbance which had taken

place at the Bourse du Travail in Paris on the occasion of a strike. The police, while pursuing some strikers who had ill-treated some agents, penetrated into the inner hall of this building. The organs of the Socialist party were unanimous in asking for the dismissal of M. Lépine, Prefect of Police, as responsible for the misdeeds of his subordinates. M. Combes was absolutely determined to keep at the head of the municipal armed forces this energetic and loyal Republican. The Right, who had not forgiven M. Lépine for his decided action at the time of the troubles which had followed the election of M. Loubet, made schemes for profiting by the disagreement between the Cabinet and the Socialists. But this policy was baffled; M. Jaurès persuaded the Ministry to be content with the order of the day alone, and the majority to vote it.

The debate on the Budget, vigorously opened at the end of October, occupied the Chamber of Deputies all through November. M. Doumer had pledged himself to bring it to an end sufficiently early to avoid the costly expedient of provisional twelfths. At first the majority seemed disposed to follow the impulse given them; they decided to sit even on Wednesdays, they then voted for morning sittings, at which only the officials, the announced speakers and the movers of amendments directly concerned with the debate appeared; then bad habits re-appeared, the proposals intended to favour the most dissatisfied classes of the electors were supported and passed; the balance so carefully acquired was destroyed. The most noteworthy episode of this debate was the encounter which brought the Socialists and the Republican Left into opposition on the subject of the Department of Foreign Affairs. M. Hubbard introduced (Nov. 23) a motion requesting the Government to take the initiative in suggesting disarmament to the great European Powers. A heated discussion took place on this subject. M. F. de Pressensé, Deputy of the Rhône, exhorted France not to hypnotise herself by the anticipation of a revenge which no one desired or had ever desired. M. Jaurès approved of these doctrines, but the Minister of Education in the former Cabinet, M. Georges Leygues, combated the proposal with a vigour which won for him a splendid ovation, and, after his speech, M. Gerville Réache moving an order of the day supporting the Government, it was carried by a crushing majority.

Meanwhile the Senate opened the discussion of the Bill introduced by M. Chaumié, Minister of Public Instruction, for the abolition of the *Loi Falloux*. This law, passed in 1850, had abolished the State monopoly of education, and on the principle of supporting liberty and preserving the rights of parents to choose the instructors of their children, had given a freedom which had resulted in the creation of schools belonging to the Church in the face of those of the State. The Acts of 1880 and 1881 had considerably reduced the part left to free instruc-

tion ; thus the chief Council of Public Instruction no longer counted among its members representatives of the Episcopate, of the higher magistracy or leading administrators ; it had come to belong exclusively to the University. In regard to primary education also the Communes had lost the right of choice between lay and religious schoolmasters. Yet the machinery constructed by the Conservatives of 1850, in regard to both primary and intermediate education, in rivalry with that of the State, still extensively existed, though in a reduced and somewhat dismantled condition. A majority had been formed in the Chamber to ask for the suppression of all that was left of it, and during the last days of the summer session the Government had given a pledge to introduce a Bill with that intention.

M. Chaumié, however, did not go so far as to withdraw from Catholic priests and the secularised members of Congregations the right of gaining their livelihood by teaching the young. He consented to let some free establishments act, but on condition that the masters to be employed in them should have passed the same examinations as the masters of official education, and that their lessons should be submitted to the vigilant inspection of the representatives of the State—general inspectors, inspectors of the Academy, or others. These limitations on the policy they had contemplated were not at all pleasing to the majority in the Chamber, and its leaders therefore proposed to the Republicans of the Senate to unite in a meeting at which the subject could be discussed. The very important senatorial group of the Republican Union refused, after a speech by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, to appear at this meeting.

This attitude involved the giving-up of the previous understanding, and consequently made the position of the Minister of Public Instruction the more delicate. He had to defend his Bill against attacks coming from both sides of the Higher Chamber. On the one hand he resisted a proposal that no intermediate school should be opened without Governmental authorisation. This was advocated by the more extreme supporters of the Government, speakers like M. Lintilhac urging the Senate to follow the precepts of Aristotle, who would give the State a monopoly of education. On the other hand, the Premier himself accepted an amendment, the effect of which was to prohibit the members of any religious order, authorised as well as unauthorised, from engaging in teaching. On this arose the most serious incident of the debate—the open renewal of disagreement between M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Combes. The former President of the Council accused his successor of having altered the law of 1901 by turning a defensive measure into a weapon of persecution. M. Combes asserted that he had been compelled, by logic and the force of things, to draw conclusions from the syllogism of which the late Cabinet had stated the premises. The Upper Chamber was visibly inclined to agree with M. Waldeck-Rousseau, but M. Clémenceau, who

had in an earlier speech defended the principle of freedom, here intervened in support of M. Combes, and with a sudden re-action made the doubtful return. By a very slender majority—147 to 136—the Senate sustained the Government in their campaign for the restriction of liberty of teaching (Nov. 17-20).

The month of December was marked by a series of capitulations in the Senate. After having (Dec. 4) voted the Budget by 467 votes to 63, the Chamber had bethought itself of giving a fresh amnesty for acts committed in strikes and cognate offences. The Senate considered it far from prudent to encourage the supporters of disorder; but fear of a Ministerial crisis made the majority yield, and the amnesty was voted for State reasons. Another and not less unexpected concession was the Bill of Indemnity granted by the Senate to the Minister of the Navy, M. Pelletan, following the interpellation of M. de Chamillaud. It was proved in the course of the debate that the most stringent regulations had been entirely neglected on a question of discipline, that the Minister received letters from seamen complaining of their officers, that he had suppressed the *dossier* of a trial decided by court-martial and ordered the release of the prisoner. In spite of the gravity of the facts revealed the Minister obtained a simple Order of the Day, with which he had the modesty to be satisfied. But the most serious of the concessions made by the Senate was the facility with which it sanctioned, if not the ideas of the Chamber with regard to the Budget, at least the supplementary financial votes which the Senatorial Finance Committee had suppressed and which the Chamber re-established. M. Antonin Dubost, Reporter-General, who deplored the demands of the junior Assembly, expressed the wish that it would not take advantage of the pacific temper of the Senators and force them to resistance. These complaints showed that the Chamber did not treat the higher Assembly with all desirable deference; but they showed also that the Senatorial majority had come to understand and submit to the necessity for such discipline as had up to now been almost always wanting in France in the party in power, more even than in the Opposition. This was the most remarkable event of the political year in France.

It was, however, well worthy of note that the Dreyfus case was in course of being re-opened without exciting any political passion. The Minister of War, General André, having examined the documents connected with the case, communicated with M. Vallé, Minister of Justice, to whom ex-Captain Dreyfus had made an application for revision, and M. Vallé determined to submit the question to the Committee of Revision. That body, consisting of high judicial and other legal functionaries, unanimously decided that the demand for revision was justified, specially, it was said (in a statement published on December 24), having regard to the falsification of certain documents. In the course of a few weeks, therefore, the case would come before the Court of Cassation.

II. ITALY.

At the beginning of 1903 the stability of the Italian Ministry seemed assured for a long period. Its leader, the veteran Sgr. Zanardelli, ruled with such authority that it was said of him that he was less a President of the Council than Chancellor of the Kingdom. Sgr. di Broglio was considered the ablest and most successful State financier. Sgr. Prinetti, Foreign Minister, had a reputation for ability and energy which seemed to indicate the opening of a striking career. Finally people quoted as a rare proof of clever diplomacy the credit which Sgr. Giolitti, Minister of the Interior, had succeeded in recovering in the political world in spite of his notorious failure of 1894 at the time of the affair of the banks. Illness was destined rapidly to shatter this apparently solid combination.

In the first days of the year Sgr. Broglio declared that he was unable to carry on his duties, and while the President of the Council was considering whether he should summon Sgr. Luzzati or Sgr. Wollemborg to replace him, a sudden blow struck Sgr. Prinetti while in full vigour, an apoplectic seizure laying him low at the Council almost at the very moment at which Cardinal Parocchi was dying. In a few days the Ministry was disabled at the moment when the question of divorce united against it all the Conservative forces of the country. The Catholics multiplied their efforts; petitions were signed, the Bishops issued indignant charges. The Government considered the question of withdrawing their State stipends from those Bishops who were most conspicuously involved in this agitation; but herein Ministers went no farther than threats. Indeed, however opinions might differ—and families were profoundly divided—on the merits of the issue, the character of the anti-divorce movement at least showed that the Roman Church enjoyed complete freedom under secular rule. Similarly the *fiets* given on the occasion of the jubilee of Leo XIII. manifested conclusively that if the Pope was a prisoner in the Vatican he was so of his own free will.

The extreme Left set itself a few days later to show that it was no more correct to say, as its enemies did, that the Government was the prisoner of the Socialists. In the sittings of February 18 and the following days the leaders of the Republican and Socialist groups were continually harassing the members of the Ministry, either as to the increase of military expenditure or the dissolution by Austrian police of the *Unione Zaratina*, which was denounced as an insult to the House of Savoy and Italy; or finally as to mistakes made by the police in supervising Anarchists or in repressing brigandage in Sicily. The Ministry defended itself fairly well. The weakest part of its defence was the answer of the Under-Secretary of State, Ronchetti, to the question of the Deputy Chiesi on the subject

of the revelations of the Anarchist, Rubino, who had fired on the King of the Belgians, and whose trial had thrown a strange light on the habits of the Italian political police. These Parliamentary skirmishes produced quarrels, particularly among what might be called the advanced guards of the parties; the leaders observed a kind of courteous truce. It was thus that the jubilee of the Parliamentary life of Sgr. B. Biancheri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, was celebrated with pomp and solemnity truly Roman. Parties were merged for one day (March 18) in a circle of smiling friends and pupils honouring a veteran of Italian liberty.

A few days later, however, serious difficulties appeared. The working book-printers in Rome came out on strike, and their leaders tried to come to an agreement with other workmen's societies for a general strike. In the Chamber the Socialist party multiplied its cavilling. Sgr. Lollini interpellated the Government as to the arrest at Naples of the Russian Goetz, who was accused by the Russian police of complicity with Balmatchef, the murderer of the Minister of the Interior, Sipiaguine. He showed indignation at the ease with which agents of the Italian Administration conformed to the wishes of the Russian Third Section. The Socialists called on the Ministry to come to the promised reforms, and meanwhile to settle before Easter the question of the reduction of taxes. The Minister of the Interior replied (April 1) in a speech of much power and adroitness. Sgr. Giolitti dealt with the conflicts between employers and employed, deplored the failure of liberty to prevent such struggles, declared that repression had never taken the place of remedy in such matters, promised in the near future ameliorations and efficient laws, showed himself, in conclusion, sufficiently modest to dispense with the vote of confidence in the order of the day, but claimed from the Chamber that it should adjourn till April 28.

At two or three of the concluding sittings there had been some warm discussion of the serious revelations contained in a recently published Green-book as to the manner in which the farming company of Benadir understood the employment of negro labour. Admiral Morin, Acting Foreign Minister, frankly acknowledged the company's shortcomings, and secured the goodwill of the Deputies by the intimation that, though its charter would not now be revoked by the Government, its future tenure would be conditional on good behaviour.

On April 7 the Roman strike became general, involving all forms of labour except Government employés. Hackney-carriage drivers were included, to the great inconvenience of the crowds of visitors, and altogether some 25,000 men were out of work. For three days no newspaper appeared except the *Popolo Romano*. The King, the Premier and Sgr. Giolitti thought the situation sufficiently grave to interrupt their Easter holiday in the country, and returned to the capital. The ar-

rangements for preserving order were remarkably successful, and the industrial trouble was happily of brief duration. Work was generally resumed on Good Friday (April 10).

The ensuing festal season assumed an international character. Innumerable congresses collected at Rome the *savants* of the whole world. At Venice M. Chaumié took part with his Italian colleague in the ceremony of laying the first stone of the new Campanile. Towards the end of the month of April came the visit of King Edward. His Majesty's reception in Italy was marked by warmth not less than by splendour on the part of his Royal hosts and of the whole Italian nation. In the streets he was hailed by welcoming crowds, and by public bodies and the Press his visit was treated as a happy occasion for demonstrating Italian gratitude for the constancy of British friendship. King Edward made a call of ceremony upon the Pope (April 29), and by this courtesy gratified the venerable Pontiff and his own Roman Catholic subjects without in any way irritating Italian national feeling. At this period, the resignation of Sgr. Prinetti having been accepted, Admiral Morin exchanged his portfolio of Naval Minister for that of Foreign Affairs, and was succeeded by Admiral Bettolo. The Russian prisoner Goetz was set at liberty and conducted to the Swiss frontier. No slackness, however, was shown in the vindication of order and security at home, as many as 166 Sicilians being brought to trial on the charge of having shielded the brigand Varsalona for eleven years from the pursuit of the Carabineers. In the Chamber Sgr. di Broglio, restored to health for too short a time, obtained the vote for the amended Budget, which showed a balance of 32,000,000 lire (April 30). The Minister spoke of the general Budget conditions as "extraordinarily satisfactory," and as justifying the Government in "facing the future with confidence".

The visit of the King of England was immediately followed by one from the Emperor of Germany, and the Romans gave their new guest a cordial reception. The military pomp, however, with which the German Sovereign surrounded himself when proceeding from the Prussian Legation in the Palazzo Odelscalchi to the Vatican did not please them, and a certain coldness became observable in the public acclamations. The Triple Alliance, indeed, appeared to be distinctly losing ground in people's minds, if not in diplomatic arrangements. Italy was persuading herself that the commercial agreements which regulated trade between herself and Germany and Austria were no longer to her interest, and no one was much surprised to see that after the departure of William II. the Government denounced the commercial treaties (May 7). A fresh outburst of Irredentist feeling occurred in the University towns; at Bologna the poet José Carducci put himself at the head of a demonstration before the monument to Garibaldi. This excitement quieted down of its own accord.

It was otherwise with the difficulties caused by the campaign of the Socialists against the administration of the Navy. Sgr. Ferri, who led the most noisy group, had violently attacked Admiral Bettolo in his paper *L'Avanti*. The alleged facts appeared sufficiently *vraisemblables* to make the other Socialist Deputies feel obliged to support the cause, and the thirty Republicans thought it impossible to refuse a demand for an inquiry. At the same time another difficulty arose. A majority of the Parliamentary Commission nominated to inquire into the Ministerial Bill for re-establishing divorce had voted against it and had appointed a hostile reporter. The debate on it therefore promised very badly. Finally a lively discussion had opened on the railways, and the system of private enterprise was severely criticised. Sgr. Zanardelli exerted himself to the utmost, his keenness winning general admiration. He achieved (June 3) one of his finest oratorical triumphs, but a few days later the Socialists returned to their hostile attitude. The Deputy Morgari interrogated the Government as to the date at which they expected the visit from the Tsar, and accompanied this indiscreet question by comments which were applauded by his political comrades. The Government protested vigorously against these remarks, and the President Biancheri added his authority to that of the Ministers; nevertheless the bad effect necessarily passed beyond the limits of the Kingdom, as was seen later.

A Ministerial crisis occurred inopportunistically on June 17. Admiral Bettolo and Sgr. Giolitti separated themselves from their colleagues, and the President of the Council tendered his resignation at the same time, but the King would not receive it, and a few days later (the 25th) the Ministry appeared, but no longer complete, before Parliament. Sgr. Zanardelli, in asking the Chamber to grant the Government six provisional twelfths (June 25)—a request which implied an early prorogation—explained the condition of the Ministry by the fact that up to that time they had always had a majority, and that therefore it had not been considered wise to introduce fresh elements into their composition. The President had, therefore, taken the Portfolio of the Interior, Admiral Morin undertaking the Navy in the *interim*. The Right and the Centre, or at least those Deputies of the Centre who were led by Sgr. Sonnino, declared against the Government. Sgr. Marcora, on behalf of the Extreme Left, announced that they, on the contrary, would vote for them. The ex-Minister took an honourable line by working energetically among his personal friends on behalf of his former chief. Thanks to this combination of goodwill, Sgr. Zanardelli obtained a good majority of 81 votes. This was to be his last harvest of Parliamentary laurels. On the next day the Chamber was prorogued, after having passed by secret ballot thirty Bills, which represented 43,000,000 lire of new expenditure, and reductions of taxes nearly equally divided between the

northern and southern provinces. On June 29 the Senate separated in its turn, after having voted the authorisation for raising the provisional twelfths by 91 votes to 11.

Hardly had Parliament risen when the fatal illness of the Pope drew to Rome the attention of the world. At his advanced age the strength of Leo XIII. failed rapidly, and he passed quietly away on July 20. Formerly the transmission of the supreme power in the Catholic Church had often produced a formidable crisis. It was frequently the occasion of popular riots, of disturbances in the streets, at the same time as fierce intrigues cunningly contrived by the partisans of the candidates. The conclave of 1903 was certainly not to be compared to those irresistible movements of opinion in which the piety of Catholics likes to see a token of Divine intervention, and which raised to the Holy See a Hildebrand or a Caraffa; it was rather, as in 1846 and 1878, a compromise between two parties too equal in numbers to risk a fight. Two influences appeared dominant, that of Cardinal Rampolla, who had ruled of late years in the name of the failing Leo XIII., and that of Cardinal Vannutelli. Austria put its veto on the election of the former, who was considered the candidate of France. But the other Cardinals, offended by this intervention, gave their votes to Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who was elected on August 4, and took the name of Pius X. The quiet and order with which this election had been made were one more proof of the complete freedom which the Catholic Church enjoyed in Italy. The election itself seemed to indicate that the *intransigent* spirit had lost ground in the Sacred College, for the Patriarch of Venice had not been afraid a few months before the death of Leo XIII. to greet the King of Italy at the time of his visit to Venice, and the courtesy of his reception of the French Minister of Public Instruction had been noticed at the Benediction of the first stone of the new Campanile. The new Pope was therefore well received. The Ministers accredited to the Holy See hastened to greet him; rival Powers made efforts to attract him. Would he submit, as his two predecessors had done, to the fiction of his captivity in the Vatican? Or would he, on the contrary, take the serious step of frankly accepting the *fait accompli* and move freely about free Italy? During the first days of his pontificate a rumour was circulated that Pius X., a very religious man, was also very accommodating, and that he was going to visit the villas outside Rome left at the disposal of the Pope by the Law of Guarantees. This rumour raised such excitement in the Catholic world that the Pope had it contradicted.

If Italy had not the excitement of a pontifical journey *extra pomerium*, it was not without political and social interests during the recess. The agrarian movement stirred up the Roman country. Troops of peasants invaded the estates of Prince Chigi, Prince Torlonia and the Prince of Piombino. The leaders of the movement intended to force the proprietors to give a part

of their lands no longer to their farmers, but to the Communes or to agricultural syndicates, who would then either let them for collective cultivation or arrange a rotation of the lots among families or individuals. It seemed hardly likely that in the outskirts of Rome itself the old ancestral instinct of individual property should give place to a kind of gloomy renunciation, and the *mir* after the Russian pattern should be substituted for the municipalities of Latin tradition. Such was nevertheless the programme of the Socialist party. It might have been expected by reason of these tendencies that the leaders of the party of Labour would be more disposed to welcome the Emperor of Russia, whose visit was the more to be expected since Victor Emmanuel had travelled to Russia in the preceding year. Nevertheless, the revolutionary Socialists, whose wishes were made known by Sgr. Enrico Ferri and his paper *L'Avanti*, declared that they would show publicly by hooting, hissing and placards their hatred of the Muscovite tyranny. The Italian Socialist party split on this question. The reforming section, recognising the severity with which the immense majority of the Italian people would regard such international discourtesy, announced that they would abstain from all demonstration, and so many were the adherents to this resolution that Sgr. Ferri himself amended his ideas ; but the blow had been given, and the Russian Government first announced that the visit planned for September was put off till October, so as to follow the journey of King Victor Emmanuel to France.

Blamed by indignant patriots, the Socialist leader was summoned at the beginning of September by thirty-five Naval officers at Spezia for articles in which *L'Avanti* had made charges of malversations in the supply of coal to the Fleet, and of embezzlement of money said to be practised by clerks in the Provisioning Department. This trial ended unexpectedly : it was decided by the Court that the thirty-five officers had no right to demand justice in the name of the whole Fleet, at whom the offensive articles were aimed. The Government alone had this right. Admiral Bettolo could prosecute, if he liked, since he had been Naval Minister at the time when the events alleged by the paper had taken place. But the decision was represented as a success for their party by the revolutionaries. Sgr. Zanardelli, disturbed by these events, thought of strengthening his Ministry, and the appointment of Sgr. Marcora as Secretary of State for the Interior was spoken of ; but this was put off to a later date, after the journey of their Majesties to France.

It was not only the Ministry of the Interior which had to be provided with a head, the whole Cabinet needed reconstituting. On the eve of his departure for France, the King of Italy had handed to Sgr. Zanardelli an autograph letter from the Tsar announcing that he was obliged because of serious occupations to give up his projected journey for the moment. The disappointment was great, particularly in Rome and in the

south. Causes were searched for; the Socialists, the Anarchists, the Russian Ambassador and the Italian Government itself were blamed in turn. Sgr. Zanardelli took the opportunity to lay down his power voluntarily and honourably. He announced his decision officially after the Royal couple had left France. The motives which had decided him were unfortunately such as must be obeyed. It was no diplomatic illness, but the approach of death itself which obliged the old soldier of the heroic times to stoically lay down his arms. His resignation accepted, the King arrived in Rome (Oct. 23) to begin his consultations. They were singularly short. Sgr. Zanardelli declared that Sgr. Giolitti alone was capable of uniting around himself the elements of a workable Cabinet. After suitable resistance Sgr. Giolitti accepted this task, and on the same evening the King went to San Sossore, where he passed the end of the summer.

The work which the Deputy of Cunéo had undertaken to bring to a good end presented terrible difficulties. It consisted in collecting the most influential members of all the parties composing the majority which had in fact supported the Zanardelli Ministry during its twenty months of existence. The Prime Minister did not even exclude the Socialists from his combination. The discouraging attitude of the Socialist reformers did not prevent the negotiations from being carried on, and on November 30 the coalition was arranged. With truly artistic elegance in political matters Sgr. Giolitti managed to introduce a programme of almost radical reforms with a *personnel* to a large extent moderate. But the members of the Extreme Left at the last moment refused their support on the ground that the choices of Sgr. Tittoni, Rosano and Paterno forced them to retire. Sgr. Giolitti replaced them immediately by members of the Left Centre without in any way modifying his programme, and the Cabinet found itself thus made up (Nov. 3).

Sgr. Giolitti, President of the Council, also took the Portfolio of the Interior. He confided the *Consulta* (Foreign Affairs) to the Senator Thomas Tittoni, who had been Prefect of Naples at the time when the King commanded an army corps there. The universally recognised financier, Luigi Luzzatti, again took the Portfolio of the Treasury, while, in spite of Socialist aversion, Sgr. Pietro Rosano, Deputy of Aversa, was called to the Department of Finance. General E. Pedotti left the command of the Neapolitan Army Corps for the Ministry of War, and Rear-Admiral G. Mirabello, who was one of the youngest commanding officers in the Italian Fleet, took the Portfolio of the Navy. The Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce was Professor Luigi Rava; Justice, Pardons, and Religion were confided to Sgr. Scipione Ronchetti. He had been Under-Secretary of State in the former Cabinet, and he it was who had had to bear all the burden of business during the recent conclave. Professor V. E. Orlando was to administer the

disturbed world of the schools. Lastly, the Deputy F. Tedesco had charge of Public Works, while Sgr. Stelluti-Scala was appointed to Posts and Telegraphs.

The composition of this Ministry was hardly announced when the Socialist Press broke out particularly against the Deputy of Aversa, who was accused of having received 5,000 lire for obtaining as lawyer the liberty of an Anarchist arrested in 1898 and condemned to penal domicile. *L'Avanti* announced that it would begin publishing documents which would be crushing to this Minister. The next day Sgr. Rosano was found dead in his room. This suicide discouraged Sgr. Giolitti, who asked an audience of the King to offer his resignation. The King refused, and after a few days of hesitation the Prime Minister resolved to meet the Chamber. The choice of Under-Secretaries of State was cleverly made to soothe the bitterness of the quarrels which were beginning between North and South. The King with a new Ministry was able to proceed with the Queen to Windsor and London, where the Court and the town welcomed their Majesties with the greatest warmth.

The Parliamentary session reopened December 1. The President of the Council presented the political programme, and by 284 votes to 114 the Chamber gave him the vote of confidence for which he asked. On the 9th Sgr. Luzzatti, the Minister for the Treasury, achieved a striking success when he made his financial statement. He announced a reduction of 50 per cent. on the import duties on petroleum, and a splendid surplus of 69,000,000 lire on the financial year 1902-3. Happy the Ministers who find such a windfall at their door! Everything smiled on them. Even the Senate welcomed graciously their former enemy. Sgr. Giolitti won their applause by enlarging, *à propos* of the railway from Coni to Ventimiglia, on the advantages of the Franco-Italian understanding. A few days later (Dec. 15 and 16) Sgr. Tittoni presented his programme of foreign policy, and congratulated himself on the happy state of the relations of the Kingdom with other Powers.

The pontifical encyclical *motu proprio* of December 21 might possibly be read as announcing the first step of the Papacy towards peace with Italy. The Sovereign Pontiff recognised, at any rate, the propriety of Christian Democratic action, though directly under Episcopal control. It remained to be seen how far this action would be compatible with that abstention from politics which the two last Popes had rigidly enjoined, and which also Pius X. appeared to require. Finally (Dec. 24), a royal decree ordered the conversion of the 4½ into 3½ per cent., and at the same time *La Discussione*, the last and only Neapolitan newspaper which supported the Bourbon cause, announced its disappearance. The chief cause alleged was the opposition of the Cardinal Archbishop Prisco to this paper, and, whether true or not, this reason showed that in Italy as in France the Church refused to link her cause with that

of fallen dynasties and preferred to steer for new horizons. Once this was admitted, it was difficult to foresee the future consequences of such an evolution.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

THE year 1903 was not signalised in Germany by any remarkable achievement either of home or foreign policy; her greatest triumph may be said, indeed, to have been the winning of the Gordon Bennett race.

When the German Parliament re-assembled after the Christmas holidays, a violent attack was made by Herr Bebel, the Socialist leader, on the policy of the Government, and the speeches against the Socialists made by the Emperor and the Crown Prince. He contended that German policy had ended in a *débâcle*, that Germany was not in a position to bear the burdens involved in the maintenance of a first-class Army and Navy, or to play the part of a great Power; that her Government was continually showing itself subservient to Russia without getting anything in return; that its naval policy would bring about difficulties with England, and that its social-political legislation was only due to fear of Social Democracy. Count Bülow, in reply, deprecated any allusion in Parliamentary debates to speeches made by the Emperor and the Crown Prince, and as regards the German fleet said that "even after the naval programme is entirely completed it will only occupy the fourth or fifth place in the navies of the world." The Government did not pursue any aggressive objects; its only aims were "the defence of the German coasts, the safeguarding of German interests beyond the seas, and the protection of German subjects abroad." The Emperor's statement that "our future lies on the water" did not mean that Germany was to crowd any Power from the sea, but that she had as much right to navigate the seas as other nations. The Chancellor also said that he did not believe Germany was more hated than loved, and quoted "the Belgian Shakespeare," M. Maeterlinck, as having called the German people "the moral conscience of the world." Even if it were true, he added, that Germany was the object of universal dislike, hate and envy are in politics always sweeter than compassion. Replying to a further attack on the policy of the Government made on February 5 by another Socialist Member, Herr Ledebur, who said that German *Weltpolitik* was a policy of brag, and that Germany, by putting her fingers into every pie, only did harm

to her commerce and her shipping trade, the Chancellor declared that Germany did not pursue any adventurous policy, but that her need for expansion compelled her to adopt a world policy. The Government endeavoured to pursue a middle course between the extravagant aspirations of the Pan-Germans and the parochial policy of the Socialists, "which forgets that in a struggle for life and death Germany's means of communication might be cut off."

The Army Estimates for 1903 provided for recurring expenditure to the amount of 448,160,814 marks, an increase of 451,700 marks as compared with 1902; while the non-recurring ordinary expenditure was set down at 34,064,608 marks, a decrease of 5,868,379 marks compared with the previous year; and the extraordinary non-recurring expenditure at 23,246,900 marks, an increase of 466,100 marks as compared with the previous year. A first instalment of 103,000 marks was asked for to meet the expenses in connection with the erection of a Military Technical College for officers in Berlin. The permanent expenditure from the year 1906 in connection with this establishment was estimated at 311,000 marks.

The Navy Estimates provided for recurring expenditure amounting to 93,396,370 marks, an increase compared with the year 1902 of 6,536,931 marks. The non-recurring expenditure included a total outlay of 104,661,000 marks for shipbuilding and armaments, an increase of 1,649,000 marks as compared with last year. Of the total, the sum of 74,375,000 marks was to be devoted to shipbuilding, a decrease of 791,000 marks as compared with 1902. An addition was provided to the establishment of one new vice-admiral, five captains, twenty-five lieutenant-captains, about seventy-three lieutenants, sixty-two midshipmen and cadets, twenty-four naval engineers and 2,033 men.

In anticipation of the debates on these Estimates the Emperor presented to the Reichstag a comparative table drawn by his own hand showing the relative strength of Great Britain and Germany in battleships, armoured cruisers, and cruisers with an armoured deck, available for active service on November 1, 1902. According to this table, there were then in commission thirty-five British and eight German battleships, twelve British and two German armoured cruisers and sixty-six British as against twelve German cruisers with an armoured deck. In reserve there were seven British and four German battleships; Great Britain had two armoured cruisers and forty-three cruisers with an armoured deck, whereas Germany had none of the former and five of the latter class. This made a total of forty-two British and twelve German battleships, fourteen British and two German armoured cruisers, and 109 British and seventeen German cruisers with an armoured deck. In England twelve battleships, twenty armoured cruisers and eight cruisers with an armoured deck were in course of construction; while Germany

was building six battleships, three armoured cruisers and six cruisers with an armoured deck.

An article in the *Grenzboten*, said to have been inspired by the Emperor, explained that the object of this table was "to make clear to those Germans who are always shaking their fists at England . . . that there is no sense in unnecessarily irritating and provoking a State in comparison to which Germany's strength is so inferior. On the other hand, the Emperor had, at the same time, given the English and their Press to understand that they made themselves unnecessarily ridiculous in continually writing and talking about German threats against England. . . . According to the details of the German Naval Law, the German fleet will, it is true, be in 1916, a far more formidable weapon, with its thirty-eight battleships in commission and reserve. But, in the first place, thirteen years must elapse, and, secondly, English naval construction will progress proportionately, and only find its limit in the question of *personnel*, namely, in the possibility of manning such an enormous fleet with officers and crews. Even if we went a step farther and constructed by 1916 a whole squadron of battleships with two cruising fleets for foreign service, which would certainly be the most that could possibly be achieved by then, this increase of sixteen ships would in no way make England's strategical position worse as compared to that of Germany."

The Army Estimates were cut down by the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on various points, such as the increase of the pay of lieutenant-colonels of infantry and the formation into a new cavalry regiment of five squadrons of mounted chasseurs. As regards the proposal for the creation of a Military Technical College the Committee suggested that this should be met by the enlargement of the existing Technical College at Charlottenburg and the establishment of a "ballistic laboratory" there at a cost of 50,000 marks. The vote for heavy artillery was also reduced from 10,000,000 to 8,000,000 marks. As regards the Navy Estimates, the Committee, in view of the unsatisfactory state of German finance, deferred to a later date the expenditure contemplated in the programme of the Navy Law, and struck out a sum of 6,000,000 marks for the purchase of a site for new Admiralty offices. The Committee also voted a sum of 1,500,000 marks as a first instalment of the amount (estimated at about 3,000,000 marks) required for the German section of the St. Louis International Exhibition. Count Posadowsky, the Minister of the Interior, said in support of the vote that it was desirable, not only as a matter of courtesy, but in the interests of competition, that Germany should be represented at the exhibition. Her exports were increasing while those of other States were decreasing; Americans seemed, however, to prefer English art products, and Germans must endeavour to hit the American taste. Two important fields of competition were lace goods and silk goods; England was increasing her export of

the former, and Switzerland was a powerful competitor in the latter.

Other important questions which were discussed by the Reichstag were a Bill regarding the employment of children, the payment of Members of the Reichstag, and a modification of the law against the Jesuits. The "Protection of Children Bill" provided that children under thirteen years of age must not be employed in building operations, brick kilns, quarries and mines; that children under twelve must not be employed in workshops, theatrical representations or restaurants; and that children under ten must not be employed to distribute goods. In the case of workshops and theatres, restrictions were to be placed upon the employment of children over twelve years of age who had not completed their elementary education. In some cases parents were to be permitted to employ their own children while still under these age limits. The Social Democrats proposed to extend the provisions of the Bill so as to apply to children employed in agriculture and domestic service, on the ground that, owing to the dearth of farm labourers, children were largely employed to look after cattle, and the Bill was ultimately passed with this addition.

As regards the payment of Members, Count Bülow said that he was personally in favour of it, but that the opinions of the different German Governments had to be considered. Those who framed the Constitution of the Empire had held that universal suffrage and the secrecy of the ballot could only be granted on condition that Members of the Reichstag should not receive payment. A great number of influential politicians were still of opinion that if payment of Members were introduced there ought to be compensation in the form of some restriction of the suffrage. It was suggested, for instance, that the age for voters should be raised, or that voting should be made compulsory, and there would, doubtless, be a majority in the House which would support such proposals. The federated Governments, which had surrendered many of their own rights in the interests of German unity, were disinclined to reopen fundamental constitutional questions, except in the case of urgent necessity. He was, therefore, not yet in a position to give his assent to the proposal for payment of Members.

As to the Jesuit law, Count Bülow said that while the Government was not prepared to repeal the clauses of the law of 1874 which prohibited settlements of the Jesuits in Germany, he was of opinion that there was no longer any necessity for preventing individual members of the order from residing in the country. Nor was it necessary that the Imperial Government should possess special powers for the expulsion of foreign members of the order. In these respects he considered that the ordinary law was now sufficient to secure religious peace. He was, therefore, prepared to use his influence in this sense in the Federal Council. This statement produced considerable excite-

ment in the country, where it was generally regarded as the result of a bargain with the Centre party for their assistance in passing the Tariff Bill in the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 286). The concession promised by the Chancellor was not, however, of any great importance, as the prohibition of the re-establishment of Jesuit communities in Germany was to remain in force, and the clause to be repealed related only to the expulsion, or placing under police control, of individual Jesuits. But the Clericals made no secret of their determination to continue to agitate for the repeal of the entire law, and, on the other hand, meetings were held in different parts of the country to protest against any modification whatever of its provisions.

The most remarkable part of the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Prussian Parliament on January 13 was its silence on the question of the Canal Bill, which had entirely absorbed two full sessions in 1901 and had to be dropped owing to the opposition of the Conservatives, though it was at the same time stated by the Emperor that it would later be re-introduced (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 266). Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state of Prussian finance—the accounts for 1901 showing a deficit of 37,500,000 marks—further expenditure was announced for giving effect to the policy of Germanisation in the Polish districts (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 282). This policy, as was shown by the yearly report of the Land Settlement Commission, had so far made but little progress. About 54,000 acres of land had been purchased by the Commission in 1902, but only 22 per cent. was acquired from Polish owners, and the Polish Land Commission had on its side purchased several large estates from Germans. A sum of 50,000 marks was voted for the expenses preliminary to the construction of a Prussian Royal residence in the Polish city of Posen, and on November 4 a Royal college was opened there for the propagation of German culture.

The annual congress of the Agrarian League was held on February 9, and the members, of whom about 7,000 were present, were unanimous in condemning the new tariff law. The President of the Prussian Chamber and those who had acted with him in procuring the acceptance of the compromise offered by the Government were described as deserters to the enemy, and the promise of special regard for the interests of agriculture in negotiating the commercial treaties, which was made by Count Bülow at a dinner of the Agricultural Council before the meeting of the congress, was scouted as delusive and nugatory. The President, Baron von Wangenheim, declared that the adoption of the tariff was an economic misfortune, and that the claims of German agriculture had been subordinated to those of capital and of the industrial working classes. Among the leaders of German commerce and industry, too, the new tariff was loudly denounced, especially after the publication of

the new Russian and Austro-Hungarian tariffs, both having nearly trebled the duties on goods imported from Germany.

In March great excitement was caused in Germany by a declaration which was read from all the Roman Catholic pulpits of the city of Trèves forbidding Catholic parents to send their children to non-Catholic schools, and particularly to the high school for girls at Trèves, at which all teaching is equally divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It appeared that the Bishop of Trèves had even gone so far as to direct his clergy to refuse absolution to parents who did not comply with the above declaration, and a question was addressed to the Government on the subject in the Prussian diet. Count Bülow, in reply, condemned the Bishop, and said he would draw the attention of the Vatican to his conduct in the matter. The result was that the Bishop withdrew his manifesto.

The final accounts of the German Empire for the financial year 1902 showed a deficit of 30,722,521 marks (about 1,536,120*l.*). The receipts fell short of the Estimates by 21,988,127 marks (about 1,099,400*l.*), and the expenditure exceeded the Estimates by 8,734,393 marks (about 436,719*l.*). The Customs duties produced 13,860,000 marks (693,000*l.*) more than had been anticipated, but, as all surplus revenue from this source over and above a fixed sum of 130,000,000 marks (6,500,000*l.*) is made over to the Federated States, the Imperial Treasury did not benefit. The new tax on sparkling wines produced 2,750,000 marks (137,500*l.*). The Excise duty on sugar showed a falling off of 16,731,000 marks (836,550*l.*), and Posts and Telegraphs brought in 3,397,000 marks (169,850*l.*) less. Banking receipts diminished by 9,093,000 marks (454,650*l.*). On the other hand, almost all the departments exceeded by small sums the amounts allotted to them in the Estimates. One of the largest of these sums was the extra 1,933,000 marks (96,650*l.*) spent on the Army. Extra expenditure on the General Staff and allowances to surveying officers accounted for part of this sum. For the Navy 728,000 marks (36,400*l.*) more than was originally estimated was required, and for the Foreign Office 693,000 marks (34,650*l.*).

The Estimates for the financial year 1903 more than realised the dismal anticipations which had been entertained regarding the financial condition of the Empire. The expenditure was estimated at 2,464,972,734 marks (123,248,636*l.*), an increase of 160,000,000 marks (8,000,000*l.*) as compared with last year's Estimates, and the revenue at 2,346,222,734 marks (117,311,136*l.*), leaving a deficit of 118,750,000 marks (5,937,500*l.*). A further deficit was shown on the Estimates for 1904. They provided for an increased expenditure of 43,706,092 marks, and in the memorandum accompanying them it was stated that it would be necessary "to resort to credit in order to balance the accounts." The deficit would be 83,214,860 marks (4,160,243*l.*), of which the Federated States had undertaken to pay 23,714,860

marks as "matricular contributions" not covered by what they receive out of the Imperial taxes appropriated to them. It would place "the financially weaker of these States" in an "uncommonly difficult and critical position" if any higher contribution was exacted from them for the year 1904, while it was evident (in the words of the memorandum) "that the Empire, unless its revenue should be increased, cannot provide for its growing financial necessities, and that, until it can do so, recourse must once more be had to the loan credit, undesirable as this expedient may be from the point of view of sound finance." The total amount to be raised by loan, in order to cover the deficits of 1901, 1902 and 1903, and the extra expenditure for 1904, was stated at 214,713,352 marks (10,730,667*l.*). There had been a constant increase in the expenses of all the branches of the Administration, and especially in those of the Army and Navy.

The memorandum accompanying the Estimates attributed the melancholy state of the finances to the continued commercial and industrial depression, and to the temporary loss of revenue due to the reduction in the Excise duty on sugar.

A slight improvement was shown in the course of the year in the condition of German industry. Some iron furnaces which had long been disused were restarted, and the larger machine-building firms had foreign contracts which enabled them to tide over the general depression, though very few of them could bring their full productive power into play. In Saxony especially the lace and embroidery trade was very flourishing, and an exceptional number of new machines were set to work. Cotton and woollen mills, too, were very active, but the manufacture of electrical machinery was still suffering from the want of foreign contracts. The number of failures of large industrial undertakings and of strikes was this year comparatively small. The annual report of the Cologne District Association of Industrialists stated that there had been an improvement in the state of trade during the second half of 1902. The mining industry in Westphalia and the Rhineland had benefited by the strikes in the North of France and in America. The iron industry had continued to experience a demand from the United States which would not be permanent, but had been a great help in tiding over bad times. The production of iron had risen by about 8 per cent., and had almost reached the highest point of the year 1900. Indeed, the figures for January, 1903, were the highest on record. The textile and chemical industries had also improved.

Negotiations for the establishment of commercial treaties on the basis of the new tariff were entered upon, but with little prospect of a satisfactory result. The report of the Cologne Association drew special attention to "the vexatious way in which the American tariff was applied to the detriment of German exporters," and expressed a hope that the German Government

would threaten reprisals under its new tariff in order to procure more advantageous terms for German trade, having in view the fact that "the exports of America to Germany had for years been twice or thrice as great as German exports to America." An indication of the unsound basis of German commercial relations with America was afforded by the fact that the German iron and machine industry had declined to exhibit at St. Louis, as it could find no market in America so long as the duties continued to be from 45 to 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. "The unfriendly political attitude of America in connection with the Venezuela affair," concluded the report, "is calculated to damp the hope of a satisfactory treaty of commerce."

An interesting debate took place in the Reichstag on January 15, on a proposal that the German Government should denounce most-favoured-nation arrangements with States which do not accord full reciprocity to German goods. This proposal was opposed by the Socialists on the ground that if practical effect were given to it the result would be a tariff war with the United States and Argentina, the cost of which would principally fall on the working-class population. Count Posadowsky, the Minister of the Interior, said that the commercial relations of Germany and the United States were based on the Prussian treaty of 1828. The Imperial Government were formerly of the opinion that the principle of most-favoured-nation treatment obtained unconditionally between the two Powers; that is to say, that all concessions made by one high contracting party to a third State would *ipso jure* be granted to the other, whether the concessions were made before or after the conclusion of the treaty. The United States Government had, however, on the basis of the Dingley Tariff concluded two agreements with France, and a number of agreements with other States. The first agreement with France related to spirits and other articles. The German Government considered itself entitled by virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause to the benefit of the concessions made in these agreements, but the Government of the United States maintained that the clause only applied to concessions made in the past, and that new concessions must be purchased by counter-concessions. Negotiations had been opened with the United States, but the Imperial Government had judged it best to let the disputed point rest, on condition that the United States made to Germany the concessions contained in the first agreement with France. The Government of the United States agreed to this, and Germany received the benefit of the concessions made to other States. Germany had, therefore, obtained that to which she considered herself entitled, and the question was only one of the different interpretations put on the most-favoured-nation clause by the two Governments.

The financial policy of the Government and its unsatis-

factory results were so sharply criticised, especially by the Centre party, that it was thought desirable to make a change in the post of Imperial Secretary of State for the Treasury, which had been held for some years by Baron von Thielmann. He was succeeded in August by Baron von Stengel, a Bavarian financier, who was an advocate of the plan proposed by the late Dr. von Miquel of fixing by law the contributions to be paid in each year by the Federal States to the Imperial Treasury, instead of the existing system under which these contributions are determined by the exigencies of each annual Budget. The Clerical Deputies, especially those from Bavaria, would in that case not have any special interest in opposing Imperial expenditure, as the contributions of the various States would no longer depend upon the amount of such expenditure. Cordial telegrams were exchanged on the occasion between the German Emperor and the Prince Regent of Bavaria, from which it was inferred that great importance was attached in Government circles to the new appointment.

The general elections for the Reichstag took place on June 16, and the following new regulations for the method of voting were passed after the Easter recess: 1. Voting is to take place between 10 A.M. and 7 P.M. 2. The voting papers are to be a specified size, and must be placed by the voter in an envelope of opaque paper, marked with an official stamp, before being placed in the ballot-box. 3. Measures must be taken, either by the provision of separate rooms communicating with the room in which the votes are given up, or by an arrangement of tables separated from that at which the returning officers sit, to ensure that the elector is able to place his voting paper in the envelope unobserved. The result of the elections was a great triumph for the Socialists (or, as they call themselves, the Social Democrats), their strength in the Reichstag having been increased from 58 members to 81. These figures, owing to the system of distribution of seats, which favours the agricultural at the expense of the manufacturing constituencies,¹ are far from representing the strength of the Socialists in the country, the number of Socialist votes having increased from 2,107,000 in 1898 to 3,010,771; and many of these were given in the rural districts as well as in the towns. The Agrarian League lost all its leaders, but the Centre still remained the strongest party in the House. At Berlin all the seats were won by Socialists except one, which fell to a Radical. At Leipzig the pan-German leader, Dr. Hasse, was defeated by a Socialist with a majority of 3,000, and in Saxony generally all the Members returned were Socialists. The following account of the attitude of the population of a country district was supplied by a correspondent of the Conservative *Reichsbote*: "The Social Demo-

¹ Every Socialist Member in Germany represents on an average 49,042 electors, while every Conservative Member represents 24,781, every Clerical, or Member of the Centre party, 28,362, and every National Liberal 30,488.

cracy in my district has increased to an extent that is positively alarming. The few people who still voted Conservative or Radical can be counted on one's fingers. It is astounding to think of the kind of people who must have voted for the Social Democrat—men who are enthusiastic members of the Military Veterans' Society (those who have served their term with the flag), and who at its meetings join in patriotic hurrahs; men who are faithful and devout churchgoers, and who associate on cordial terms with the clergyman; men whose hearty way of shaking hands with their pastor shows that there are intimate ties of affection and of confidence between these parishioners and their spiritual advisers; men who live happy and harmless lives and who would not hurt a fly; men, too, who are in positions of independence or who can earn in a humble way their daily bread as the fruit of their toil on their little plot of land—in short, people whom one would never suspect of holding Social Democratic views."

It was pointed out by the Liberal papers that although in several constituencies Radical candidates were beaten by Socialists, the marked success of the Socialist candidates was not to be regarded as evidence that the masses of the people had been converted to Socialist doctrines, but that this success was mainly due to the fact that the Socialists were the most determined opponents of the policy of the Government; the result of the elections was a defeat for the Government rather than a victory for Socialism. The strength of the supporters of the Government in the Reichstag, however, still remained very great, the Radical and Socialist opposition consisting of 111 Members only, while the Conservatives, Clericals and National Liberals numbered 224. In the general election for the Prussian Parliament, which took place in November, the Socialists, notwithstanding their successes in the German Parliament, did not gain a single seat. The reason of this was that while the Members of the German Parliament are elected by universal suffrage, those of the Prussian Parliament are elected on the old system of class representation, in proportion to the incidence of direct taxation, under which the poorest classes are virtually excluded from the suffrage. The result was that in the Prussian Parliament there was practically no change in the relative strength of parties.

The annual congress of the Socialist party met at Dresden on September 13, and a very heated debate took place between the orthodox school, represented by Herr Bebel, and the revisionists, under Herr von Vollmar, on the question as to whether the vice-presidency of the Reichstag should be accepted by a Socialist, the latter urging that the Socialists should not be an isolated party refusing all alliance with other parties, even when the latter were ready to support them on some points of their policy, while Herr Bebel adhered to the old doctrine that the Socialists should oppose all the other parties under all circumstances and not accept any official post whatever. The

opportunist view seemed to find most favour with the members of the Congress, though Herr Bebel obtained a majority for his proposal (referring chiefly to the anti-Socialist paper, *Zukunft*, edited by Herr Maximilian Harden, formerly a friend of Prince Bismarck) that no Socialist should contribute to a paper which did not advocate the Socialist policy. Resolutions were also passed in favour of the eight hours day, of Imperial legislation relating to mines, the regulation of female labour, and the reform of civil and military criminal procedure. Another resolution proposed by Herr Bebel led to much debate, but was also ultimately passed. It declared that the party must use the increase of strength gained at the recent elections in furthering the interests of the working classes, in guarding and extending political freedom and equality of rights for all, and in combating militarism, *Weltpolitik*, and all forms of political and economic injustice. Herr Bebel took the opportunity of proclaiming as his political confession of faith that Socialism must be the relentless foe of the *bourgeoisie*, of capital, and of the existing State organisation, but this view was evidently not shared by the majority of the congress.

In October a congress of working-men not belonging to the Socialist party took place at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It was composed of 200 delegates, who represented some twenty associations of working-men in every part of the Empire, aggregating 620,000. Among the chief bodies represented were the United Association of Christian Miners and Quarrymen, numbering 93,000, the United Association of Evangelical Workmen's Unions, numbering 102,500, the Catholic Workmen's Unions, numbering 201,000, the Catholic Apprentices' Associations, numbering 60,000, and other Labour societies with a membership of 158,000. The object of the congress was to give a fresh and independent impetus to the cause of social reform, and to dissociate it as far as might be from the political methods and revolutionary demands of the Social Democrats. The chairman, Herr Stegerwald, who was the president of the Association of Christian Trade Unions, declared, in opening the congress, that recent events which had shown the "inability of the party-gods of Social Democracy to establish their claims to Divinity" had rendered it increasingly necessary for Democratic workmen not belonging to the Socialist party to combine. The working classes were sufficiently reminded of their duties by the State and their employers; if they wished to establish their rights they must act for themselves, but they could hope for nothing from the agitations of Social Democracy. The subjects for discussion upon the agenda comprised—first, the German's workmen's right of combination; secondly, the legal liability of labour associations; and, thirdly, the establishment of chambers of labour. In this sense it was resolved that "the organisation of wage-earners, according to their several industries, is the only effective and therefore supremely imperative means of obtaining an equitable regulation

of the conditions of wages and labour upon a basis of free contract. . . . In this conviction, therefore, the congress invites all unorganised German workmen to join those industrial organisations which do not make enmity between the classes their principle.” The congress, moreover, desired the Government to confirm and to extend the right of combination among working-men, but especially so to amend the law that the non-political labour associations may pursue their efforts on behalf of social reform independently of the control of the Legislatures of the several German States, and be subject to Imperial legislation. Women, too, must be allowed to take an active part in the associations.

Further resolutions were passed emphasizing the need for chambers of labour organised upon a basis of equality as an important means of attenuating the sharp lines of class division and of securing the rights and interests of the working classes, especially in the direction of an increased participation in the benefits of education. The establishment of such chambers, therefore, was, in the opinion of the congress, the most urgent task of immediate legislation for social reform. In order to ensure the practical realisation of the wishes of the congress, a committee with power to add to its numbers was appointed to give effect to the resolutions.

Shortly after the Emperor, replying to an address from the men employed in the Government workshops at Dantzig, though he made no express reference to Socialism, pointed out that the working-men of Germany “have the greatest possible interest in maintaining the Empire undiminished and undisturbed and in keeping it closely riveted together in both home and foreign affairs.” Since the criticisms made upon his speeches in the Reichstag he had been much more chary of speaking in public, and his only public deliverance which produced much commotion in the country was a letter addressed, on February 19, to Admiral Hollmann, member of the council of the German Oriental Society. The Emperor had attended a meeting of the society, at which Professor Delitsch, the well-known Assyriologist, delivered a lecture, contending that the monotheistic cult of the Jews was derived from the polytheistic religion of the Babylonians. This lecture gave rise to a good deal of controversy under the head of “*Babel und Bibel*,” and the supposition that the Emperor was inclined to agree with the professor’s view caused much heart-burning among the more orthodox section of the German Lutherans, whom the Emperor’s letter was manifestly intended to appease. He described it as a grave mistake that Professor Delitsch should have approached the question of revelation in a polemical spirit, that he should have more or less denied revelation, and even thought himself able to trace religion back to historical and purely human things. The letter laid down the following as the conclusions of the Emperor on the subject:—

“(a) I believe in only one God.

"(b) We men need a form in order to teach His existence, especially for our children.

"(c) This form has hitherto been the Old Testament in its present version, which will be positively and substantially modified under the influence of research and inscriptions and excavations, but it does not matter that much of the nimbus of the chosen people will thereby disappear. The kernel and the contents remain always the same—God and His works. Religion has never been the result of science, but the outpouring of the heart and being of man from his intercourse with God."

This Imperial declaration of faith did not do much to satisfy either the stricter Lutherans or the Roman Catholics in Germany, especially as the author enumerated in the same letter among the special instruments of Divine revelation "Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant and the Emperor William the Great." In October he supplemented this declaration, on the occasion of the confirmation of two of his sons, by stating that "the whole of human life hinged simply and solely upon our attitude towards our Lord and Saviour," that "in addition to Christ, men had peopled Heaven with many splendid figures of pious Christians who were called the Saints, and to whom they appealed for succour," but that all this was "of minor importance, and indeed vain: the Saviour remained the one helper and deliverer"—a saying which produced some sharp comments in the Roman Catholic Press.

The resentment of the Clerical party in Bavaria at the interference of the German Emperor in the matter of the grant of 100,000 marks to the Regent for art purposes (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 295) was in some degree appeased by the retirement in February from the Premiership at Munich of the Protestant Count Crailsheim, and his succession by Baron Podervils, a Roman Catholic, though the latter had never shown any pronounced Clerical tendencies, and during the *Kulturkampf*, when he was Bavarian Minister in Rome, was much esteemed by Prince Bismarck. The new Premier made an interesting speech on October 22 during a debate on the subject of the relations of Bavaria to the Empire. Referring to the "unitarian" tendencies in North Germany, he said that it was "a very serious political mistake" to suppose that the future of the Empire could only be assured on those lines, and that "if any such tendency should ever become apparent in an authoritative and influential fashion, the Bavarian Government would . . . combat it, as in duty bound, with all its strength." The real basis for the unity of the Empire was the federative one laid down in the Imperial constitution, and he had received the most explicit assurances from the Chancellor that both the Emperor and himself regarded "it as a point of honour to maintain in the most careful manner the rights of the federated Sovereigns and of the federated States, and not to let them be infringed in any quarter whatsoever." The Imperial Government kept the Government of Bavaria

constantly informed, he added, of what was taking place in the negotiations for new Imperial treaties of commerce, and Bavaria was directly represented in these negotiations. Her separate postal establishment too, typified by the emblem of the lion on the Bavarian postage stamps, would be maintained.

Prosecutions for ill-treatment of soldiers and for *lèse-majesté* were frequent throughout the year. In March a young soldier was held down on a table by non-commissioned officers and beaten with a stick so severely that he had to go to hospital, and when released he hanged himself on a tree from fear of further ill-treatment. In April a gunner was fatally stabbed by a naval ensign of three years' service named Hüssener because the former, being drunk, did not salute him and when arrested attempted to escape. Hüssener actually attempted to excuse his guilt by assuring the mother of the deceased man, who was an old school acquaintance of his, that he committed the deed because "it was his hard duty as a soldier" to do so, and he "was obliged to enforce obedience." The court martial which tried him sentenced him to four years' imprisonment, but this was afterwards commuted to two years' confinement in a fortress. In April a general order was issued by the general commanding the 6th Prussian Army Corps, stating that "soldiers debase themselves by putting up with maltreatment" and that "it is neither the will of the Emperor nor of their superiors that they should suffer in silence." Officers in charge of recruits were accordingly enjoined "to keep a sharp eye on the non-commissioned officers," and the general order was to be "read three times a year in the presence of all the ranks." In July a non-commissioned officer was arrested for maltreating a private, the son of a wealthy butcher, who afterwards committed suicide. In August another private shot himself, and the inquiry which followed resulted in the arrest of a non-commissioned officer named Dunkel, who was charged with cruelty and misuse of his powers in no less than 576 cases. He was sentenced to degradation and two and a half years' imprisonment. Finally, in December, a former non-commissioned officer named Franzky was found guilty of having ill-treated soldiers by beating them, spitting in their faces, etc., in 1,520 cases, and an officer, Lieutenant Schilling, of similar ill-treatment in 698 cases. The former was condemned to five years' imprisonment and degradation, and the latter to fifteen months' imprisonment and dismissal from the service. Altogether since the beginning of the year there were about 180 convictions of officers and non-commissioned officers for cruelty to their men, and the sentences of imprisonment amounted, when added together, to over fifty years. By far the largest number of these cases were in the Prussian regiments. A strange light was also cast on garrison life in Germany by the trial of Lieutenant Bilse in November for libelling his superior officers in a novel entitled "*Aus einer kleinen Garnison*," in which a number of scandalous incidents

relating to officers and their wives in the garrison of Forbach were related. The court sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and dismissal from the service, but at the same time admitted that there was much truth in his remarks on the general character of social life in German garrisons, and all but three of the officers of the garrison were suspended. The Minister for War, General von Eiuem, acknowledged in the debate which took place on this subject in the German Parliament at the end of the year, that though the book was "a disgrace to a Prussian officer, part of it was unfortunately true." He also stated that the continued ill-treatment of German soldiers was "an evil which must be eradicated, and that no one more unreservedly recognised the necessity of eradicating it than the Emperor."

Of the cases of *lèse-majesté* the most remarkable was that of an extraordinary story, published by the Socialist organ *Vorwärts*, to the effect that plans had been made for the construction of an Imperial residence, isolated, and capable of military defence, on the island of Pichelswerder, in one of the Havel lakes near Berlin. The writers of the article were sentenced to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively, as it insinuated that the Emperor wished to protect himself against the danger of a popular rising. Another trial, which produced a great sensation at Berlin, was that of the Polish Countess Kwilecka, who was accused of having procured the child of a poor woman at Cracow and passed it off as her own in order to prevent her estates from lapsing, in the absence of a male heir, to another branch of the family on her death. The conduct of the public prosecutor and his assistants, who represented the case as involving a contest between German patriotic and Polish national sentiment, and declared that if the jury did not convict they would be pronouncing the death sentence of the institution of trial by jury, produced general indignation, and the Countess was acquitted, the evidence having been clearly insufficient to prove the charge.

The German Colonies, though their trade was gradually improving, still imposed a considerable expenditure on the Mother Country, the total amount of the Imperial subsidies to them having been estimated at 1,572,681*l.* for the year 1903. In Kiao-chau alone, the subsidy amounted to over 621,000*l.*, or nearly 19,000*l.* more than for 1902, while in Samoa exports declined by 13,000*l.* and imports by more than double that amount. According to an official report issued at the end of the year, the total number of Germans, including women and children, distributed over the German Colonial possessions in Africa and the South Seas was only 5,125, including 1,567 officials and members of the Colonial forces. The amount expended by the German Empire on its Colonies since 1884 was about 15,000,000*l.*, and the Colonial trade with the Mother Country was far from compensating for this expenditure; in 1902 it amounted to 1,110,000*l.* only. In South-West Africa

there was a revolt of the Hottentots at Warmbad in which an officer and some non-commissioned officers were killed. There was a large Boer immigration, amounting to over 1,000, so that in some districts the Boers were much more numerous than the Germans. This caused some alarm to the Government, and a sum of 15,000*l.* was voted by the Reichstag to promote German immigration so as to secure German predominance in the Colony. The Governor reported that "the poor Boer was a most unacceptable immigrant," as he would not work as a labourer and wandered about the country killing the game and "doing incalculable damage to the wells, pasture and timber." The pretensions of the Dutch Reformed Church on the subject of education were declared to be "quite inadmissible, even for subjects of the Empire." No solution had been found for the labour difficulty either in the African Protectorates or in the South Seas, but a system of taxation was introduced with some success in East Africa, Samoa, and the Marshall and Caroline Islands. In East Africa the tax was on houses or huts: elsewhere it was a personal or poll tax. The total revenue of all the Colonies was estimated at 467,457*l.* The diversion of trade caused by the Uganda Railway acted very unfavourably on the commercial interests of German East Africa, and the Reichstag accordingly sanctioned an extension of the Tanga-Korogwe Railway to Mombo, for which it had refused to vote in the previous year. The Shantung Railway was also opened for traffic as far as Chang-sien.

The foreign policy of Germany was vehemently assailed in the German Parliament, and Count Bülow defended it with his usual dexterity, but, it was generally felt, without much success. The Socialist Member, Herr von Vollmar (Jan. 20), complained of the Emperor's declared hostility to the Socialists, and said that Germany had been wooing one foreign State after another, and had been rejected by them all. The overtures to England had met with a very cool reception, while the Venezuelan affair had resulted in the complete alienation of the United States, and the Emperor was continually initiating measures of both home and foreign policy. Count Bülow replied that all over the world, except in Germany, the Emperor's efforts for the welfare of the working classes were warmly appreciated, and that there was no intention in any quarter to tamper with universal suffrage. As to the Emperor's exercise of his right of personal initiative, that could not be curtailed—"the German people desired not a shadow, but an Emperor of flesh and blood." With regard to France, he said that he was convinced that calm and pacific relations between Germany and France were equally in the interests of both nations. As to Venezuela, President Castro had recognised the demands of the three Powers, and Germany's object was to bring the operations of her armed forces to a close as soon as possible, the American Government having, "in a manner worthy of all recognition," undertaken to act as intermediary between Venezuela and the Powers, though President Roosevelt

had expressed the opinion that the matters in dispute should be submitted to the Hague Court of Arbitration rather than to himself. Germany had no desire for an extension of power or for the glitter of renown, though it was her duty to vindicate her prestige and the honour of her flag, which could only be done by the coercive measures which she had adopted in concert with England and Italy. He could affirm with satisfaction that Germany's relations "both with England and with America have emerged from the Venezuelan affair unimpaired." The German and English Governments had acted with perfect loyalty towards each other, though the English Press had treated the conduct of Germany in this and other matters "with marked ill-will." Germany had not joined with England in protesting against the permission accorded to Russian torpedo-boats to pass through the Dardanelles, not through any hostility towards England, but because it had been the "traditional policy of Germany" to maintain "a pacific, impartial, tranquil neutrality which involves no element of hostility to any of the Powers which are more immediately interested in the Levant." He added that "in the relations between the Monarchs and the Cabinets of Berlin and London there had been no alteration," those relations having been conducted "on the ancient, approved, sensible lines," and that "although each of the two Powers can manage its own business in the affairs of the world so that neither of them needs to run after the other, there are nevertheless manifold and important interests which make it best for both to co-operate in peace and friendship." Passing to the Triple Alliance, the Chancellor admitted that it had its opponents both in Austria and Italy, but these he attributed also to "Press intrigues." He had held fast to two points when the Triple Alliance was renewed. First, that it should retain its defensive character, but that the retention of this defensive character must not imply any limitation or diminution in its strength. Germany, Count Bülow said, remained true to her obligations to her allies, and believed that she had every possible guarantee that in all the events contemplated in the Triple Alliance her allies would be equally true to her. He had further maintained the principle that the negotiations for the renewal of the Triple Alliance should not be complicated with matters which had nothing to do with the motives which originally called it into existence, and, in particular, that it ought not to be complicated with questions of Customs tariffs and commercial policy. "The Triple Alliance simplifies the maintenance of satisfactory commercial relations between the allied Empires, and makes it possible to discuss in a spirit of reciprocal confidence intentions and wishes in matters of commercial policy and national economy. But there can be no question of our having purchased the renewal of the Triple Alliance by any tariff concessions." Referring to M. Delcassé's statement in the French Chamber that Italy was under no obligation to take part in an attack on France, the

Chancellor observed that M. Delcassé could only "have intended to say that the Triple Alliance is defensive in character—that it is a pacific alliance from which no one need anticipate unrighteous aggression."

With regard to Macedonia, the Chancellor reminded the Reichstag that when he returned from accompanying the Emperor to the Holy Land four years ago he had stated in the House that Germany did not seek to exercise any special, and certainly did not aim at exercising any exclusive, influence. He considered it to be a fundamental principle for Germany that she should not pursue an active Eastern policy and should not in questions affecting the Near East and the Balkans pull the chestnuts out of the fire for anybody. But, although Germany did not seek a position of predominant power at Constantinople, her relations with Turkey rested on a solid basis, thanks to the confidence of the Porte in the good faith of German policy, to Turkey's admiration for the German Army, and to the opinion she entertained of the soundness of German industry and German finance. He agreed with the Governments of Russia and Austria-Hungary that the condition of Macedonia both required and admitted of amelioration. Germany was in sympathy with every measure calculated to improve existing conditions without endangering peace by disturbing the territorial integrity of Turkey in Europe.

The most effective part of the Chancellor's speeches on foreign policy was that relative to the treatment by Hungary of the Germans in Transylvania, in reply to a violent attack on the Hungarian Government by the Pan-German leader, Dr. Hasse. In order to show that Prince Bismarck's attitude of non-intervention in this matter had been the same as his own, Count Bülow read a long report received from the German Consul-General at Budapesth in 1883, Prince Bismarck's humorous marginal notes on the report, and the latter's reply in the form of an elaborate instruction to the Consul-General. The then Hungarian Minister of Education had privately complained to the Consul-General of the Germanophil agitation carried on in Germany by the late Herr Georg von Bunsen and by the late Professor von Gneist in the German Schools Association. Bismarck wrote on the margin: "Professors! that gives the matter a more harmless aspect." In his subsequent instruction to the German Consul-General Prince Bismarck said that Germany could no more intervene on behalf of the Hungarians of German race than she could espouse the cause of German subjects of Russia in the Baltic provinces. The view of the German Government was that the interests of the Magyars and of the Germans in Hungary were inseparable. The same could not be asserted of the Slav and the Magyar interests. Germans could not be put in the same category with Slavs and Wallachians. Magyars and Germans were natural allies in Hungary, but neither of the two was the natural ally

of the Slavs. The Slavs would furnish Hungary with no adequate support against Pan-Slavist inundation, almost surrounded as she was, like a peninsula, by masses of Slavs. The German Government, he concluded, would refrain from all expression of opinion on the lot of the Germans in Hungary, even if German public opinion condemned it.

Count Bülow thus very adroitly aimed a knock-down blow at Pan-Germanism by entrenching himself behind the authority of Prince Bismarck, and there was in consequence a very considerable diminution of the clamour of the Pan-German party which had been so aggressive in the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 298), especially as the leader of the party, Dr. Hasse, afterwards lost his seat in the general election (see p. 278).

The decision of the Canadian Government to impose a surtax upon German imports led to a correspondence between the British and German Governments, and on April 15 Baron von Richthofen, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, informed the British Ambassador that Germany would, at the proper time, procure the prolongation of the arrangement, giving most-favoured-nation treatment to Great Britain and her Colonies (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 273), but that "it appears doubtful whether this intention can be realised if Germany is differentiated against in important parts of the British Empire, and if, in particular, the report is confirmed that German goods will in the future be less favourably treated than British, not only in Canada, but also in British South Africa." This threat to punish Great Britain if she did not take steps to prevent her Colonies from giving any preference to her goods produced such a strong feeling in England that, on June 27, another despatch from Baron von Richthofen explained away his previous statement on the subject as a mere casual observation, and in December a Bill was passed in the Reichstag prolonging the most-favoured-nation treatment of Great Britain and her Colonies, except Canada, for a further period of two years. A remarkable speech was made on this occasion by the Socialist leader, Herr Bernstein. He said that England was the best customer that Germany had, and there could be no more mistaken economic policy than one which would involve a war of tariffs with England. It would be a grave error by provocative speeches to foster in England a feeling which already existed and which was not the work of Mr. Chamberlain, but the result of Protection in the different countries which pursued that policy. In spite of the preferential treatment which Canada gave to the Mother Country, the commercial relations between Germany and Canada were as satisfactory as could be desired. German industry and the German working classes had derived benefit from commercial relations with England, and the Social Democracy, with its 3,000,000 electors, would never think of assenting to a policy which could only hamper German industry.

The threat was, indeed, regarded by the more independent German Press as a mere *brutum fulmen*. It was pointed out that a policy of retaliation would damage Germany much more than Canada or England. Canadian exports to Germany were "about four times less than German exports to Canada," and formed "a thousandth part of Germany's total imports." Moreover, Canada, while imposing a surtax on duty-bearing goods from Germany, had not placed any impost on German goods previously exempt from duty. German chemicals and metals to a large extent passed the Canadian Customs without paying duty. During the financial year which terminated on June 30, 1902, metal and mineral goods were exported from Germany to Canada to the value of \$2,055,798. Of this amount \$807,712 worth entered Canada duty free. The proportion was even greater in the case of drugs, colours and chemicals. Out of a total of \$360,484 worth of these materials no duty was paid on goods to the value of \$257,054. As regarded the Empire generally, too, it was shown that German exports to Great Britain in the year 1902 amounted to 965,000,000 marks, and that this enormous export would be seriously affected by British reprisals.

Another question, on which there was a good deal of complaint in Germany of the attitude of England, was that of the Bagdad Railway (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 302). The refusal of England and Russia to co-operate in the scheme was regarded as a diplomatic check for Germany, and the prospects of the construction of the railway were considerably damaged by the fact that the contribution of one-fourth of the capital which it was expected would be paid by England would not be made. An agreement was entered into in November, however, between the German and French groups of financiers, under which the German group, represented by the Deutsche Bank, were to control 40 per cent. of the capital; the Imperial Ottoman Bank, acting on behalf of the French group, 30 per cent.; the remaining interested countries, jointly, 20 per cent., and the Anatolian Railway Company 10 per cent. The estimated cost of the railway was 20,000,000*l*.

The Estimates for German military and other expenditure in China, amounting to 15,300,000 marks, were discussed in the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on March 17, and the Foreign Secretary, Baron von Richthofen, gave information regarding the evacuation of Shanghai. The considerations, he said, by which German policy had been guided during the Chinese troubles were of a twofold character. Its object had been to act in harmony with the other Powers and to avoid taking a separate line, while, on the other hand, the Government had endeavoured to extend the same protection to German subjects and to German commercial interests as was vouchsafed by other Powers to their interests and their subjects. Consequently, when England, France and Japan placed garrisons in

Shanghai, Germany had to do likewise. During the summer of 1902 certain Powers became more and more inclined, in view of the restoration of tranquillity, as well as on financial grounds, to evacuate Shanghai. In accordance with the principle of not taking a separate line, Germany agreed in general terms to the proposal for an evacuation. Before the final decision the opinion of the German Minister in Peking was taken, and his view was that, without imperilling German interests, the maintenance of order could once more be left to the Yang-tsze Viceroy. At the same time Germany sought to create certain guarantees for the future by securing that the evacuation should take place *pari passu* and simultaneously, and that, in the event of a future occupation of Shanghai by any other Power, Germany should also have the right to send a garrison. After an understanding on this point had been effected and the adequate maintenance of German interests had been assured by the readiness of the Navy to occupy the Chinese station permanently, Germany was in a position to give her definite assent to the evacuation of Shanghai.

The present situation was that, apart from Kiao-chau, Wei-hai-wei and Manchuria, Pechi-li was the only place where foreign troops were maintained on Chinese territory, and they were mainly there as a support for the Legation guards in Peking. The total number of foreign troops was 7,400 men, of whom England had 1,900, France 1,800, Germany 1,600, Japan 1,050, Italy 900 and Russia 850. Of the German troops 300 were in Peking, 400 at Tien-tsin, and the rest were at different points in Chi-li. England had reserves at her disposal at Wei-hai-wei and at Hong-Kong, and in case of necessity she could employ her Indian troops. France had a strong military position in Indo-China and Russia in Manchuria, while Japan possessed all the advantages of geographical proximity. Germany, on the other hand, had only the regular garrison of Kiao-chau, 1,700 men, to fall back upon. In order to make up in some degree for this disproportion, 600 of the troops which were withdrawn from Chi-li had been kept in China to strengthen the garrison of Kiao-chau. This statement gave rise to much debate, and the Radical leader, Herr Richter, said that he had never attached any importance to the occupation of Shanghai. The Yang-tsze could best be policed by river gunboats. The German brigade cost 11,000,000 marks and Kiao-chau 10,000,000 marks—an expenditure more than the whole value of German exports to China. German interests fell far below those of the English, the Americans and the French, and so large a number of troops was, therefore, unnecessary; at present every single man that Germany kept in China cost 4,000 marks. He therefore proposed a reduction of 3,000,000 marks in the Estimate, and this proposal, which was supported by the Clericals and the National Liberals, was unanimously adopted.

The German Parliament was opened for its winter session on December 4. Only one-third of the Members were present, and the Speech from the Throne was read by Count Bülow, as the Emperor was unable to read it himself, having undergone an operation for polypus in the throat. The sittings before the Christmas holidays were chiefly characterised by a sharp passage of arms between the Chancellor and the Socialist leader, Herr Bebel, in which the former showed much skill of fence, and was enthusiastically cheered for his attacks upon the Socialist party and Socialism in general by the Conservatives, the Clericals, and the National Liberals. He rejected, however, the proposal of some of the Conservative speakers for exceptional legislation for the purpose of putting down Socialism. In criticising the financial and foreign policy of the Government, Herr Bebel met with more sympathy from the House. He pointed out that the bad state of the German finances was mainly due to the increasing expenditure for the Army and Navy and to the *Weltpolitik*. In her own interest Germany should throw her moral weight into the scale against Russian aggression in China, for the result of such aggression might be the ultimate loss of her Colony of Kiao-chau. Germany was "crawling on her stomach" before Russia; there were dozens of Russian police officials at Berlin, and the German Government was assisting them in their efforts to seize documents connected with the Russian revolutionary movement. Herr Bebel also complained of the policy of the German Government towards England, "Germany's best customer"; and the extraordinary statement made shortly after by the Emperor in a banquet at Hanover that the German Legion had, "in conjunction with Blücher and the Prussians at Waterloo, saved the English army from destruction," though perhaps not unfriendly towards England, was certainly injudicious.

The conduct of Germany in the Venezuelan affair, the bombardment of the Venezuelan fort and village of San Carlos after negotiations had begun, and her attempt to stir up ill feeling between England and the United States (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 303) produced so much indignation in America that it was considered desirable to make a change in the German Embassy at Washington, and Dr. von Holleben was succeeded as German Ambassador by Baron Speck von Sternburg, formerly first secretary of the Embassy, who was married to an American lady, and was believed to be more in sympathy with American views than his predecessor. On his arrival on January 31 he stated in an interview that Germany's attitude "had been much misunderstood," that the sentiments of the German public and Government towards the United States were most cordial, and that "the Emperor was most anxious to show Americans that he was friendly to them." He added that nowhere was the Monroe doctrine "more respected or more

highly regarded as a peacemaker for the Western Hemisphere" than in Germany, and that "to secure South American territory was no part of Germany's intention." The general feeling in Germany, however, was that in its recent dealings with the United States and other foreign Powers the Government had committed a series of blunders. The following extract from an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, one of the most widely read papers in Germany, gives forcible expression to this feeling: "It is in any case an unhealthy state of affairs that when two Governments are acting in concert the peoples should be saying disagreeable things of each other. There can be no doubt that the Boer policy was not happily managed. And what is the situation with regard to the United States? Here we see how little Royal receptions signify nowadays. Prince Henry was everywhere cheered, and now the cannonade at Maracaibo which has not yet been explained suffices to cause an explosive outburst of dislike for Germany. We are at pains to cultivate friendships all over the world; we want too many friends, and, as Herr von Vollmar said, we are too importunate in wooing them, with the result that we impair the friendships we already have. Consequently, no one is our sincere friend; we encounter mistrust in all quarters." The result of the negotiations between Mr. Bowen, the American negotiator for Venezuela, and Baron Speck von Sternburg was a protocol signed at Washington on February 13. By it Venezuela recognised the German first-line claims as legitimate, and engaged to pay the sum of 1,718,800 bolivars—137,500 (5,500*l.*) at once, and the remainder by equal instalments monthly up to July 15, the Customs revenues of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, which were to be administered up to the latter date by Belgian officials, to be the guarantee for each successive payment. Venezuela also agreed to the remaining German claims being referred to a mixed Commission composed of one German and one Venezuelan delegate, the President of the United States to decide when they differ, and the payment of these claims when decided upon to be also guaranteed by the Customs revenue of the above ports. All disputed points as to the distribution of the Customs revenues for the above purposes and for the satisfaction of the claims of other Powers against Venezuela were to be referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

The attempts of the German Hanseatic Colonisation Society to develop its concession, held by about 100,000 settlers, in the South Brazilian State of Santa Catharina also caused some friction with the United States, where they were regarded as involving perils for the independence of Brazil. In September, Count Bülow, in an interview with the representative of a Brazilian newspaper, once more emphasised the purity of Germany's intentions in regard to South America. He said that there was no ground for any fear that Germany contemplated the acquisition of territory in South America, and that

it was quite untrue that the German Government was endeavouring to build up a State within a State in Brazil by encouraging Germans to emigrate thither and at the same time to retain their language and their nationality. The Government did not encourage emigration to any quarter of the world. There had been, however, for many years past German colonies in Brazil, the foundation of which was largely due to the efforts of former Brazilian Governments, and it was natural that relations and friends of the colonists should be attracted to Brazil. It was the duty of these German colonists to be good citizens in their new home. On the other hand, the German Government hoped that the colonists would not forget their mother tongue or lose their attachment to the old home. A man who quickly forgot the country which had sheltered his forefathers for hundreds of years would not be one on whom the land of his adoption could rely. He concluded by saying that Germany had no political aspirations whatever in the New World, but, as a highly developed industrial State, she wished for as large a share as possible of South American trade.

As in previous years, various attempts were made by the German Emperor to bring about a *rapprochement* with Russia, but with little success, though it was hoped that the re-established friendship of France with England and Italy would contribute to such a result. In January the German Crown Prince paid a visit to the Russian Court, and the leading semi-official organ of the German Government stated on the occasion that "the faithful adherence of the Emperor William to the legacy of his late grandfather" had been "clearly exhibited in the Manchurian question," adding that "Germany contemplates the leading rôle which Russia plays in the Near East with absolute confidence and approval, and has, like the other great Powers, expressed in advance her entire readiness to support by every means in her power the policy of the Austro-Russian understanding for the maintenance of peace in the Balkan peninsula." This and other efforts to curry favour with Russia were no doubt prompted chiefly by the hope that she would prove more tractable in the negotiations for a commercial treaty consequent on the adoption of the new German tariff; but little progress had been made in this direction at the end of the year. The Russian negotiators seemed inclined to drive a very hard bargain, and the St. Petersburg papers openly asserted that it was the policy of Germany to sow discord between Russia and England, and that while officially supporting Russia in her attempt to obtain a peaceful solution of the Macedonian difficulty she was secretly encouraging Turkey to resist the demands of the Powers with this object. "The German ports at Haidar Pasha and Derinje, the Anatolian Railway which is giving greater profits than ever before on account of the transport of soldiery and military stores, new commercial agencies under the

flag of this railway in the most remote parts of Asia Minor, an increase of activity on the part of the Deutsche Bank in Constantinople, and the growth of German influence over the administration of the *Dette Publique*, show that the Germans have at least lost nothing by reason of the turmoil in the Balkans. Only recently the Germans had not had a single voice in the management of the *Dette Publique*, and now, thanks to their large purchases of Turkish obligations, they were able to interpose their veto against the wishes of the French and English bondholders. Their veto could not be disregarded, since they could prove the possession of bonds to the amount of 150,000,000 francs."

In the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary the most notable event of the year was a speech made by Count Wedel, on his appointment in January as German Ambassador at Vienna, with regard to the Pan-German attacks on the Hungarians. The speech was made at a banquet, at which he presided, organised by the German colony in Vienna to celebrate the birthday of the German Emperor, and in proposing the health of the Emperor Francis Joseph he advised his fellow-countrymen to be mindful of the duties imposed upon them by the privileges of hospitality which they enjoyed. The Emperor William paid a visit to the Emperor Francis Joseph in September, but it had no political significance,

Of somewhat greater import was the Emperor William's visit to Rome in May. His reception by the Italian Government was identical in almost every particular with that which had been prepared for the King of England, but it caused much remark that he went to the Vatican before going to the Quirinal, that he was accompanied on the former occasion by a detachment of German cuirassiers, and that at the inauguration of the new façade of the cathedral at Metz the Pope was represented by a special legate, Cardinal Kopp, instead of by a bishop as usual on such occasions.

The cordial sentiments of friendship for Denmark and its Royal House expressed by the Emperor William during his visit to Copenhagen in April were generally regarded as showing that Denmark and Germany were being drawn closer together, the Danes having abandoned all hope of a restoration to them of North Schleswig. The trade of Denmark with Germany was nearly equal to that with Great Britain, and it was the interest of both countries to cultivate friendly relations with each other. The semi-official *North German Gazette* expressed a hope that these relations would be strengthened by the Emperor's visit, but added, with reference to a statement in a Danish paper that though the Danes had much to learn from Germany there was no necessity for them to set aside their intellectual and material independence, that "no great nation in the world is in a better position to understand this feeling than Germany, who in her own house concedes in the intellectual

sphere the preference to a free development of every racial characteristic as opposed to a uniform regularity"—an assertion which would certainly be questioned by the victims of Germanisation in North Schleswig and Posen.

An endeavour was also made to enter into closer relations with Spain. Prince Henry, the Emperor's brother, paid a visit to Madrid in May with this object, and the German naval division at the same time fraternised with the Spanish naval officers at Vigo.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

No improvement is to be recorded in the condition of Austria-Hungary during the year 1903. A great and ancient Empire, with free institutions and a popular Sovereign universally respected in Europe, presented the melancholy spectacle of gradual disintegration, caused by the dissensions of antagonistic nationalities, each striving for predominance over the others, and rendering Parliamentary government a by-word.

The position of the sugar factories in Austria and Hungary under the Brussels Convention gave rise to much controversy between the two halves of the Empire. On January 9 a Bill for the division of the Hungarian *quota* of sugar for home consumption between the various Hungarian factories and refineries was brought into the Hungarian Parliament. This *quota* was fixed at 863,660 cwt., an amount 200,000 quintals higher than the proportion formerly allotted to Hungary by the Austro-Hungarian sugar cartel. The Austrian sugar producers complained that Hungary had been given almost more than she can produce, while Austria would not have enough to keep going her numerous sugar factories and refineries. The Bill was passed, however, and another Bill relative to the allotment of sugar in the Austrian factories was carried in the Reichsrath; but both Bills were withdrawn on August 1 in consequence of the objections raised to this new form of cartel by the Brussels Sugar Commission. The Sugar Convention was ratified in January by both the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments, and the semi-official *Pester-Lloyd*, in reply to the strictures of various Hungarian Deputies on Great Britain's sugar policy, stated that it was "a consequence of the prohibitive protectionism of Continental States, which, by making war upon British manufactures, force Great Britain to turn towards her own Colonial markets for compensation. The Colonies are thereby strengthened and European countries weakened."

An agreement on the long outstanding question of the commercial and other economic arrangements between Austria and Hungary under the dualistic compact of 1867 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 309) having at length been concluded between the Prime Ministers at Vienna and Pesth, they explained its details simultaneously in the two Parliaments on January 16,

and Bills giving effect to this agreement were introduced shortly after, but, owing to the incessant obstruction in both Parliaments, they could not come on for debate.

A proposal to create a Central European Customs Alliance against the danger of American competition was a good deal discussed in the Austrian Press, but the Government did not seem disposed to take the initiative in such a measure, and the non-German populations of the Empire would certainly have opposed an Austro-German Customs union on the ground that it might be the forerunner of a political union between the two Empires and thereby play into the hands of the Pan-Germans.

Among the other Bills laid before the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments was one providing for an increase in the number of recruits annually incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian Army from 103,100 to 125,000 men. The Hungarian contingent for the regular Army would thus be increased from 42,711 to 53,438 men. The Hungarian Landwehr, which hitherto received a yearly contingent of 12,500, would in future receive 15,500 men. A second Bill provided for the retention with the Colours of 6,000 supplementary Reservists, of whom 2,565 would be allotted to Hungary. These Bills were intended merely to maintain the peace footing of the common Army in proportion to the increased population, and they were passed in the Reichsrath without opposition. But the Hungarian Independence party, under M. Kossuth, the son of the revolutionary leader of 1848, pursued their campaign in the Hungarian Parliament against the dual system by obstructing all the Bills of the Government, including those relating to the Austro-Hungarian commercial union and the new tariff, the Army Bills, and even the Budget for the year, so that the Government were unable to raise recruits or to levy taxes. Some tax-payers paid voluntarily, but the Opposition Press urged all Hungarian citizens to refuse to do so, quoting a law of 1524, which brands with infamy any Hungarian who pays taxes not voted by Parliament. This state of things continued till June, when the Szell Cabinet, finding it impossible to overcome the obstruction of the Kossuthites, who were tacitly supported by the majority of the House, and especially by Count Apponyi, the head of the "National" section of the Liberal party, resigned. On June 28 a new Cabinet was appointed with Count Khuen Hedervary, previously Ban of Croatia, as Prime Minister. The new Cabinet did not materially differ as regards policy from its predecessor, and it was equally unsuccessful in its attempts to arrive at an understanding with the Kossuthites, whose leader came to an arrangement with Count Khuen, but was disavowed by the majority of the party. The Count announced in the House that the Army Bills would be suspended pending a revision of the general military law, that the agreement entered into between the Austrian and Hungarian Governments as to the commercial union and the new tariff could not be discussed

in Hungary before the summer holidays, and that the House would consequently be asked for permission to begin the negotiation of new commercial treaties with foreign countries before the tariff had received Parliamentary sanction. The Independence party at once declared that this programme was insufficient, and resumed their obstructive tactics. The difficulties of the Government were increased by the allegation that attempts had been made to corrupt Obstructionist Deputies, and although it was proved that the Government was in no way implicated, the culprit being Count Szapary, Governor of Fiume, who hoped by this means to assist his friend the Premier to cope successfully with the Opposition, the affair produced much scandal and caused great waste of Parliamentary time. Count Khuen was completely cleared from the charge of bribery, but it soon became evident that further concessions must be made to the growing Chauvinistic spirit in Hungary in order to enable the Government to be carried on, and that for this purpose a new Ministry must be appointed.

The Independence party demanded that the Hungarian word of command should be adopted for the Hungarian regiments of the Army, that all the Hungarian officers should be transferred to those regiments, and various other similar concessions tending to the eventual separation of the Hungarian regiments from the common Army and their formation into an independent Hungarian Army. In these demands it was to a great extent supported, not only by the Nationalists under Count Apponyi, but by the Liberals, who had for the past thirty years been the Government party, the only out and out supporters of the existing dualist arrangement being the Roman Catholic "people's party" under Count Zichy. The strongest opposition to these demands came from the Germans in the Austrian half of the Empire. They urged that Austria contributed 65 per cent. of the cost of the common Army, while the proportion of her recruits was only 56 per cent., and that if Hungary desired a separate Army of her own she must pay 44 per cent. of the cost of the two Armies instead of 35 per cent. Further, they pointed out that any concession as to the word of command in Hungary would lead to claims for similar concessions from the Poles and the Czechs, and in Hungary itself the non-Magyar nationalities, which are the most numerous, might justly object to the use of the Magyar language being enforced in the many regiments where the Magyars are in a minority. Meanwhile, in order to make up for the deficiency which would be caused in the strength of the Army by the Hungarian Parliament having failed to pass the Bill providing for the annual contingent of recruits, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for War issued a decree detaining with the Colours for an indefinite period the time-expired men of the Austro-Hungarian Army, who under normal conditions would have been discharged at the end of the grand manœuvres in October. This decree produced great discontent both in

Hungary and in Austria, for its effect was that 103,000 soldiers, entitled after three years' service to resume their ordinary pursuits and to contribute to the support of their families, would have to remain in barracks till the end of the year. The decree was, however, modified shortly after by another inviting those recruits who under normal conditions would have begun their service on October 1 to present themselves voluntarily at that date and to relieve the time-expired men.

On September 14 the Emperor, with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, arrived at Chlopy, in Galicia, to take part in the great cavalry manoeuvres, and three days after he addressed an Imperial Order of the Day to the Army in which, after praising "the general condition and performances of both army corps and of the large bodies of the Hungarian Landwehr included in the operations," he said that he "must and will hold fast" to the existing organisation of the Army, and that he "will never relinquish the rights and privileges guaranteed to its highest war-lord," although its "stout bonds of union are threatened by one-sided aspirations misapprehensive of the high mission the Army has to fulfil for the weal of both States of the Monarchy."

This expression of the Sovereign's determination to uphold the unity of the Army and to hold fast to its existing organisation was received with joy in the Austrian half of the Empire, and with defiance in Hungary, the Radical Press urging the nation to persist in the struggle for military independence, even though it should last for years, and to revert to the policy of passive resistance pursued by the Hungarians after the collapse of the revolution of 1848. Meanwhile Count Khuen was re-appointed Premier, and another effort was made to proceed with Government business. The Count asserted that the Sovereign had heard with regret of the impression produced in Hungary by the Imperial Army order, as he had not intended or done anything derogatory to the Hungarian Constitution, and he read a manifesto from the Emperor-King to the Hungarian people which somewhat toned down the declarations in his order to the Army. This statement was accepted as sufficient by the moderate Liberals, but it only inflamed the opposition of the Independents. M. Kossuth described the order and the manifesto as containing a grave encroachment on the constitutional rights of the Hungarian legislature, and one of the members of his party, M. Barabas, even exclaimed that they did not believe in the Sovereign's word. A further complication was caused by a speech made by the Austrian Premier in the Reichsrath condemning the Hungarian claim as to the word of command in the Army, and declaring that the Austrian half of the Empire had a legal right to interfere in questions relating to the Imperial Army. Count Khuen attempted to defend this view in the Hungarian Parliament, but he was met by a storm of protests from all sides of the House, upon which

he resigned the Premiership. Another symptom of the increasing influence of the Independence party was a riot which took place at Szegedin in October. A wreath having been placed on the monument of Kossuth on the anniversary of the execution of the Hungarian revolutionists of 1848, the troops were ordered to remove it. The people protested, and a fight between them and the soldiers ensued in which two persons were wounded.

After much negotiation with the various parties in the House, Count Tisza, the son of Koloman Tisza, who had been Prime Minister of Hungary from 1875 to 1890, was appointed Premier (Oct. 31), the majority having accepted a programme with regard to the proposed changes in the Army and the rights of the Emperor-King. Of this the following were the chief points: (1) Hungarian standards and emblems to be placed by the side of Austrian ones on all military buildings in Hungary; (2) all Hungarian military authorities to correspond among themselves, and military trials to be conducted in the Hungarian language; (3) the education of Hungarian cadets to be facilitated so as to insure such an increase of Hungarian officers that their number may correspond with that of Hungarian soldiers in the common Army; (4) the period of service in the Army to be reduced from three years to two; (5) all Hungarian officers in Austrian regiments to be transferred to Hungarian regiments; (6) right of the King to maintain the language of command and of service of the Hungarian Army—which constitutes a complementary part of the whole Army—on the basis of the constitutional prerogatives recognised as belonging to the Crown in Article XI. of the fundamental compact of 1867. The political responsibility of the Ministry, it was declared, extended thereto, as also to every act of the Crown, and the legal influence of the Reichstag remained untouched in this respect also, as this state of things could only be altered jointly by the Crown and the Hungarian Parliament. On the latter point Count Tisza affirmed that while the compact of 1867 was a Hungarian law and consequently subject to revision or repeal, it was also in virtue of its contents a common institution concerning Austria also, and for this reason could only be modified by the parallel action of the two States. The only effect of one-sided revision would be to wreck the compact.

Count Apponyi, as the leader of the National section of the Liberal party, strongly objected to the above programme on the ground that it threw away one of the most important constitutional rights of Hungary and did not go far enough as regarded the education of Hungarian officers. He accordingly resigned the Presidency of the Chamber, but stated that he would for the present remain in the Liberal party. He did not, however, remain long; the Premier having proposed that Parliament should hold two sittings a day in order to overcome the obstruc-

tionists, Count Apponyi, together with sixteen other Liberal Members, withdrew from the party on the ground that the proposal was incompatible with the standing orders of the House. The proposal had no effect, however, in stopping obstruction, and the Parliamentary debates were reduced to a wrangle between the obstructionists and the Premier and his supporters of the Liberal party in which slanderous accusations were bandied about on both sides. The Premier taunted the Opposition with being unable to make as much noise as "fifty hired fishwives," while one of his opponents, a priest, exclaimed that "the Tiszas are like chimney-sweeps, the higher they climb the blacker they get." Count Tisza persevered, however, and on December 5 an agreement was arrived at with M. Kossuth, by which the Independence party abandoned obstruction on the condition that double sittings should be abrogated, that immediate steps should be taken for the preparation of electoral reform, and that Parliament should by a resolution proclaim the principle that "in Hungary the source of every right and in the Army the source of rights appertaining to the language of service and command is the will of the nation as expressed through the Legislature." There still remained, however, the obstructionists, twelve in number, of the Catholic people's party, who aimed at getting rid at any price of the Calvinist Premier, Count Tisza, and they succeeded in preventing the Recruit Bill from being passed by the end of the year, though by so doing they made it necessary to call up a large number of men of the Reserve. The principle laid down by M. Kossuth was fully accepted by Count Tisza, though it was, no doubt, fraught—as, indeed, the Prime Minister recognised—if pushed to extremes, with the gravest possibilities to the relations between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy.

In May serious disturbances occurred in Croatia. Public meetings were held at Agram, Fiume, Esseg and Spalato to protest against the Magyarising policy of the Ban or Governor and the distribution of the Croatian revenue, of which it was alleged Hungary took an undue share. Fierce conflicts occurred between the police and the people, and the troops had to be called in to restore order. At the end of the month a statement of the grievances of Croatia was published by the Croatian deputies, in which they described the fiscal abuses of the Hungarian authorities and protested against the exclusive use of Hungarian names and of the Hungarian language on the railways that traverse Croatia and Slavonia. The Magyar-Croat Compact, concluded in 1868 and renewed at intervals until 1898, since when it had been under revision, provided that 44 per cent. of Croatian revenue should remain at the disposal of the Croatian Administration for local expenditure, and that 56 per cent. should be devoted to common expenditure, namely, the common Army, the service of the Hungarian debt, and public works. As regarded the

latter, though paid for proportionately by Croatian money, it was complained that they were almost exclusively executed in Hungary, and that by a Hungarian fiscal arrangement introduced in 1898 several of the chief indirect taxes, notably those on sugar, petroleum, spirits and beer, had to be paid at the refineries, breweries and distilleries in Hungary—not, as formerly, in Croatia where they are consumed—and were reckoned as Hungarian, not as Croatian, revenue. Consequently, the latter had steadily fallen off by some 20,000*l.* a year since 1898, whereas it had previously increased annually by a similar amount. The Croatian autonomous Administration, it was urged, formerly prosperous, had fallen into debt; public institutions had been starved; national education and development had been arrested, and emigration had assumed alarming proportions.

In Austria the Czechs continued to insist on the adoption of the Czechish language in all official proceedings in Bohemia and on the establishment of a Czechish University in Moravia, and obstructed all legislation until these demands should be complied with, while the Germans declared that any concession made to the Czechs on these points would be followed by obstruction on their side. Dr. Rezek, the Ministerial representative of the Czechish nationality in the Cabinet, resigned in July, and his place was not filled up, as no Czechish politician was willing to take it. The other members of the Cabinet resigned at the same time, but the Emperor requested them to remain at their posts, stating that he had full confidence in the Premier, Dr. Körber, and his colleagues. In November a complete programme of the Czechish national requirements was issued by the Czechish Members of the Reichsrath. It comprised (1) the federalisation of the Hapsburg Monarchy so that the status and historical position of its component kingdoms and countries might be fully recognised; (2) the application of the principle of equality of the Czech and German languages in the central Administration and in the whole public life of the lands of the Bohemian Crown; (3) the foundation of a second Czech University in Moravia, the creation of a sufficient number of technical and secondary schools, the reform of primary schools in Silesia to assist the development of the Czech national spirit, and the organisation of public schools for the Czech population in Lower Austria, and especially in Vienna; (4) the protection of national minorities so that their civil, national and economic rights should suffer no harm; (5) electoral reform; and (6) the same privileges for the use of the Czechish language in the Army as those to be accorded in regard to the Hungarian language.

The Reichsrath reassembled in the middle of November, but no progress was made with Government business; time was wasted as usual in fruitless discussions between Germans and Czechs, and in the obstruction of the Estimates and other urgent measures by so-called "urgency motions" on matters which were not urgent at all. The Finance Minister introduced

the Budget for 1904, which showed a surplus of 2,738,700 kronen (114,000*l.*), owing to the abolition of the sugar bounties, which had amounted to 13,800,000 kr. ; but the obstructionists prevented its being discussed by the House, and at the end of the year it was given the force of law by Imperial decree under the emergency paragraph (Art. 14) of the Constitution.

Complaints were rife in Austria-Hungary throughout the year of the maltreatment of soldiers in the Army. It was stated that though the ordinary rate of suicide in that country is only 1·63 per 10,000 inhabitants—less than the ordinary French and German rates—it is 12·53 per 10,000 in the Army, a rate double that of the German, treble that of the Italian, quadruple that of the French, and quintuple that of the English Army.

A circular issued in March by Lieutenant-General von Pitreich, Austro-Hungarian War Minister, forbidding officers in active service and in the Reserve to join the Anti-Duelling League (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 308), and ordering them if they had joined it at once to resign their membership, elicited a strong protest from the managing committee of the league. It pointed out that the circular was based upon a misstatement of the statutes and objects of the league, reminded the Minister that duelling was an unlawful practice, showed the untruthfulness of his assertion that membership of the league would bring officers into conflict with their duty, and protested against the illogical pretension that officers of the Reserve who, as barristers or physicians, already stand under the jurisdiction of professional but non-military tribunals of honour, would be infringing their military duty by voluntarily entrusting the settlement of their social disputes to the tribunals of the league instead of resorting to the illegal practice of duelling.

The chief achievement of the Empire in foreign politics in the year 1903 was its continued co-operation with the Russian Government in the Macedonian question (see p. 316). The King of England's visit to Vienna in September, followed by the appointment of the Emperor of Austria as Field-Marshal of the British Army, elicited many cordial expressions of friendship for England in all parts of the Empire, and was received with much gratification by the Austro-Hungarian people, who, in the words of the Emperor, regarded the visit "as a new pledge for the continuance of the relations full of confidence which from time immemorial have existed" between the two countries. King Edward's visit, which had been preceded by that of the King of Roumania, was followed in October by the arrival at Vienna of the Tsar, and much comment was made on the contrast between the undemonstrative passage of the King of England through the streets and the large forces of military and police which everywhere protected the Tsar. Dr. Lueger, the anti-Semitic burgomaster of Vienna, who received a Russian decoration on this occasion, made a speech at an anti-Semitic meeting in which he protested against the manner in which the

Vienna Socialists had taken exception to the Tsar's visit. Austrians, he said, had no cause to bear the Tsar ill-will, for Russia had always been a true friend of Austria, and it was only thanks to the Russians that the overweening pride of the Magyars was broken in 1848. He pleaded for an alliance between the Austrians and the anti-Magyar races in Hungary, and said that if people would clench their fists and hit hard the Hungarian crisis would soon be settled.

Some friction was caused between Austria-Hungary and Italy in May by the repeated anti-Austrian demonstrations of the Irredenta party, especially as they were to some extent encouraged by the Italian Ministerial Press. The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* of Vienna pointed out that if these demonstrations were continued with the tacit acquiescence of the Italian Government it would be very difficult for the Austrian Government "to manifest towards Italy that consideration in the settlement of questions outstanding between Italy and Austria which would be possible under normal conditions;" but the incident had no further consequences. In November Professor Angelo de Gubernatis came to Innsbruck to deliver a lecture on Petrarch for the "free University" which the Italians wished to establish there, but the lecture was prohibited by the Austrian authorities, in consequence of which there were German demonstrations and Italian counter-demonstrations.

Count Goluchowski made his usual statement on foreign policy to the Austro-Hungarian Delegations on December 16. He laid great stress upon the value of the Triple Alliance, which, he said, possessed a special advantage in the ease with which it permitted the members of it to enjoy adequate freedom of action in looking after their own interests without prejudice to the "very real" guarantees which it afforded for the preservation of peace. As regarded the Irredentist demonstrations in Italy, he intimated that the chief object of the demonstrators was to embarrass their own Government, and expressed a hope that they would not disturb the friendly relations between Italy and Austria-Hungary. As to the understanding with Russia, it was of equal moment with the Triple Alliance as a guarantee of peace. The primary object of the two Powers was to preserve the territorial *status quo* in Eastern Europe, and not to seek any special advantage for themselves. The establishment of an autonomous Macedonia under a Christian Governor-General was inadmissible, as it would provoke the resistance of the Mahomedans and destroy the balance of power among the Balkan States. At the same time he warned Turkey that she "must change if she wishes to live," that if she cannot do so herself those who are interested in her preservation must do it for her, and that she must beware of resistance to the Austro-Russian programme of reforms "lest chaos and ruin result." He further warned Bulgaria against in any way countenancing the insurrection, strongly condemned the murder of

the King and Queen of Serbia, and, referring to the right of veto exercised by Austria at the election of the Pope, declared that this was done solely to protect her own interests, "without any suggestion having been made from any quarter on the subject."

CHAPTER III.

I. RUSSIA.

THE principal event of the opening of the year 1903 in Russia was the issue of an Imperial manifesto on March 12 in which the Tsar announced his decision to strengthen "the laws of tolerance which grant religious freedom" to all his subjects professing creeds other than those of the "orthodox" faith, and to improve the conditions of Russian village life and of the nobility and peasantry. The measures indicated by the Tsar as needing to be taken included a reform of the rural laws, to be effected with the assistance and advice of persons possessing the confidence of the people. The system of administration in the governments and districts was also to be examined by representatives of the different localities concerned with a view to its being amended, and measures were to be adopted for releasing and relieving the peasants from the burdens and duties of forced labour; but "the fundamental principle of property in common" (*i.e.*, the *mir*—see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 318) "is to be held inviolable, while at the same time means are to be found to facilitate for the peasant the severance of his connection with the community to which he belongs." This manifesto, which was stated to have been inspired by a confidential memorandum handed to the Tsar by a distinguished meteorologist, M. Demtchinsky, was received with great but unjustified enthusiasm by the Russian Press. It is true that the peasants obtained a great boon by the abolition of the system under which the peasant communities were collectively responsible for the taxes of their members, which was effected by an Imperial ukase on March 25, but as regards the other measures indicated in the manifesto they only tended to make the control of the officials over the local self-governing bodies more stringent. The provincial governors, acting under instructions from M. Plchve, the Minister of the Interior, used all their powers to prevent independent discussion in these bodies, and all recommendations savouring of Liberalism were struck out of the reports submitted to them. To such a degree was this censorship carried that at Tamboff all the independent members of the provincial committee resigned rather than submit to it. Thus by the time the reports reached the Tsar all the portions of them which represented the real feelings and demands of the people had been carefully eliminated. The

right of the *Zemstvos*, or provincial assemblies, to present petitions to the Government was also considerably restricted, an Imperial decree having been issued directing that such petitions should only refer to matters connected with the institutions under the direct control of the *Zemstvos*, and not to improvements of a general character.

The anniversary of the liberation of the serfs was celebrated at St. Petersburg on February 19, and some very remarkable speeches were made on the occasion at a gathering of literary men, journalists, lawyers and officers of the Army. Professor Semevsky, who had been deprived of his professorship at the University of St. Petersburg on account of his liberal opinions, said that the agitation for political reform, which had begun with the reign of Alexander II., had broken out afresh and with renewed force. The Government had tried their best to suppress it, had exiled and imprisoned by the thousand men from all classes of society, but their efforts had been in vain. He was followed by M. Hessen, a lecturer at the University and one of the editors of the *Pravo*, the leading organ of the legal profession. The country, he said, as was shown by the debates of the agricultural committees, was still demanding what it demanded in the early sixties—the liberation of the peasantry—liberation not from the serf-owner, but from the arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy, from the crushing burden of taxation and from the countless restrictions and injustices to which they were still subject. The work of liberation had not been accomplished, but had only been begun on February 19, forty-two years ago. Not less outspoken was M. Wolkenstein, an advocate who had gained great distinction by his defence of peasants who had been brought before the Courts for political and semi-political offences. He assured his hearers that the mass of the people had attained political self-consciousness and constituted a new and mighty force.

The Labour movement in Russia assumed alarming proportions in the course of the year, and there were also some outbreaks of violence among the peasantry, though they were not so widespread as in 1902. In the province of Kieff there were several cases of incendiarism; revolutionary literature was discovered in the possession of peasants in the provinces of Saratoff and Toula, and "fraternal unions" for political purposes were formed in the villages. In March 500 workmen of the State ironworks struck at Slatoust, in the government of Ufa; after storming the manager's house they were dispersed by the troops with much bloodshed, and in May the Governor, M. Bogdanovitch, was assassinated. Further disturbances took place at Batoum and Baku, which were easily suppressed by the troops, but they were only the preliminaries of a widespread uprising of the working men in July and August, which extended over the whole of the manufacturing districts of Southern Russia, from Kieff to the Caspian. Three great landowners, Prince

Urussoff, Prince Gagarin and Prince Scherbatoff, were murderously assaulted by peasants; these, however, appear to have been acts of private revenge, unconnected with any political or Socialist agitation. At Baku the city and neighbourhood were for several days at the mercy of the strikers, the number of whom was stated to have exceeded 45,000; the railway trains and tramcars ceased running, and the streets were plunged in darkness. The loss to the oil industry alone was estimated at 12,000,000 roubles. In most of the towns there was severe street fighting, and nearly all the factories were brought to a standstill. It was stated that not less than 500,000 workmen took part in this general rising, and that several thousands of them were killed and wounded.

Various causes were assigned for the rising: the low wages of the workmen and their ill-treatment by the employers, the arrest of the representatives chosen by the former, at the instigation of the Government, to confer with the manufacturers and the local authorities as to their grievances, the severe punishment of any attempt at combination, the suppression of strikes by the military, and, above all, the machinations of the revolutionary propaganda, of which the headquarters was stated to be the workshops on the Russian railways. At Odessa there was an "Independent" Labour party, which had been publicly started early in the year with the assistance of a Government agent, Dr. Shayevitch, in order to establish a rival organisation to that of the Socialist revolutionists; and this new party was assured not only of the sympathy, but of the passive assistance of the Government in the struggle of the working men with their employers. When the strike broke out the Governor, in accordance with the assurances which had been given to the "Independent" party, refused to send troops to put it down; but the leading townspeople appealed to St. Petersburg, and the result was a telegram directing the Governor to hand over the town to the military authorities. This was naturally a further cause of irritation among the workmen against the Government, which they regarded as having betrayed them. The simultaneous outbreak of strike riots in all the manufacturing centres, however, showed that apart from special causes of discontent there was an organised revolutionary movement of the working men all over the Empire. In some towns the revolutionary organisation adopted terrorist tactics, though it professed theoretically to repudiate them. At Bialystok the chief of police was "condemned to death" for striking working men who had attended a Socialist meeting; police spies were assassinated at Pinsk and Nijni-Novgorod, and the President of the court of assizes at Ufa was killed by a political exile, who afterwards committed suicide.

A secret congress of the Russian Social Democratic party was held in November, and attended by more than fifty delegates sent by the secret local committees established in St. Petersburg,

Moscow, Kieff, Odessa, Kharkoff, Ekaterinoslaff, Rostoff, the Caucasus, and other parts of Russia, as well as by the Jewish Social Democratic Labour League and the various committees of the Russian Social Democratic party working outside Russia. The chief business of the congress was the election of a central executive committee with wide powers for directing the Social Democratic movement throughout Russia as a whole. Hitherto no such central authority had existed, and the separate local committees had worked practically independently of one another. The congress also adopted a party programme, which, after stating the principles of Social Democracy as taught by Marx, declared that the immediate political objects of the party are the abolition of autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic in its place, with a constitution ensuring the sovereignty of a Parliament elected by universal adult suffrage, and the institution of local self-government.

Signs of the extension of the revolutionary movement to the Army continued to manifest themselves. At the beginning of the year two new organisations were formed among army officers: one, called "the Military Revolutionary Organisation," professed Socialist ideas and was engaged in active propaganda among the troops; while the other, styled "the Army League," did not profess Socialist opinions, but agitated for the abolition of the autocratic form of government. Some of the members of the latter body were arrested at St. Petersburg and Kieff. The Chief of the General Staff of the Caucasus called the attention of the Hetman of the Cossacks to the propagation of revolutionary ideas in the Army, and directed that the chiefs of detachments should inform the gendarmes whenever any secret pamphlets were found among the soldiers or in the barracks. The Minister for War also issued a circular to the commanders of divisions, instructing them to institute a system of internal police supervision by appointing a number of officers to keep watch on the conduct of their comrades. Among the recruits, too, the Socialists circulated their revolutionary manifestoes, and demonstrations were made at various recruiting centres against the Government, the recruits in one place displaying a red flag and singing the "Marseillaise," and in another parading the streets and shouting "Down with the Tsar! Down with despotism and militarism!" The most formidable of the demonstrations was at Batoum, where several thousands of recruits marched in procession with a red flag bearing the inscription: "Down with the autocracy! Long live the Republic!" Riots also took place among the students of the Universities of Tomsk, Kazan and Kieff. At the latter institution the students tore down the portrait of the Tsar and put in its place a portrait of Balmasheff, the assassin of M. Sipiaguine, Minister of the Interior (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 316).

Among the most active agents of the revolutionary pro-

paganda were Jews, and the Government was only too ready to exploit the religious prejudices of the people against those whom it regarded as some of its most formidable enemies. On April 20 a massacre of the Jews took place at Kishineff which roused the indignation of the entire world, as, although a large military force of all arms was quartered in the city, the massacre had lasted a whole day before steps were taken to put a stop to it. Fifteen streets of Jewish houses were sacked, forty-three Jews were killed and 424 wounded, Jewish children were flung out of windows, Jewish women were outraged, and the bodies of the dead were horribly mutilated. Not only did the troops do nothing to prevent the massacre, but it was stated that the police actually hounded on the rioters and disarmed the Jews who strove to defend themselves. The outrages appear to have been the deliberate work of a body of local anti-Semites. It was well known for some time before the outbreak took place that preparations were being made for it, and it was asserted that M. Plehve had even instructed the Governor that he was to curb its organisers "by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms"—a weak and worse than futile policy. The chief promoter of the massacre was an anti-Semitic paper subsidised by the Government, the *Bessarabyetz*, which had devoted itself for years to calumniating the Jews, and for some weeks previously had accused them of committing ritual murders. The Governor and Chief of the Police were dismissed from their posts as a result of the massacre, but the *Bessarabyetz* continued to enjoy official favour, and a *communiqué* in the *Official Messenger* suggested that the Jews were themselves responsible for the murderous crimes of which they were the victims. On May 24 M. Plehve received a deputation of Jews from Kishineff and assured them that the Government would take all the necessary measures to prevent a renewal of the recent disorders. He added, however, that he was greatly displeased with the conduct of the Jewish population, that the Jewish revolutionary movement, which was already considerable, compelled the Government to take its revenge; and he threatened that in future he would not recoil before any measures of rigour, and would allow no opportunity to escape of rendering the lives of the Jews intolerable if the Jewish labour movement continued to develop. It would otherwise be better, he continued, if they would all clear out of the country. A trial with closed doors of 400 prisoners charged with participation in the Kishineff massacre took place at the end of the year. Ten barristers who represented the civilian prisoners threw up their briefs on account of the constant interference of the judges with the examination of witnesses "in so flagrant and arbitrary a manner that it was impossible to ascertain who were the real culprits." It was evident that the judges were acting not in accordance with the law, but in obedience to special instructions received from the Govern-

ment. The editor of the *Bessarabyetz* and the well-to-do citizens who had organised the massacre were excluded from the trial, and all evidence tending to inculpate them was rigidly suppressed. Two of the prisoners who were found guilty of murder were sentenced to seven and five years' penal servitude respectively, and of the remaining accused twenty-two were sentenced to short periods of imprisonment.

The Kishineff massacre was followed by anti-Semitic riots at Gomel, a large town in the province of Mohileff, on September 14. The police and military, supported by many wealthy Christians, stood in a line as a sort of protection to the rioters, who demolished Jewish homes and shops and clubbed such Jews as fell into their hands, leisurely advancing from house to house, and those who persisted in attempting to pass through the line to save their property or the lives of their relatives were bayoneted. The Jews then armed themselves to force a passage and were fired upon by the troops. Further massacres were planned in other parts of Southern Russia, but were prevented by the police. The Government now seemed sincerely anxious to put a stop to the anti-Semitic movement, which had got thoroughly out of hand. M. Plehve, in a circular addressed to the governors, prefects and other authorities, declared the policy of the Government to be the assimilation of the Jews with the other subjects of the Tsar, and therefore opposed to Zionism, whose object is to develop and strengthen the Jewish nationality. The action of the "Mahids," or travelling agitators, who made speeches in the synagogues and at public meetings, the assemblage of conferences of delegates and members of the Zionist organisations, the collection of subscriptions for the Jewish National Fund, and the opening of schools and libraries for the promulgation of the old Hebrew language were to be strictly forbidden. At the same time the stringency of the regulations affecting the admission of Jews to educational institutions was considerably relaxed.

In August a decree ordering the transfer of the property of the Armenian Church, valued at 30,000,000 roubles, to the State for the more efficient control of its expenditure, and in order "to put an end to the seditious activity of the Armenian clergy," caused profound irritation among the Russian Armenians, and serious riots, accompanied by much bloodshed, took place in various towns in the Caucasus in consequence of the Armenians having attempted to prevent the decree from being carried out. Three thousand Armenians marched to the convent of Etchmiadzin, the residence of the Catholicos, or head of the Armenian Church, and forced him to join them in protesting against the decree. An Armenian priest uttered an anathema against the Government for the seizure of the Armenian Church property, revolutionary proclamations were distributed among the people, and on October 27 three Armenians made a murderous attack on Prince Galitzin, the Governor of the Caucasus, who had recommended the issue of the decree to the Government at St. Peters-

burg. At the end of the year the revolutionary movement had spread over the whole of Russian Armenia, and even in the smallest villages collisions took place between the civil population and the troops or police.

In consequence of the suppression by the Government of the autonomous institutions of Finland (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 320) there was a large increase in the emigration from that country. In the decade preceding the introduction of the measures of Russification it amounted to 3,400 persons yearly, while in 1899 it rose to 12,357, and since then it steadily increased until in 1902 it reached the number of 22,265, or nearly 1 per cent. of the population. In February a decree was issued ordering that the 14,978 inhabitants of Finland, amounting to three-fifths of the youth of the whole country, who had failed to comply with their obligation to present themselves for military service in the previous year should be enrolled in the Landwehr, and those of them who held administrative posts be immediately dismissed. The majority of the judges and officials of the High Court of Justice at Abo were also dismissed without a pension for instituting proceedings against a Russian General on account of his conduct during the street demonstrations at Helsingfors in the previous year, and the same punishment was inflicted on the mayors of Viborg, Helsingfors and Hango. Several eminent professors and other distinguished persons who had opposed the Russification policy were banished and proceeded to Stockholm; crowds of people assembled at the various stations on their route, singing patriotic songs and bidding farewell to the exiles.

In the kingdom of Poland the chief incident was the grant by Imperial ukase on June 7 of permission to teach the Roman Catholic religion in the Polish language in all middle-class schools. In September the Tsar granted a considerable sum for the relief of the peasants who had suffered from the inundations, and the Poles of Warsaw applied for permission to appoint a committee to collect subscriptions for that purpose, but this was refused by the Governor.

The finances of Russia were during the year in a very unsatisfactory condition. The Budget for 1903 gave the ordinary revenue as 1,897,032,678 roubles and the ordinary expenditure as 1,880,405,229 roubles, the ordinary revenue thus showing a surplus of 16,627,449 roubles over the ordinary expenditure. The extraordinary expenditure, amounting to 191,262,243 roubles, was to be covered by the surplus just mentioned, by the extraordinary revenue, amounting to 2,500,000 roubles, and by cash reserves in the Treasury to the amount of 172,134,794 roubles. M. Witte's financial report issued at the beginning of the year was as usual very optimistic. "The value of the goods exported by us," he said, "exceeded the value of the imports by 300,000,000 roubles, that is to say by a higher amount than in any year of the past decade. . . . The

current year shows a decided revolution in the direction of the flowing back of specie, and it must be stated that up to the present our experience justifies us in regarding our money circulation as entirely assured." He admitted that certain branches of industry had for some time been in a very depressed condition, and that the depression had become more strongly marked during the previous year, but he expressed a hope that these difficulties would be only temporary, and that the metal industry at any rate would be so firmly established that it would be able to satisfy the popular demand for iron at low prices. As to taxation, it had already reached its highest point; the most pressing requirement of the State was to provide for the defence of the country, and only those sums which remained after the cost of the Army and Navy had been met could be devoted to the satisfaction of educational requirements. It subsequently transpired, however, that the current State expenditure had risen in the last ten years from 1,000,000,000 to 2,000,000,000 roubles a year, and that enormous loans had been raised to cover expenditure on railways, etc., which could not be met out of taxation. The Siberian Railway had cost 150,000,000*l.*; the Russian national debt amounted in 1902 to 700,000,000*l.*, of which more than one half had been placed abroad. Further, the opening to traffic of several sections of the Siberian Railway had gradually reduced the surplus created by the acquisition of remunerative railway property held in private companies. In 1902 the deficit on that score was 45,000,000 roubles, and within the next two years it was expected to reach 84,500,000 roubles. So far it had been possible to keep pace with this growing expenditure, but only by maintaining as permanent the extraordinary taxes introduced in 1900 to meet the emergency that arose in that year out of political complications in the Far East. Had those taxes not been retained, the Estimates for 1903 would have shown a deficit of 23,000,000 roubles. A remarkable statement as to the policy of M. Witte was made in a report on the economic condition of Russia in 1902 presented to the Czar by the Comptroller of the State finances. He said that M. Witte's policy had chiefly consisted in giving subsidies drawn from the funds of the State Bank to manufacturers and factories threatened with ruin, and in placing with those firms excessively large orders at high figures on behalf of the Government. The existing crisis was the result of a too rapid and artificial growth of industry far in excess of the capacity of the home market to absorb its products. Large sums had been advanced in different ways for the maintenance of unsound firms, particularly in the metal industries. Such loans, not justified by the statutes, amounted to about 41,000,000 roubles at the beginning of 1900, to 65,000,000 roubles in the following year, and to more than 100,000,000 roubles in 1902.

The above facts, coupled with the friction caused by the

rivalry of M. Witte and M. Plehve, who were constantly trenching on each other's Ministerial functions, and the growing dissatisfaction at the unsatisfactory results of the policy of expansion in the Far East of which M. Witte had been the chief promoter, gradually undermined his influence, and the death of M. Durnovo, President of the Committee of Ministers—a post which, though of high rank, was practically a sinecure—afforded an opportunity of removing M. Witte from the Ministry, and at the same time giving him promotion in the official hierarchy. He was appointed to the vacant presidency on August 20, and was succeeded as Minister of Finance by M. Pleske, manager of the Imperial Bank and one of M. Witte's principal assistants, the latter, however, continuing to direct the commercial negotiations with Germany and remaining Chairman of the Grand Commission on the State of Agriculture. M. Pleske, in a speech to the principal officials of the Finance Ministry, promised to pursue in its leading features the policy laid down by M. Witte, and this speech was received with general approval in the Press, for although the late Finance Minister was condemned for forcing the development of Russian industry and plunging into rash enterprises in the Far East, it was acknowledged that his policy had been a progressive one, and that the spirit monopoly, the gold standard, and the Siberian Railway were all parts of a broadly conceived system which cannot now be altered.

A new Customs tariff was issued on January 28 in view of the impending expiration of existing commercial treaties. In the vast majority of cases the duties of the new tariff showed an increase of 50 per cent. on those of the tariff of 1891, and the duties on many articles were even doubled and in some cases more than doubled, especially in the case of manufactured goods. A specially interesting feature of the new tariff was that the duties on goods imported by land were 20 per cent. higher than those on the same goods imported by sea.

Some sensation was caused in May by the expulsion from Russia at three days' notice of the *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg on the ground that "the tone of his correspondence, and of the *Times* in general, was hostile to Russia." He was arrested without warning, forcibly detained for some hours at the police station, where he was refused permission to communicate with his wife, and threatened with deportation to the frontier in company with common criminals, and it was only through the intervention of the British Ambassador that he was allowed to proceed to the frontier without an escort and was granted a delay of three days to settle his personal affairs. The conduct of M. Plehve in this matter was so sharply criticised in the European Press that the Government found it desirable to issue a set of rules for application in such cases, providing that "foreigners who have rendered themselves liable to expulsion are to be presented with an intimation to that effect, specifying

a term of grace to be accorded to them," and that only those who do not leave the country voluntarily after receiving this intimation shall be sent to the border as common prisoners.

The tortuous policy of Russia in the Far East caused considerable friction with England and the United States, and strained more and more seriously her relations with Japan. In April the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking, M. Plançon, presented the following seven demands as conditions for the carrying out of the Manchurian Convention and the evacuation of Niu-Chwang and the two southern provinces of Manchuria: (1) No portion of the restored territories will be transferred under any form to another Power. (2) The present administration of Mongolia shall not be disturbed. (3) China will undertake not to open new treaty ports in Manchuria or to permit new consuls without the previous assent of the Russian Government. (4) Should China desire to employ foreigners in any branch of her administration their authority shall not extend to affairs in North China where Russian interests predominate. There they shall be entrusted to Russians only. For example, if foreign mining advisers are engaged, their authority will not extend to mining affairs in Manchuria or Mongolia, for which Russian advisers must be appointed. (5) Russia will retain under her own control the existing telegraph line between Port Arthur, Niu-Chwang and Mukden for the whole period of existence of the Peking-Niu-Chwang telegraph line, of which it is a necessary prolongation. (6) After the restoration of the Niu-Chwang Chinese administration the Russo-Chinese Bank will continue as at present its functions as a Customs bank. (7) All rights acquired in Manchuria by Russian subjects during the occupation shall remain in force after the evacuation. (8) Russia being responsible for health along the railway requires the continuance of the present effective sanitary board. It is, therefore, indispensable that the Customs commissioner and the Customs doctor shall be Russians.

These demands were clearly a violation of the principle of "the open door," which Russia had repeatedly declared she would accept as regarded Manchuria. A further demand in the same sense was that the navigation of the Liao River, which under the inland steam navigation rules was open to vessels of all nations, should be restricted to vessels flying the Russian and Chinese flags. As regarded Niu-Chwang Russia retained 450,000*l.* of Customs revenues, although the trade, which in 1901 amounted to over 6,500,000*l.*, and had been steadily and rapidly expanding for many years, was almost entirely in British, American and Japanese hands. The indignation caused by the apparent double-dealing of Russia in this matter caused her to withdraw her demand that no new treaty ports should be opened in Manchuria; but she continued to pour troops into that country and to fortify the railways and the coast. In Korea, too, Russia opposed Japan's proposal for the opening of the port

of Wi-ju to foreign trade, attempted to establish a settlement at the harbour of Yongampho, and under the pretext that her agent, Baron Günzburg, had obtained a concession for felling timber on the Korean side of the Ya-lu Valley, laid a Russian telegraph line on Korean territory, while objecting to the construction of a Japanese telegraph line from Se-oul to Fusan. Negotiations took place in August between Russia and Japan for the mutual recognition of their railway rights in Manchuria and Korea, but without any tangible result.

On August 13 an important step was taken for the consolidation of Russian dominion in the Far East. The Amur Province, together with the Kwantung districts "leased" to Russia by China in the Liao-tong Peninsula, was erected into a special Viceroyalty, and the Viceroy was invested with supreme civil and military authority, rendering him largely independent of the Russian Ministers on the Neva. Vice-Admiral Alexeieff, Aide-de-Camp-General to the Tsar and Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Military and Naval Forces in Eastern Asia, was appointed to be the first Russian "Viceroy of the Far East," not only commanding all the troops within the wide and undefined limits of his administration, but also the Russian fleet in the Pacific. He was to have the control of diplomatic negotiations with "neighbouring States" which concerned the affairs of the territory subject to his rule, to keep order and ensure safety in the "districts traversed by the Eastern Chinese Railway" (that is to say, Manchuria), and also to "watch over the interests and needs of the Russian inhabitants of the possessions bordering on the territory under his jurisdiction," or "lying on the other side of the border." Thus, instead of the promised evacuation of Manchuria, which was to have begun in April, an Imperial Viceroy, armed with the most extensive civil powers and supported by the most powerful army and fleet that Russia has ever mustered in those regions, was installed there.

A special commission, under the immediate presidency of the Tsar, was also formed at St. Petersburg to consider affairs in the Far East. Its members included the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Ministers of the Interior, Finance, War and Marine, the Viceroy, Admiral Alexeieff, and such other persons, to be nominated by the Tsar, whose participation in the deliberations of the commission might appear advantageous. The commission was to discuss the drawing up of Budget proposals for the administration of the Far East, measures for the development of trade and industry, and such proposals of the Viceroy for new laws or for the alteration of existing ones as lay outside his own jurisdiction, but it did not possess any executive powers.

In September M. Lessar, the Russian Ambassador at Peking, announced to the Chinese Government that Niu-Chwang and the Mukden province would be evacuated on October 8, and that Mukden and Ta-tung-kau would be opened to foreign trade, provided that China on her part would accept points 1 and 5 of

the demands presented in April by M. Plançon, that no concession should be granted to England unless equally granted to Russia, that there should be no increase in the import tariff on goods entering Manchuria by railway, and that in the event of an epidemic at Niu-Chwang a Russian health officer should be appointed to superintend the necessary measures for dealing with it. This showed that the pressure put upon Russia by the United States and Japan had not been without effect in St. Petersburg. The remaining demands made by M. Plançon were withdrawn, and the permission to open two Manchurian ports — though all approaches to Mukden were in the hands of the Russians, and Ta-tung-kau was a small port without anchorage and only approachable by steamers of very shallow draught—would have been a substantial concession in reply to the protests which had been addressed to St. Petersburg from Washington and Tokio if it had been carried out. But the date fixed by M. Lessar for the evacuation and the consequent opening of the ports came and went, yet Russia remained in possession of Niu-Chwang, and after withdrawing her troops from Mukden re-occupied it. In view of the war preparations of Japan, Russia continued to strengthen her army and fleet in the Far East, and Admiral Alexeieff held a review of 21,000 men, the largest force she had ever concentrated at Port Arthur (see pp. 376-7). The situation now became very threatening. Japan demanded that Russia should fulfil her promises as to Manchuria and abandon her aggressive policy in Korea. Russia's answers to these demands were evasive, and at the end of the year the decision as to peace or war was hanging in the balance.

Great efforts were made to develop Russian trade with Persia. In February a commercial agreement was concluded between the two States under which the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duties introduced by the Turkoman Chai Treaty of 1828 were superseded by specific duties, and the majority of the Persian export duties were abolished. At the same time, Persia pledged herself to abandon for ever the system of farming taxes, and at suitable points to establish Government Customs stations; further, to arrange details regarding the payment of Customs and storage by agreement with Russia, to erect storehouses at the Customs stations, and to grant storage duty free for a year. Persia also agreed to abolish traffic and toll dues, apart from certain special taxes which may be introduced by arrangement with the Russian Ministry at Teheran for the use of high roads. In June the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, the chief director of commercial navigation and of harbours, concluded a contract with the Odessa Steam Navigation and Trading Company for the establishment of regular communication with ports in the Persian Gulf. This agreement granted the company an annual subsidy of 200,000 roubles for eleven years beginning in 1903. Further, the tolls levied on vessels passing through the Suez Canal were to be repaid to the company by the Russian Govern-

ment. The Russian Volunteer fleet, which is in fact a department of the Russian naval administration, also prepared to establish a regular line of steamers between Odessa and Koweyt, on the Persian Gulf.

In the Near East Russia continued her efforts in conjunction with Austria-Hungary for the pacification of Macedonia. In February a scheme of reforms, comprising the appointment of an Inspector-General to prevent abuses by the officials, the reorganisation of the *gendarmérie* by foreign officers, the application of local revenue to local administrative needs, the introduction of a just system of tithe collection, the abolition of tax farming, an amnesty for those arrested for political offences, and local control by the Consuls, was presented to the Sultan by the two Powers and adopted by him, but with no practical effect. The Inspector-General was not invested with any disciplinary power, and the revival of the insurrection, combined with the unwillingness of the officials to assist in working out the scheme, made any real reform of the condition of the people impracticable. An emphatic warning was at the same time issued to the smaller Balkan States "which had been called to an independent existence through the sacrifices of Russia," that "Russia would not sacrifice a single drop of the blood of her sons nor the smallest portion of the heritage of the Russian people if the Slav States should resolve to strive by revolutionary and forceful methods against timely and well-thought-out counsels to change the existing state of affairs in the Balkan Peninsula." Well-informed persons believed, however, that while the Russian Government was constantly warning the Slav States and the insurgents of the hopelessness of the struggle, the Russian Consuls on the spot secretly encouraged them to continue it.

A further programme of reforms, elaborated during the visit of the Tsar to the Emperor of Austria at Mürzsteg, was presented to the Porte in October. It was proposed that two civil agents, appointed by Russia and Austria respectively, should be attached for two years to the Inspector-General of Macedonia "in order to establish control over the activity of the Ottoman local authorities in regard to the application of reforms;" that "a general officer of foreign nationality in the service of the Ottoman Government," accompanied by "officers of the great Powers," should be entrusted with "the task of reorganising the *gendarmérie*;" that the administrative districts should be rearranged, and the administrative and judicial institutions reorganised so as "to make them accessible to native Christians and to favour the development of local autonomies;" that "mixed commissions, composed of an equal number of Christian and Mahomedan delegates," should be appointed in the chief towns "to investigate the political and other crimes committed during the disturbances," the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Consuls taking part in these commissions; that special sums should be set apart by the Turkish Government for the

repatriation of Christian refugees, the support of Christians who had lost their property and homes, and the rebuilding of houses, churches and schools, the distribution of these sums to be settled by commissions to which Christian notables were to belong, and to be supervised by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Consuls; the exemption from all taxation for one year of the repatriated Christian inhabitants of villages burnt by the Turkish troops; the reforms proposed in February to be at once carried out; and the *Ilavehs*, or second class Reserve, to be dismissed and the formation of bands of *Bashi-Bazouks* to be "absolutely prevented." These proposals were accepted "in principle," but with much unwillingness, by the Porte, and so much delay took place in consequence that by the end of the year no steps had been taken to carry them out beyond the appointment of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian civil agents. It was remarked, as a perhaps ominous feature of the scheme, that it made no mention of the Berlin treaty, and suggested exclusively Austro-Russian supervision. It was also noticed that the scheme was restricted to Macedonia, while the insurrection had extended to the provinces of Adrianople and Albania, where reform was equally urgent.

During the autumn the Tsar visited the Emperor of Austria, the President of the French Republic and the German Emperor. At the first of these visits arrangements were made for pressing upon the Sultan the further programme of reforms in Macedonia; the others had no political importance except in so far as they were regarded as a further proof of the Tsar's pacific intentions. The great meeting in Paris to protest against the conduct of the Russian Government in the matter of the Kishineff massacres and the comments of the French Press on the Russification of Finland somewhat cooled the *entente cordiale* with France, but the autograph letter from the Tsar to M. Loubet which Count Lamsdorff brought to Paris in October, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the agreement between France and England as to arbitration and the *rapprochement* with Italy, showed that notwithstanding disagreements between the French and Russian nations the alliance between the two Governments was as strongly established as ever. As regards Germany, the visit to Wiesbaden appears in no way to have strengthened the ties between her and Russia. No greater support was given to the Austro-Russian policy in the Balkans than before, no change took place in the attitude of Germany towards Russia in the Far East, Russia did not show herself more accommodating in the negotiations for a Russo-German commercial treaty, and the Russian Press continued to assert that one of the main objects of German policy was to sow discord between Russia and England. Russia also rejected the German proposal that she should participate in the construction of the Bagdad Railway on the ground, as stated by the official organ of the Ministry of Finance, that the railway would bring a considerable part of

Asia Minor under German influence, that the wheat-fields of Mesopotamia might compete seriously with those of Russia, and that the Bagdad Railway would be a rival line to the Siberian one and that *via* Orenburg and Tashkend for communication with the Far East.

An unfortunate *contretemps* occurred during the Tsar's visits in the postponement of his intended visit to the King of Italy. The cause of this postponement appears to have been a report from M. Nelidoff, the Russian Ambassador at Rome, that the visit might give rise to anti-Russian demonstrations on the part of the Socialists. The Ambassador was recalled in November, and was succeeded by Prince Urussoff, the Ambassador in Paris, who was stated to be less timid and more acceptable to the Italian people.

The relations of Russia with the United States were considerably strained by the presentation at St. Petersburg of the petition relative to the Kishineff outrages, which the Russian Government refused to receive, and especially by the shifty conduct of the Russian Embassy at Peking with regard to the policy of "the open door" in Manchuria. The friendly relations which had long prevailed between the two countries gave way to a tone of alienation which, though it was discreetly veiled in the official documents, was strongly marked in the Press.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The chief feature of political interest in the Near East during the whole of the year 1903 was the Macedonian insurrection. After lying dormant in the winter the insurrection broke out again in the early spring, even before the snows had melted. During the months of February and March various encounters took place between small bands of insurgents and the Turkish troops, the only results of which were the burning of villages by both sides and the massacre of their inhabitants. The Greek community at Salonika complained of "the reign of terror which has overwhelmed the Macedonian province," and declared that after waiting for centuries for their deliverance from the Ottoman yoke, the Greek inhabitants of Macedonia were now "scourged by the heavier oppression of brigand bands, aided by Bulgarian committees," who not only robbed their people, but did "not stop at murder, rape and arson." In the vilayet of Monastir the revolutionary committees were especially active; assassinations both of Turks and of Bulgarians were frequent, railway bridges were blown up with dynamite, and preparations for a rising were rapidly pushed forward, notwithstanding the pacific counsels of the Bulgarian Exarchate. A large Albanian meeting was held to protest against the Austro-Russian projects of reform; 3,000 Albanians made an attack on Mitrovitza which was repulsed by the Turkish garrison; the Russian Consul, M. Stcherbina, was shot by an Albanian soldier, and afterwards

died of his wound; and the Sultan's Albanian bodyguard at Constantinople was stated to have warmly applauded the action of their countrymen in Albania. The new Grand Vizier, Ferik Pasha, who had succeeded Said Pasha at the beginning of the year, addressed a sharp note to the Bulgarian Government with regard to the assistance given to the insurgents by the revolutionary committees in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarian frontier guards were consequently increased, but large numbers of insurgents continued to pass in and out of Bulgaria. On April 29 the Ottoman Bank at Salonika was destroyed by dynamite, and other dynamite explosions occurred in different parts of the town, many persons being killed and wounded in consequence. These explosions were caused by bombs thrown by Bulgarian conspirators disguised as women and monks; and the organs of the revolutionary committees openly proclaimed that their object was to compel Europe to intervene on behalf of the Christians in Macedonia. The insurrection, however, was not confined to the Christians; there was also a general rising of the Mahomedans. They were assisted by the Bashi-Bazouks; many hundreds of Christians were killed, and upwards of 150 villages in the vilayet of Monastir were burnt to the ground. In July terrible outrages were committed by Turkish officials on Bulgarians of both sexes in the Uskub vilayet. On August 19 the revolutionary committees, encouraged by the visit of the Russian fleet to the coast of Roumelia, started a rising in the vilayet of Adrianople. The insurgents cut the telegraph wires and burnt upwards of twenty Turkish and Greek villages. Large bodies of insurgents at the same time appeared in adjoining parts of Macedonia, where they captured several Turkish posts, including the town of Krushevo, and the Turkish forces in the province were consequently increased. There was heavy fighting, with severe losses on both sides, but no important success was achieved by either. On August 27 the express train from Vienna to Constantinople was blown up by dynamite, and some of the foreign passengers were killed. At Monastir the Russian Consul was murdered by a Turk. In Armenia, too, there was a rising promoted by 600 armed Hintchakists who arrived in the district of Sasun, but it was speedily put down by the troops.

While the insurrection was thus spreading over nearly the whole of European Turkey, the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee sent a circular to the representatives of the European Powers at Sofia stating that the systematic persecutions of the Administration and the acts of violence committed by the Mussulmans had driven the Christians in Macedonia and the vilayet of Adrianople to take up arms *en masse*, and that the only means of averting further bloodshed would be the intervention of the European Powers for the purpose (1) of placing the country under a Christian governor-general who had never belonged to the Ottoman Administration, appointed with the assent of the Powers, and independent of the Porte in the exercise of his functions;

and (2) of instituting an international permanent collective board of control vested with full penal powers. Meanwhile the revolutionists, under the command of Boris Sarafov and General Zontcheff, proceeded with their work. A Hungarian passenger steamer, the *Vaskapu*, was blown up with dynamite in September while proceeding from Varna to Constantinople, several Turkish villages were burnt, and some towns were captured, but afterwards re-occupied by the Turkish troops, whose great numerical superiority and better equipment enabled them gradually to gain the upper hand over their adversaries. Nazir Pasha, the Turkish general in command, imitating Lord Kitchener's tactics in the South African War, divided the insurrectionary sphere into sections, to be driven simultaneously from different directions, Albanian Bashi-Bazouks being substituted for block-houses and barbed wire. The whole country was devastated, and Christians of both sexes who failed to find refuge in the woods were put to the sword. The insurrection collapsed at the end of September, but the Turks still pursued their campaign of vengeance; a deliberate and systematic extermination of the peasantry appears to have been carried out under orders from Constantinople. Altogether upwards of a hundred villages were destroyed. Both in Macedonia and in the vilayet of Adrianople whole districts were laid waste, the harvest was either burnt or lay uncut, and the air was poisoned by the stench of putrid corpses. Yet the Sultan solemnly declared to the Greek Patriarch and the Exarch of Bulgaria, who had come to his palace to make representations to him as to the outrages committed on the Christians, that all his aspirations and his work were for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, without distinction of race or religion; he accepted "in principle" the reforms proposed by Bulgaria and the Powers, but no effectual steps were taken to carry them out.

The position of Bulgaria in face of the Macedonian insurrection was a most difficult one. Nearly one half of the population of Sofia, the capital, was Macedonian, being composed either of persons who had voluntarily emigrated during the past twenty-five years or of refugees who had recently been driven out of Macedonia. It was from this population that fresh bands were continually being formed; the proportion of native-born Bulgarians in them was insignificant. Six hundred out of the 2,000 officers of the Bulgarian Army were Macedonians; and the number of Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria was over 100,000. The situation was in some respects similar to that which existed in Greece before the outbreak of the war with Turkey in 1897; but the Bulgarian is far less excitable than the Greek, and he had before his eyes the disastrous result of the Greek campaign in that year, while there was no hope of Russia stepping in as the "divine figure from the North" on behalf of the Slavonic subjects of the Porte as she did in 1878. Russia had now come forward, officially at any

rate, as the declared opponent of the Macedonian revolutionists ; in February the heads of the revolutionary committees were arrested at her instigation, and the committees were dissolved, the Sobranje at the same time expressing confidence in the Government by a large majority. Though the action of the committees was thus officially condemned, the masses of the people, many of whom had relatives and friends in Macedonia, connived at the revolutionary agitation, and the committees continued to do secretly what they had hitherto done in public. At the end of March a Cabinet crisis was caused by the resignation of General Paprikoff, Minister for War, the other Ministers, who are members of the Zankoff or Philo-Russian party, having insisted on the appointment as Chief of the Staff of the notorious Colonel Dimitrieff, who had played a leading part in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander. General Paprikoff was succeeded by Colonel Savoff, who was from 1889 to 1894 a member of the Stambouloff Cabinet ; but Colonel Dimitrieff did not get the appointment claimed for him, the other officers being strongly opposed to his being placed in a position of authority which would have implied unconditional surrender to the dictation of Russia. The Ministry daily grew more unpopular in consequence of its Russian proclivities ; on May 18 it resigned and was succeeded by a Cabinet composed mainly of members of the Stambouloff party, whose policy is to oppose Russian dictation and to maintain friendly relations with Turkey. The new Premier was General Petroff, a former colleague of M. Stambouloff. Notwithstanding its desire to be on good terms with the Porte, however, the Ministry found it necessary to protest to the Powers in a circular note, dated July 1, against the conduct of Turkey in thwarting its efforts to appease the minds of the Macedonians. It pointed out that under the pretext of searching for arms the Turkish troops were committing shocking crimes and outrages and that large bodies of them were being concentrated on the Bulgarian frontier, thereby threatening the peace of Bulgaria itself. Other representations to the same effect were made to the Powers in September, and a partial mobilisation of the Bulgarian Army was effected to close the frontier against insurgent bands and to protect the country in case of invasion. At the same time fresh proposals for the pacification of Macedonia were made by Bulgaria to the Porte ; these were accepted as usual, but practically nothing was done. The Bulgarian Prime Minister, in an interview with the representative of a Paris journal, declared that if things were allowed to go on in Macedonia as hitherto Bulgaria would be placed between the alternatives of war and a revolution in her own country rather than accept " the horrible necessity of looking on while the Bulgarian race was being exterminated in European Turkey." The Porte, however, showed a more conciliatory spirit as the approach of winter diminished the activity of the insurgent bands ; a proposal made by Bulgaria for a mixed

commission to execute reforms was accepted, but as usual not carried out, and an arrangement for partial demobilisation both of the Turkish and Bulgarian forces was made in October which averted the danger of war. The insecurity of the situation, however, was shown by the discovery of a military conspiracy at Sofia with the object, it was stated, of provoking hostilities on the frontier, and 140 officers were removed from their posts. Fortunately for the Government it obtained a crushing victory over its opponents of the Zankoffist or Philo-Russian party at the general election which took place in November. This result was to a great extent due to the discovery that the late Zankoffist Ministry had come to an agreement with Russia for leasing to her the ports of Varna and Burgas, to be converted into Russian naval stations, and had promised to accept a Russian general as Minister for War. At the opening of the *Sobranie* in December the Prime Minister, General Petroff, said that the country's interests had been abandoned by the late Ministry "to the discretion of a foreign Power," that the Government was doing its utmost to avoid war, that the Macedonian refugees in the country numbered 150,000, thus introducing a disturbing element in the Principality, and that the Porte, "instead of endeavouring by straightforward measures to efface the effect of this state of affairs, had sought to render Bulgaria responsible for the revolution;" Bulgaria had, however, called out part of her reserves to prevent bands from passing her frontier, and she had "exercised an influence on the attitude of the Powers interested in the Macedonian question, which was now approaching a solution."

In Servia the feeling of hostility against the King and Queen, which had gradually become more intense among the people, and especially in the Army, culminated in a horrible tragedy. In April the King, finding that his attempts to secure the support of the Radicals, who represent the majority of the nation, had been unsuccessful, suspended the Liberal Constitution, which he had promulgated only two years before (see *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1901, p. 308), and revoked the Radical legislation of the past two years. The law introducing the ballot at elections, which protected the peasants against official pressure, and the law establishing the liberty of the Press, were both abolished. The Radicals were excluded from the Senate and Council of State, and elections for the *Skupstchina* were held under new conditions unfavourable to Radical candidates. Ten judges belonging to the Radical party were at the same time dismissed. These autocratic measures naturally increased the popular discontent with the Government, and the belief that the King would propose to the new *Skupstchina* the recognition of Queen Draga's brother as heir-apparent also created serious disaffection in the Army. On June 12 Europe was startled with the news that some of the officers had broken into the Royal palace at night and assassinated the King, the Queen, the Prime Minister,

the Minister for War and the Queen's brother ; that the capital wore a festive aspect "after the massacre," and that the general feeling among the people was "one of complete indifference." Colonel Naumovitch, who blew open the Royal apartments with a bomb and then perished, was described in the proclamation issued officially after the massacre as "dying on the field of honour for his fatherland," and the other conspirators who followed him as having rendered their country "a tremendous service." A new Cabinet was at once formed under M. Avakumovitch, who was Prime Minister from August, 1892, to April, 1893, and the post of Minister of Public Works was given to Colonel Mashin, the Queen's brother-in-law, who had been the leader of the conspiracy, while Colonel Mitchin, who had also taken a chief part in it, was appointed Commandant of the Belgrade District. It was at the same time unanimously decided at a conference of Senators and Deputies that the Constitution of 1888 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1888, p. 308) should be put into force, and that Prince Peter Karageorgievitch should be elected King. The election took place on June 15 ; a deputation from the Senate and the Skupstchina was sent to Geneva to welcome him, and congratulatory telegrams were sent him by the Tsar, the Prince of Montenegro and the Emperor of Austria, the latter expressing a hope that the new King would raise Serbia "from the profound discredit in the eyes of the civilised world into which it has been recently plunged by an iniquitous and accursed crime." This view, however, does not appear to have been shared by the Servian people. All the Servian papers expressed approval of the assassination of the King and Queen—the Radical organ *Ojek* stating that "the tragic end of the last Obrenovitch has not called forth a tear or a protest from one of his subjects" — and the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the head of the National Church in Serbia, officiated at a great thanksgiving service, during which he thanked the Army for what it had done and eulogised its behaviour.

On June 24 King Peter entered Belgrade amid the rejoicings of the people, but the only representatives of foreign nations who were present at his reception were those of Russia and Austria-Hungary. There was a general feeling in Europe that some steps should be taken to punish the regicides ; an official *communiqué* to this effect had been published in the Russian *Official Messenger*, the British Consul-General had been withdrawn, and there was also a sort of diplomatic boycott on the part of the other Powers, while the King of Roumania ordered that the names of the officers who had taken part in the conspiracy and bore Roumanian decorations should be struck off the rolls. But King Peter was helpless in face of the fact that he had accepted the Crown after the representatives of the nation in the Skupstchina had expressed by a unanimous vote their approval of the murder of the King and Queen and had thanked the con-

spirators for having carried it out. After taking the oath to the Constitution King Peter issued a proclamation to the people promising always to carefully respect and guard all constitutional guarantees of freedom and popular rights, adding that to the past he consigned the past, and that he left it "to history to judge each one according to his deeds." The *Official Journal* also published a decree bestowing an amnesty and perpetual indemnity for all acts of treason perpetrated up to the date of the decree. On June 30, the extreme Radicals having demanded the dissolution of the Skupstchina and a new general election, the Chamber was closed and the election was fixed for September 21. On August 15 four of the Ministers, including the Minister for War, resigned because they objected to the dictation of the officers who took a leading part in the regicide conspiracy, and were succeeded by men whose views were more in accordance with those of the military party. In the Army, too, great discontent was manifested at the influence exercised by the regicides over the Government; a large number of officers of the garrison at Nish were arrested for conspiracy against the assassins of the late King and Queen and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The commander of the Nish division was at the same time placed on the pension list and succeeded by General Diuknitch, the only general officer implicated in the murder. The assassins now held all the chief civil and military offices and the keys of the arsenal and the treasure chests, and King Peter was surrounded and ruled by them.

The general election resulted, as was expected, in a victory for the Radical party, but the extreme section of the party was so numerous that great difficulty was experienced in arranging a compromise with the moderate section, the latter consisting of eighty members, while there were sixty-seven of the former, fourteen Liberals and one Socialist. The Avakumovitch Cabinet now resigned and was succeeded by a Radical Ministry, under General Gruitch, who was Prime Minister in 1893. The military *camarilla*, however, was still all-powerful at Court, and Colonel Mashin, the late Minister of Public Works, was appointed Commandant of the Belgrade Division. As a further protest against the favour thus shown to the regicides the Powers removed all their representatives from the capital at the end of the year in order that they should not be present at the New Year's greetings to King Peter.

The Servians were too much occupied with their internal affairs to pay much attention to the Macedonian insurrection, but the general feeling among Servian politicians was rather adverse to the proposals in the direction of administrative autonomy for the Macedonians which were made by the Powers, as it was feared that they would result in securing to the Bulgarians in the province a predominance over the Servians. The contingency of a war with Turkey, in which Bulgaria would be joined by Servia, was regarded with more favour, and

the immigration of Macedonian insurgents into Servia from Bulgaria was encouraged in view of such a contingency.

In Greece, on the other hand, the attitude of the Government with regard to the insurrection was strongly antagonistic. M. Ralli, the Premier, described the insurgents as "hordes of wolves making incursions into Macedonia," and declared that to destroy them Greece would place herself not only by the side of Turkey but of any one else, if by so doing Greece would be enabled to defend the Greek population against the attacks of the Bulgarians, for which purpose it was necessary "to strengthen by all possible means the Turkish authorities," with whom Greece happened "to have a common enemy." He also expressed astonishment to the representatives of the Powers at Athens at their "hindering the Turks from taking energetic measures for the prompt destruction of brigands," but shortly after he had to request them to insist on the punishment of the Governor of Krushevo for excesses committed upon the Greek population by the Turkish troops in that district. His tenure of office, however, was brief. He had only become Premier in July in consequence of the fall of the Theotokis Cabinet, which had succeeded that of M. Delyannis early in the year, and in December he had to resign, M. Theotokis having again been called upon to form a Ministry. The financial situation was daily growing worse, and the question of Army reform was urgent. Whether, however, M. Theotokis would be more successful in dealing with these matters than M. Ralli had been was doubtful, especially as violent obstruction was threatened by the Delyannist party.

Roumania was during the year 1903 in the happy position of a country which has no history. Her policy with regard to the Macedonian insurrection was in accord with that of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The only noteworthy (and a very discreditable) incident in her home politics was an extensive emigration of Jews to America in consequence of their being denied the rights of Roumanian subjects (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 332).

Considerable excitement was caused in January by the British note to the Porte pointing out that four Russian torpedo destroyers which the Sultan had allowed to pass the Dardanelles were warships, though unarmed and under the commercial flag, and that their passage was therefore a violation of the Treaties of Paris, London and Berlin, and would accordingly be noted as a precedent which Great Britain might invoke for her own benefit should occasion arise. None of the other Powers, however, took any steps in the matter, and the note was left unanswered by the Porte.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

THE parliamentary world in Belgium in 1903 was chiefly occupied by a law relating to compensation for damages resulting from accidents to workmen. The new Minister of Industry, M. Francotte, in bringing in his Bill at the end of January, expressed regret that he could not then extend the benefit of the proposed measure to agricultural labourers, stating, as his reason, that the question had been long discussed in industrial, but not in agricultural centres. The Government, he said, held that it was in the interests of the required legislation that the discussion of it should not be complicated by the introduction of questions as yet inadequately examined. The proposed measure provided for all risks, except illness. The indemnity allowed to victims was only partial, and did not correspond to the full wages: first, because it could almost always be maintained that the employer was not wholly responsible for the accident, but in part the workman also; and, secondly, because the legislature ought to take into account the new charge imposed by the measure on the trade, and that at a time of crisis. The Minister, finally, contended that his measure preserved the principle of liberty of insurance, and not that of obligatory insurance; he believed that the payment of the indemnity to the victim of an accident might be obtained without compulsion; and, in any case, in a free country like Belgium, it was well, before resorting to that expedient, to try the experiment of doing without it. A special fund would be created to meet the situation arising in the event of the insolvency of the employer.

The debate on this measure which began in the Chamber of Representatives on January 28 lasted many months, and no less than 200 amendments were moved by the Right itself, as well as by the Liberal and Socialist parties. The Socialist and most of the Liberal Deputies pronounced strongly in favour of the principle of compulsory insurance, and criticised the exclusion of agricultural labourers from the benefits of the Bill. A certain number of Catholic Deputies also pronounced in favour of compulsory insurance. The adoption of that principle was the more or less explicitly avowed object of the motion made by an influential Member of the Right, who demanded that the debate should be suspended, and that the Bill with all the, often contradictory, amendments proposed to it should be relegated to a special Commission, composed of Members of the Central Section, who had studied the original draft, to whom should be added two Members of the Right and two of the

Left. The Government refused to yield to this motion, though supported by M. Beernaert, the former Catholic Prime Minister. The situation became so complicated that the head of the Cabinet, M. de Smedt-de Naeyer, felt constrained to ask that the Assembly should postpone for some days putting the question to the vote. This was agreed to, but less time was allowed for delay than he had asked for, many Members of the Right joining the Liberal and Socialist Left. Finally, in face of the difficulty in which he had placed the Government, the author of the proposal above named moved to refer the Bill to the Central Section as originally constituted—that is, consisting of the presidents and secretaries of the five sections into which the Chamber is divided for the initial examination of Bills. This was agreed to. The Central Section, after an examination of all the amendments, extended slightly the area to be benefited by the measure, but entirely repudiated compulsory insurance, and pronounced in favour of a special law to deal with the accidents incident to agricultural labour. None the less, the debate continued in the Chamber, and the Cabinet was nearly defeated by an amendment which implied the principle of compulsory insurance, and was only rejected by 63 against 63, with 4 abstaining. Ultimately, after nearly six months' debate, the Bill was passed on its second reading by 71 out of 128 votes; 57 abstained, of whom a certain number belonged to the Right. There was less debate in the Senate, and the Bill was passed at the end of December by 65 votes, 17 abstaining.

The most remarkable feature of the debates was that they revealed germs of dissension in the hitherto compact body of the majority and the existence of a new group, whose spirit of independence could not but cause the Government a certain anxiety.

The discussion of the Bill concerning accidents to workmen was unexpectedly interrupted in February by a Bill for the suppression of the duties on coffee and for the augmentation of those on alcohol by 50 per cent. The Minister of Finance asked the Chamber to vote these measures immediately, in order to avert speculation. The Left protested vehemently against this haste, and resorted to dilatory motions, which were defeated by large majorities. The Minister of Finance thereon proposed to prolong the sitting beyond the usual hour. To this the Socialists replied by bringing in a mass of amendments designed to occupy time, and the leader of the Extreme Left, M. Janson, while he condemned obstruction in principle, declared that in the present case, in view of the attitude of the Government and of the majority, obstruction became the sole guarantee of the rights of the minority. After two all-night sittings and a good deal of excitement the Bill was finally passed by 83 to 24. It was immediately brought before the Senate, and after two days' debate was passed by 55 to 34, Right against Left. There was only one abstention, rendered all the more interesting by the fact that it was M. Lantsheere who abstained, former Catholic

Minister of Justice, who declared that he would not vote against the Bill, because he did not wish to deprive the Government of resources necessary to meet the undeniable deficit, long anticipated and announced. This declaration, emanating from so eminent a Member of the majority, created a certain sensation on the Government benches, for Ministers had steadfastly affirmed that the sole end of the Bill was the support of the anti-alcohol campaign.

During the session the Government introduced a Bill of small apparent moment, but capable of acquiring considerable political importance, for the increase of the number of members of Provincial Councils. The Government proposed to increase the number of provincial councillors having regard to the population as shown by the general census of December 31, 1900. But, to prevent the unlimited increase of the number of councillors, and, on the other hand, to maintain the existing situation—that is, to avow the eventual reduction, in certain cantons, of the actual number of councillors—the Government proposed to raise the former divisor, based on the number of the population which gave a right to one councillor, in seven provinces out of nine. The Cabinet defended itself energetically against the accusation that it had, by this measure, yielded to party interests; while the Left drew attention to the fact that while the measure in question maintained the rights acquired by little cantons, it refused to allow to the larger the representation which was their due. This especially concerned the province of Brabant, where, the Opposition affirmed, the Government feared to allow the Liberal majority of the Brussels division a large preponderance over the rural divisions of that province, where the general opinion was Catholic. The leader of the Right, M. Woeste, who had posed as a convinced defender of the Bill, declared plainly that it was impossible to take account only of the basis of population, and that it was necessary to maintain in Provincial Councils a certain equality between urban and industrial interests on the one hand and rural interests on the other. The great political interest which attached to this question was due to the fact that, apart from their administrative functions, the Provincial Councils elect directly a certain number of Senators. In spite of the heated opposition of the Left this Bill was passed in the Chamber by 66 to 45, and by 38 to 35 in the Senate.

An interesting measure of electoral reform was introduced by M. Daens, the leader of the Christian Democratic party. It proposed to unify the law as to elections for the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, the Provincial and the Communal Councils, in respect of the minimum age of electors (to be fixed at twenty-five), and the minimum term of residence (to be fixed at one year). It would also have suppressed the fourth vote possessed by certain communal electors, but, on the other hand, extended the system of proportional representation to communal elections. The Chamber voted in favour of the

consideration of this Bill, but the sections rejected the proposal, and the Minister of the Interior and Public Education, M. de Trooz, pronounced against the Bill, on grounds not of principle but of opportuneness.

Communal elections took place in October throughout the Kingdom. The question arose with regard to them whether it would not be advantageous for the Liberal party to ally itself with the Socialists, with the object of contending more efficaciously with the Clerical party. This alliance took place in certain towns; but the great majority of the Liberal party did not wish for it, considering that the Liberals have only one thing in common with the Socialists, *i.e.*, anti-Clericalism; and that it would be impossible to come to any agreement on a single other political question. As to the elections themselves, they took place, for the most part, in circumstances of absolute calm, almost of general indifference. The Socialists had least reason to congratulate themselves on the result, the elections plainly showing a reaction against their party. With regard to the Liberals, their success was not sufficiently marked to show that the electoral body wished to disavow the actual policy of the Government; and the Catholics, on their side, failed in their endeavour to gain control of the communal administration in most of the great towns.

But the different points which we have dwelt upon evoked but little interest in the public mind generally. It was quite otherwise with a question which touches Belgium nearly, that of the Congo Free State. The attacks on this State made, not only by the English Press, but by the British Parliament, raised strong feeling in the country, and the opinion was audibly expressed that England wished to appropriate the fruits of Belgium's toil, which had converted a vast territory into a rich and prosperous domain. No one denied that there had been in the Congo State, as in all colonies, isolated acts of cruelty; but it was maintained that the guilty had been punished with all the rigour of the law. Numerous protests were made in many places against the English accusations. In the Chamber the Socialist leader, M. Vandervelde, a declared enemy of all colonial expansion on the part of Belgium, questioned the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the measures proposed by certain signatories of the Conference of Berlin with regard to the Congo Free State. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Favereau, undertook to prove that the Free State had scrupulously fulfilled the engagements assumed in consequence of the Conference at Berlin in 1885. The Catholic leader, M. Woeste, took up the same position, and proposed the following motion: "The Chamber, confiding, in agreement with the Government, in the normal and progressive development of the Congo Free State, under the ægis of the King, passes to the order of the day." With the exception of the Socialist party, whose attitude was generally condemned, all parties concurred in supporting the

work of the King of the Belgians in Africa. M. Janson, in the name of the advanced Liberal party, and M. Hymans, the leader of the moderate Liberals, declared that, notwithstanding the profound disagreement which separated the Liberal and Catholic parties, there was here a matter of national interest in face of which the parties might disarm without loss of principle. Finally M. Woeste's order of the day was voted by 91 to 35 with 7 abstentions.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The first months of the year were marked by some important strikes, which rapidly assumed a plainly political character. Towards the end of January, the employes of different transport companies in Amsterdam having gone out on strike on a question of wages, the companies engaged non-unionist workmen. All the other workmen, thereupon, abandoned their work in the hope of forcing the employers to employ trade unionists only; and the workmen belonging to railway companies struck in their support, without any grievance of their own. This resulted in a complete stoppage of the train service of Amsterdam. During two days the carriage of letters and newspapers had to be supplied by an improvised service of automobiles; and the transport of passengers was seriously disorganised during the same period. A general strike of railway men was about to be decided on, when the leaders of the movement were informed that the two railway companies concerned promised to afford no facilities to the carriage of the goods of the transport companies whose employes were on strike. Thereon, the demands of the original strikers were conceded, and work was everywhere resumed without a moment's disturbance of the peace.

But the Government, impressed by the consequences of this strike in the suppression of the means of transport between Amsterdam and the rest of the country, and moved by the railway companies' inevitable concessions to the demands of the strikers, decided to press at once on the States General a Bill prohibiting strikes among railway employes, regarded as engaged in a service of public and general importance. The association of railway men responded immediately to this resolution by announcing that they would organise a general strike among all the workmen of the country as soon as the Bill was brought in in the Chamber, in order to prevent its passing. The unions held that the Bill constituted an injury to the right of strike, and their members, to the number of 90,000, formed a Committee of Defence responsible for the organisation of a powerful agitation in favour of the maintenance of the liberty of labour. This Committee of Defence was composed of two representatives of railway employes, two of the Federation of Workmen engaged in water transport, one of

the Bureau of National Labour, one of the independent Socialist party and, lastly, one of the Democratic Socialist party. Of this committee three delegates out of seven were incontestably political.

In view of this threat of universal strike, the Government, caught unawares by the former strike, began to take measures for the efficacious maintenance of order, and a Royal decree summoned to arms the Infantry and Engineers of the Reserves of 1900 and 1901. Next, on February 25, the Premier, Dr. Kuyper, announced his projected legislation, which comprised three principal points: modifications of the penal code, which assigned severer penalties to those who attacked the freedom of labour, and punished as misdemeanours strikes by persons in the public service; an increase of the War Budget, in order to enable a military railway brigade to be organised on a firm basis to insure the service on the great lines in case of a strike among railway men; and, lastly, the establishment of a commission of inquiry, to examine the demands and position of the employés on railways. In bringing in the first Bill, Dr. Kuyper declared that it was not a reactionary measure, but that the Government could not tolerate the fact that the authority of the State was despised, nor allow unwarrantable attacks on the public.

As might have been expected, this Bill was received with unqualified approbation by the Ministerial Press, and with violent hostility by the Socialist organs. The Liberal Press made some reservations as to the new provisions made by the Government in criminal jurisprudence, which by treating the servants of private railway companies as public officials denied them the right of strike. The Defence Committee protested vehemently against the modification of the penal code, and many meetings of protest were organised in most of the large towns; these meetings were, nevertheless, held in complete quiet, and there was never any need of military intervention.

Meanwhile the Second Chamber decided, by 50 against 35, that the bureaux of the Chamber should examine these measures. Having been examined they were approved by most of the Members with regard to the creation of a military brigade for railways, and the organisation of a commission to inquire into the grievances of the railway employés. More opposition arose with regard to the Bill dealing with penalties to be imposed in case of a strike; some Members appealed to the conciliatory spirit in the Government, others demanded the establishment of the proposed commission before any modification of the penal code was made.

On March 30 the Prime Minister declined to accept any adjournment, and declared the resolve of the Government to maintain the principle and aim of the Anti-Strike Bill; but consented to modify the penalties and to abandon the forfeiture of political rights which it decreed against those who were condemned for strike offences. The Defence Committee replied

to the Ministerial declaration by the proclamation of a general strike, including all branches of transport by sea and land, and inviting workmen in all other trades to make common cause with the workmen on strike. This momentous decision was made partly to protest against the Bill under discussion in the Second Chamber, and partly with the hope of obtaining an increase of wages for railway employes; recognising the fact that, once the Bill had passed, these employes could not have recourse to extreme measures to compel the companies to yield to their demands.

The Government, however, were well prepared; they took energetic measures, and all the stations and railway lines were put under military defence. The railway companies, on their side, showed great energy, gave some hours to their employes to justify their absence, but after this delay treated the strikers as having given up their work. The threat of a general strike was a vain one, first because the railway companies had had the time to collect a number of non-strikers sufficient to insure to passengers a limited train service; and secondly because the unions of Christian workmen and various trade corporations decided, some weeks before, not to join in a general strike, if that were declared. In spite of all the efforts of the leaders, the strike movement lacked unity, and, public opinion being almost unanimously opposed to it, was doomed to failure.

After some debates of a rather more tumultuous nature than is usual in the Dutch Chamber, the three Bills were passed, on April 9, by the Second Chamber. The one which established an inquiry into the conditions of the railway men was passed unanimously, and that which created a military brigade for railways was passed unanimously, except for six Socialist votes. The Bill modifying the penal code was passed, as to its leading clause, by 78 to 15, and as a whole by 81 to 14. Thereupon the Defence Committee decreed the immediate cessation of the strike, on the ground that, the First Chamber being about to pass the Bill into law, the workmen on strike and the members of the Defence Committee would come under the new penal provisions.

On April 11 the First Chamber passed the Government Bills unanimously, and the same evening the Queen sanctioned the new laws, which, therefore, came immediately into force. In spite of the large numbers on strike, order was never seriously disturbed, and apart from a small number of individuals slightly hurt in encounters with the police, the only lamentable occurrence was the death of two men, killed by the soldiers when they persisted, in spite of prohibitions, in walking over the railway lines. The decision which brought the strike to an abrupt conclusion was not left altogether unchallenged, and some bodies of workmen disavowed the line taken by the Defence Committee and decided to continue the strike; but quiet was soon re-established, and after April 22 the Minister of War was

authorised, by a Royal decree, to disband the Militia which had been called out in the time of strike.

The epilogue to this period of agitation was contributed by the Socialist Congress, which took place at Whitsuntide, and exhibited some difference of opinion as to whether the Defence Committee had been right in promoting the general strike movement in opposition to the anti-strike law. In the end, however, a motion was passed with only one dissident, which excused rather than approved the general strike; it declared, in effect, that in default of universal suffrage, labour syndicates have no other means of defending their menaced rights; it approved the action of the committee in uniting with them and in having proved that workmen might rely on the Socialist party in critical circumstances; and, finally, pledged the party to redouble its efforts for the acquisition of universal suffrage.

Apart from these events nothing remarkable occurred. The Speech from the Throne in 1901 had insisted on the necessity of supplying mounted artillery with quick-firing guns; the *matériel* actually in use, dating from 1878, was not equal to existing demands. The Minister of War now, therefore, brought in a Bill aiming at this reform. The choice of the Minister fell on the hydraulic 75-millimetre Krupp gun; the expenditure necessary for the acquisition of 204 guns and for the changes in the accessory *matériel* was estimated at 7,000,000 florins, and the provision would be completed by December 31, 1906.

On September 15 the opening of the States General took place. In allusion to the events of April, the Speech from the Throne used the expression "criminal movement," and thereby raised lively criticism on the part of M. Troelstra, the Socialist leader. But Dr. Kuyper as energetically maintained that the Government accepted full responsibility for this expression in regard to a movement for the promotion of a general strike, and finally, in spite of Socialist opposition, the Chamber adopted the Address in reply to the Royal Speech.

The situation in the Colonies was not yet satisfactory, although it seemed to improve, especially in Atchin, where the Sultan submitted at the beginning of the year. His example was followed some months later by two other Atchinese Chiefs, who had been for many years the mainstay of the insurrection. There was, nevertheless, some further fighting, and a Dutch troop which fell into the hands of an ambush lost a captain and three men killed and twenty-three wounded. Economic questions of an anxious character were raised in Java, where there was great distress among the natives, which required the assistance of the Government.

The Budget for 1904 estimated revenue at 164,000,000 florins and expenditure at 176,000,000. The deficit was reduced by nearly 6,000,000 florins, and the Minister of Finance hoped to cover it by means of considerable profits which would result from the approaching revision of the Customs tariffs.

The expense of the military precautions occasioned by the April strikes amounted to 1,100,000 florins.

III. SWITZERLAND.

The people of Switzerland were called upon in the year under review to decide several questions of considerable importance. At the beginning of the year, lively debates arose with regard to a new Customs tariff, proposed in October, 1902, by the Federal Chambers, which was to be the basis of future commercial treaties. This tariff, of a distinctly protectionist character, was strongly attacked in the industrial centres, and not less vehemently defended by agriculturists. A demand for a referendum immediately received signatures to the exceptional number of 110,000. Popular voting took place on March 15, and was also remarkable for the large number of voters, a number greater than on any previous occasion. The result of this vote was plainly in favour of the supporters of the tariff, who obtained about 327,000 votes, while the opponents of the measure numbered 223,000—an important minority, however, which would certainly demand the consideration of those who would have to negotiate new treaties of commerce.

On October 25 a triple popular vote took place. The first dealt with the new article, 72, of the Federal Constitution, constructed in accordance with a popular demand, presented to the Federal Chambers in the autumn of 1902. This article modified the method of election to the National Council thus: instead of one Deputy to 20,000 of the Swiss and foreign population, there should only be one Deputy to 20,000 of the Swiss population. This new article, which was opposed by the Federal Chambers, was rejected by a majority of nearly 200,000.

The second point submitted to popular vote concerned a proposal, made by the Federal Assembly, to add to the Federal penal code an article allowing newspapers to be punished for stirring up insubordination in the Army, or for inciting citizens, under obligation to military service, to commit military crimes or misdemeanours. This measure, which immediately received popularly the name of "law of gag," and was opposed by men of all kinds of political opinions as a blow aimed at the liberty of the Press, was also rejected by a majority of 150,000; and it is worthy of note that it was not voted by a majority in any single canton. This vote, it was said by the President of the National Council at the opening of the Federal Chambers, did not in the least prove that the Swiss nation approved of insubordination in the Army, but that it did not intend to allow any violation of the right of discussion.

Finally, the third proposition submitted to public vote, which had as its object the regulation of the sale of alcoholic

liquors with a view to arresting the increase of alcoholism, was also rejected by a majority of about 69,000.

The Federal Council laid before the Federal Chambers a resolution for the acquisition of seventy-two batteries of artillery, each battery composed of four pieces of seventy-five millimetres, to be supplied by the Krupp works, at a total estimated cost of 21,700,000 francs. After a debate, lasting not less than three days, the required credit was voted by 97 to 22. The necessity for the new equipment of the artillery was not disputed by any one, but the minority, composed of the Catholic Right and the Socialists, demanded a referendum on the question. The majority refused to submit a measure of this kind to the risks of a popular vote, and threw out the proposal of the minority by 96 against 58. The minority demanded, further, the reduction of the number of guns from 288 to 224, but was again defeated.

Public opinion was somewhat disturbed by the commencement of the construction on the German side of the frontier of what were thought to be fortifications, from the guns of which the town and bridges of Bâle would be commanded. In reply, however, to a communication from the Federal Council, the German Government declared that the works which had attracted the attention of the Swiss Staff only belonged to the construction of strategic roads. This declaration was regarded as sufficient to remove apprehension.

The question of religious communities, which had arisen the year before, continued to occupy people's minds. By a decree of June 5, the Federal Council gave notice to several religious orders that they must find shelter elsewhere, allowing them as in the preceding year a delay amounting in some cases to three months. M. de Curtius, the Conservative leader, acting for his party, presented a report to the Chambers on this proceeding, setting forth that the decree of June 5 was based on a misinterpretation of the powers possessed by the Federal Council under the Constitution, and involved a violation of the right of asylum traditional in Switzerland.

The Federal Councillor, M. Brunner, in reply, pointed out the fact that the resolution of the year before against certain communities had not been carried out till after the expiration of some months, during which those concerned might have had recourse to the Federal Assembly, if they had considered the measures taken in their regard as contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. Instead, they had merely, when they judged necessary, demanded a prolongation of the delay, or pleaded the modifications which might be made in the character of their communities. And it was only, he said, after an inquiry that the Council had passed the resolution of June 5, with a view to insuring the execution of the law in cases where it was applicable.

IV. SPAIN.

In the closing weeks of 1902 the name of Señor Sagasta, the Nestor of the Liberal party, was still a watchword, and his long years of service secured to him a prestige which was lacking in most of those who aspired to replace him. This appeared with cruel clearness when he died (Jan. 5). The day after his imposing funeral the Liberal leader in the Senate, the Marquis de Vega de Armijo, agreed with Señor Montero Rios to summon a meeting of the former Ministers and notables of the party. This meeting only made apparent the difficulties of the situation. Señor Montero Rios was asked to draw up a programme, whose clauses should be discussed at a general meeting, which was held at Madrid (Jan. 24), but to which, in spite of the efforts of his former friends, Señor Canalejas, who with the Left Wing of the Liberals had apparently been moving towards Señor Salmeron, refused to summon his followers. The Liberal gathering therefore consisted chiefly of the Fusionist Liberals who followed Señor Montero Rios and of the Clericals led by Señor Moret. The programme adopted at this meeting was made up principally of the following items: Liberty of association, even for religious bodies; incompatibility of the mandate of Deputy with any political office; help and support from the State to the proletariat; independence of the judiciary; neutrality of Spain. As to the choice of a leader, the most important question of the moment, no one ventured to deal with it in face of the rivalries present. A ruling Council, composed of Señores Montero Rios, Moret, Vega de Armijo, Salvador and Romanones, was invested with authority.

The Republicans were not much more united. On the very day of the death of Señor Sagasta, at a meeting at Castellon de la Plana, they had hailed Señor Salmeron as leader and resolved to concentrate their forces. But that was not so easy. The youth of the country tended rather towards Socialism in the South and towards Federalism in the manufacturing regions of the North. Further, the Catalanists were to a large extent reactionary or Carlist in the country and Socialist in the urban centres.

The Conservative party retained power, but was not, on that account, more homogeneous. To the more or less open antagonism between Señor Silvela and Señor Villaverde was added the dividing influence of the former Liberal, Señor Maura, who aspired to the leadership. In January a kind of altercation took place in the Palace between the Ministers of the Interior, Maura, and of Finance, Villaverde, because the latter, under pretext of claiming from the Liberal municipalities some accounts which were late, had imposed fines on them or dismissed their treasurers without consulting his colleagues. Señor Silvela managed to settle the quarrel by representing the

supreme necessity of maintaining public order, which was once more threatened by strikes. In Catalonia, at Reus, an attempt was made to organise a general strike; at Vigo and also at Salamanca a struggle broke out between the populace and the *guardia civil*. In the South there was great distress among the agricultural labourers. The President of the Council declared that purely economic struggles between employers and employed were considered lawful, but that strikes caused by revolutionary agitators would be suppressed by every means. At the same time the Minister of the Interior, Maura, published a circular on the subject of the elections, enjoining the Governors of Provinces to nominate, on the request of any candidate, delegates who should be given full powers to help the Presidents of electoral districts, to control operations and superintend municipal functionaries. They had a right to requisition the *guardia civil*, and to order them to enter the voting halls. In fact this circular deprived the municipal authorities of the sole prerogative left to them in regard to elections. The Opposition appealed from this circular to the requisite tribunal—peculiar to Spain—the *junta del censo*, consisting of former Vice-Presidents of the Chamber. The Government first refused to recognise the power of this body; the *junta* demanded the withdrawal of the circular. Señor Silvela replied that he would explain himself before the Cortès. The *junta* therefore invited him to assemble the existing Cortès. The Minister explained that he was speaking of the Assembly which it was proposed to elect, and as always in this connection power remained with the authority. The elections to the provincial assemblies which took place on March 9 gave a foretaste of the manner in which the Government understood electoral freedom. Even in Madrid all the subordinate employés of the city were shut up before the voting. At Barcelona some brawls led to a kind of university rising, the students coming out into the streets; the classes were suspended *sine die*, and the university temporarily closed. Yet, in spite of all its precautions, the Government was defeated in most of the large towns.

The *camarilla* began to play its traditional part in Spain. The demands of the military party found in Alfonso XIII. a firmer supporter than might have been expected from his years. Thus on March 26 the Council of Ministers under the presidency of the King decided that the War Budget should reach 153,000,000 pesetas, and that the strength of the army should be raised to 100,000 men. Thereupon Señor Villaverde tendered his resignation. Señor Silvela refused to accept it, and proposed to solve the difficulty by retiring himself. For the moment a Ministerial crisis was averted, but the situation in the country was gloomy and disquieting. Serious troubles broke out at Salamanca; the university of that town was entered by the *guardia civil* and its rector was wounded (April 12). Analogous disturbances took place at Madrid and Barcelona.

From Cordova and Granada came news that the peasants of the *huerias* were dying of hunger while cultivating the richest lands of Spain. They thought to get out of their misery by forcing all the trade-unions to order a general strike. Panic seized the authorities, and on the 17th a state of siege was proclaimed at Cordova. Order was established in a few days, and the Government, with a view to relieving the worst distress, decided to make some railways in the South.

In this heated atmosphere the general elections of April 26 took place. The parties had taken the most minute precautions, yet at Salamanca and Granada men came to blows in the voting halls, and the ballot boxes were broken. At Madrid the Republicans carried all the seats they could hope for, two out of eight being reserved by law to the minorities. Their candidates received between 27,000 and 29,000 votes, the Monarchists half as many. All the leading Members of the Republican party, Salmeron, Morayta, Azcarate, Blasco Ibanez, Sol Ortega, Soriano, Rodriganez, Melquiades, Ulvary and others, thirty-four in all, were elected by the large towns.

On the following day a Ministerial crisis declared itself. Señor Maura first resigned, and the President of the Council, alleging the solidarity of the Government, retired in his turn; but the King refused to change the Ministry before the senatorial elections. These elections, in which the provincial assemblies, the academies, the universities, and the most important citizens took part, were held on May 10. They gave 130 seats to the Conservatives, 40 to the Liberals, and only 2 to the Republicans. On the eve of the session, when it was necessary to draw up the programme which was to be read to the Chambers, the disagreement was reopened between the Minister of Finance, who favoured economy, and the Naval Minister, Sanchez Toca, who asked for a complete reorganisation of the fleet. The former, Señor Villaverde, retired, but promised his loyal support to the Government. The Cortès were solemnly opened on May 18. The Speech from the Throne exhorted the Spanish Parliament to pass the Bills for reform of the Council of State, the keeping of Sunday, repression of vagabondage, and reform of municipal administration. This last measure, the work of Señor Maura, raised much feeling. In it it was proposed that a quarter of the municipal councils should be composed of *ex-officio* members, recruited from among the representatives of local interests and the presidents of local trading companies.

In the debate on the Address, in answer to the Speech from the Throne, the Opposition, particularly Salmeron and Canalejas, vigorously attacked the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice on the subject of cruelties at Barcelona. Señor Moret severely blamed the Government for not having had a visit from the King of England when that Monarch visited Portugal, or from M. Loubet at the time of his journey to

Algiers. On the other hand, the Liberals blamed the Royal diplomacy for seeking too servilely the alliance of France. In the end, however, the Address was passed in the Chamber by 183 to 81 votes. It was with natural astonishment that the public learned on the next day that the Ministry had resigned, that the session was suspended, and that Señor Villaverde was charged to form a new Conservative Ministry. The new Cabinet was made up as follows: President, Villaverde; Foreign Affairs, Count de San Bernardo; Justice, F. de los Santos Guzman; War, Lieutenant-General V. de Martitegui; Navy, the lawyer Cobian; Finance, G. Resada; Interior, G. Alix; Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Bugallal; Agriculture, Public Works, Industry, Commerce and Labour, Gasset. This Ministry had no vitality; its members were very little known; its programme was that which Señor Villaverde had already presented to the Queen Regent in 1901, its principal features being the purifying of finance and effacement in foreign policy. The King held back, so as to submit to it for as short a time as possible, and Señor Silvela kept the control of the Conservative party while handing over to another the responsibility. The first appearances of the new Cabinet, however, were successful. A general strike planned in the industrial districts of the North failed ignominiously before the conviction that it would be energetically suppressed. But the struggles between employers and employed were not appeased. They smouldered on through the summer, but a movement of distrust of the Anarchists and Revolutionaries grew at the same time at the heart of the workmen's associations, particularly in Catalonia. The Minister of Religions was occupied in pursuing negotiations with the Pope on the subject of the Concordat. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was arranging with M. Cambon the conclusion of an arbitration treaty, and with Portugal the plan for a visit by the young King of Spain to Dom Carlos. A rumour was current that the Republicans had prepared a military *pronunciamiento*, which was discovered by means of intercepted letters, but the chiefs of that party protested that they had no intention of using violent means, but rather peaceful propagation of their ideas, and threw upon the Carlists and the Clericals the blame for the plot. The affair of Bilbao, which produced bloodshed in that town at the beginning of October, seemed to confirm their statement. The inquiry opened by the authorities proved that the students enrolled by the Catholic societies had been the first to attack with stones and pistols the Socialist workmen, who had revenged themselves by sacking the houses from which the shots had been fired.

The autumn session was opened on October 21. Señor Romero Robledo was elected President by 186 votes; the Liberals, Carlists and Republicans abstaining from voting. They contented themselves at first with marking time, while Conservatives disputed with unusual bitterness. On the 24th Señor Silvela made

a great speech, in which he tried to explain the Ministerial crisis of July. Assuming a melancholy pessimism he described the gulf fixed between the national Conservative party, desirous of keeping Spain on the level of the great Powers, and the mass of the people, who thought of nothing but enriching themselves and living in peace, even at the cost of glory. This outburst made everybody suppose that the Ministers were threatened. They, for their part, felt that they must show some energy; the Republican *fêtes* at Barcelona, on the occasion of the laying of the first stone of the People's House, gave them an opportunity. The organisers of these *fêtes* had invited Deputies from Belgium, France and Italy to take part in them. The authorities of Barcelona requested them to avoid public speaking, and the Socialist Belgian Deputy, M. Furnémont, was taken back to the frontier. The Ministry, when violently attacked by the Republicans on this matter, was feebly defended by its friends. Its days were numbered, and the November sittings were taken up with continual skirmishes; while the Conservatives were breaking up, the Liberals were drawing together. After several meetings of the party Señor Montero Rio was chosen chief, and the name of Democratic party, proposed by Señor Canalejas, was adopted (Nov. 24).

A few days later Señor Villaverde, attacked on all sides, betrayed by the leader of the Conservative party, out of favour with the young King, who blamed him for opposing the reconstitution of the Army and Navy, decided to retire. Having learned that Señor Romero Robledo, the President of the Chamber, had altered the text of a Bill without informing him, he tendered his resignation (Dec. 3). The next day the King proposed to him, according to custom, to form a new Cabinet. He refused. Señor Silvela therefore suggested to the young Sovereign his other lieutenant, Señor Maura, who made up his Ministry in one day. It was composed of better known people than the preceding one. President, Maura; War, General Linarès; Mercy and Justice, Sanchez Toca; Finance, Osma; Interior, Sanchez Guerra; Public Instruction, Dominguez Pascual; Navy, Ferrandiz; Foreign Affairs, Rodriguez San Pedro; Commerce, Industry and Public Works, Allende Salazar. Señor San Luis was made Prefect of Madrid, and Don Thomas Castellano Governor of the Bank of Spain. The new Ministers appeared immediately before the Cortès, and easily obtained from them, if not the vote of confidence for which they did not consider it prudent to ask, at least the courteous welcome which the Deputies elected thanks to the energetic action of Señor Maura could hardly refuse them. But their difficulties were only put off. The Chamber despatched the Budget hastily, while the young King accomplished, between December 9 and 13, his long-planned journey to Portugal. It was thus with a feeling of instability that ended a year which had been more fruitful in Ministerial and social crises than in useful work or happy events.

V. PORTUGAL.

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Cortès was marked by a robust optimism. It announced that the journey of the King to Europe had produced remarkable results, that the Chinese had granted the concession for the railway connecting Macao with the commercial centres of the Celestial Empire, that the financial situation was so much improved that there would be no difficulty in the way of a better organisation of the Army.

A few days later a serious riot at Fundao brought the peasants, armed with scythes, into collision with the police, armed with muskets. A volley dispersed the rioters, and order was restored by force. The opposition was also serious to the decree of forced liquidation of the rural and mortgage Bank of Brazil, which was promulgated January 27. A great number of the Portuguese found themselves ruined by this catastrophe.

The national desire for the restoration to Portugal of its former activity and splendour was shown by the opening of the national maritime congress, which assembled at Lisbon under the auspices of the Portuguese Naval League.

Financial difficulties produced a Ministerial crisis. On February 16 the Minister of Finance, Señor Mattoso, had introduced a Bill for the conversion of the foreign debt to a single type at 4½ per cent., redeemable, with a new organisation of the Customs. The attacks for which this project gave the signal brought about the resignation of the Government. The King charged the retiring President to reconstitute the Cabinet. The party of the *Regeneradores* therefore remained in power—President and Minister of the Interior, Hintze Ribeiro; Finance, Teixeira de Souza; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wenceslau de Lima; Public Works, Count de Paço Vieira; Navy, General Gorjão; Justice, Campos Henriques; War, Pimentel Pinto (Feb. 27).

The new Ministry had to suppress (March 12) a popular rising at Coimbra, caused by a new tax on markets. The suppression was severe, and besides those who were killed and wounded on the spot it was decided to prosecute the ringleaders. An interpellation was made by the Progressive Deputy Medeira (March 18) which blamed the Government for having given too wide powers to the chief Judge of criminal cases. Early in April came the visit of King Edward VII. The welcome which was accorded to the English King by deputations from both Houses of the Legislature, and by the higher society, was very cordial, and the acclamations of the middle classes and the people were enthusiastic. The ancient alliance between England and Portugal was emphasised during the visit by both Monarchs. It was unfortunate that, on the very day (April 2) on which King Edward landed at Lisbon, some cavalry and artillery men to the number of 118 revolted, proclaimed the Republic and attacked an officer. After an inquiry the mutineers were sent

to Aveiro, and refusing to be obedient there they were despatched to one of the African Colonies. After May 16 the Centre—the Liberal *Regeneradores*—formed a new group which took as its leader the Councillor of State, Franco Castello Branco.

The partly-political weavers' strike at Oporto, a hot-bed of agitation, was nearly becoming serious; but the police were well prepared, all the more as some of their informers appeared in the first rank of the ringleaders. Some disturbances in the street (June 16) gave the Government a pretext for interfering. One of the two newest cruisers of the Portuguese fleet, the *Rainha Doña Amelia*, which was moored in the Douro, was with questionable taste and judgment utilised as a floating prison for a large number of strikers. The strike ended on the 30th. The discipline of the services, however, was not improved by the systematic employment of the land and sea forces for the suppression of economic struggles. Whole regiments became schools of Republicanism and received communications either from Brazil or from the colonies of exiled Republicans. Iberian federation had also its advocates. There was widespread discontent with a *régime* of extravagance at home, of severity towards the working-classes and, as it was thought, of exaggerated submission towards foreign Powers.

It was a depressing year in many ways. Earthquakes were felt all over the country in August. Unprecedented destitution decimated the population of the Azores. A boundary question with England arose in Barotse Land, but on this Portugal accepted the arbitration of the King of Italy. The anticipatory Budget for 1903-4 showed a deficit of 324,000*l.* (exactly 1,800,000 milreis), while the floating debt exceeded even the figure of expected expenses. The malcontents blamed the King for accepting the rank of British Admiral, the Government for making Legations at Pekin and at Tokio, the President of the Council for allowing difficulties to grow, and for running over the world to beg for visits from Sovereigns. A few concessions to national feeling were made after the return of Señor Hintze Ribeiro. A decree in September assimilated with coasting the service of transports between Madeira and the Continent, and forbade it to foreigners. An amnesty was signed (Sept. 28) for political crimes and misdemeanours, and its benefits were extended to soldiers transported for mutiny. This measure of mercy produced some response. A great banquet (Oct. 13) in honour of the President of the Council was undisturbed by any incident. The municipal elections of Lisbon (Nov. 1) returned a crushing majority for the Ministerial party, and the visit of King Alfonso XIII., who was very warmly received, gave a natural opportunity for some impressive *fêtes*. The closing week of the year was pleasantly marked by a banquet (Dec. 27) in celebration of the handing over to the Government of the gun-boat *Patria*, built at the arsenal of Lisbon with the result of subscriptions from the Portuguese colony in Brazil.

VI. DENMARK.

For Denmark the year 1903 was one of much and important legislative work for which the previous session had paved the way, and this satisfactory result was the outcome of an earnest desire in both Chambers to advance a number of measures which had long been left in abeyance.

On the Rigsdag assembling after the Christmas recess the report on the Budget was ready for the Members of the Second Chamber, and the Budget was passed at the third reading on March 6. It then went to the First Chamber, which accepted the Ways and Means Bill in the form in which it came from the Folkething at the third reading on March 31. In this Budget the receipts figured at 70,251,945 kr., and the expenditure at 75,036,875 kr., the deficit thus amounting to 4,784,929 kr. The Conservatives held that it was contrary to sound national finance to produce a Budget year after year with such a heavy deficit, and the Social Democrats made several futile assaults, amongst others, on the military votes. This group and the Left Reform, it may here be observed, have fallen completely out. In the Budget both the State railways and the postal department are estimated at a considerably higher revenue on account of higher rates and increased traffic.

In the course of the session there were altogether introduced eighty-seven Bills, of which no less than sixty-seven were passed—a satisfactory contrast to what used to be the case during a number of preceding years. The most important measures passed were the Church Laws and the Taxation Laws. The latter had for many a session been a subject of contention, and it would be unfair not to acknowledge that no small portion of the population, principally that of the towns, is anything but satisfied with them, the new order of things being considered too much in favour of the farming interests.

The Taxation Laws are three, dealing respectively with State taxes on income and capital; taxation of real property; and alterations in the present municipal taxation and State grants to the municipalities.

The income tax is according to a sliding scale, from 1·3 to 2·5 per cent., with certain deductions for children, etc. Incomes under 2,000 kr. are subject to a tax of 1·3 per cent.; incomes of between 15,000 kr. and 20,000 kr. to a tax of 2 per cent.; and incomes of or above 100,000 kr. of 2·5 per cent., with a number of intermediate grades. In every income a sum varying from 600 to 800 kr., according to locality, is exempt from taxation, and for every child below fifteen years a deduction of 20 to 100 kr. is made. The taxation on capital does not apply to furniture, books, etc., but otherwise to all values; for persons whose income is below the minimum liable to taxation, the first 3,000 kr. capital are exempt from taxation. The tax on capital amounts to 0·6 *per mille*.

The new law on property does away with a number of old taxes on real estate, in their place introducing a property tax of 1·1 *per mille* of the commercial value of the property, exclusive of live stock, machines, etc. The income tax is calculated to yield 9,080,000 kr. per annum, and the new property tax 3,955,000 kr. per annum, whilst the former tax on property amounted to some 10,595,000 kr. The State grant to the municipalities is 1,500,000 kr. per annum, and the abolition of tithes entails a loss to the Exchequer of 1,650,000 kr., the balance of the new laws being an annual loss to the Exchequer of about 700,000 kr.

These taxation laws had repeatedly been before the Legislature in a form more or less approaching that in which they were finally brought forward, and they had occupied a great deal of the Rigsdag's time, divergent views and sundry combinations having retarded their progress. They were eventually passed in the Lower House by very substantial majorities, the Income Tax Law by 87 votes against 15, mostly Social Democrats; the Property Tax Law by 76 against 13, and the Municipal Taxation Law by 78 against 13. In the Upper House the first of the three Bills was passed by 33 votes against 2, 22 refraining from voting, the latter being the Conservatives; and the two other Bills were passed in a similar manner. They were finally passed by the Folkething on May 6.

The Church Bills were four in number, dealing respectively with Congregational Councils, a Church Commission, Electoral Congregations, and the use of churches. The first measure provides for the establishment of a Congregational Council in every parish, both urban and rural. In the country the council comprises the pastor and not less than four parishioners belonging to the State Church. In the towns, with self-contained churches, the council embraces the church inspectorate, the permanent curates, and not less than four parishioners, the pastor being chairman. Every man or woman, having completed his or her twenty-fifth year, and having lived a year within the parish, has the suffrage, and is eligible, provided that they belong to the State Church, and have committed no dishonourable act or given public offence. The members of the Congregational Councils are elected for a period of six years. The chairman decides how often the council shall meet, but it should at least meet four times in the year. The council looks after a number of matters connected with the church and the services, and with the religious life of the parish.

The second of the Church laws provides for the appointment of a special Church Commission to report upon and make proposals concerning the framing of that Church Constitution promised in the Constitution of June 5, 1849, and other matters connected therewith, including the appointment of clergymen. The commission is to consider, but is not bound to accept, such

proposals as the Church Minister may lay before them. The commission comprises four members chosen by the Church Minister, the Bishop of Zealand, and three other bishops elected by the bishops of the country; eight other clergymen elected by the clergy of the country, a member of the theological faculty of the Copenhagen University, and one professor of the legal faculty, eighteen lay members elected by the Congregational Councils, and one member from the Färöe Islands.

The law as to electoral congregations supersedes previous laws and regulations dealing with these communities; the most important change it brings about is its doing away with the necessity for electoral congregations to build their own church. When at least ten members of a parish send in an application that the parish church may be used by an electoral congregation, the bishop can grant this permission, provided that the other necessary conditions exist. An electoral congregation can be formed when not less than twenty persons, who must either be heads of a household, widows or other persons with a household of their own, belonging to the State Church apply for permission to form a congregation under a pastor, whom they themselves have chosen, and who otherwise would be eligible as a clergyman of the State Church—the only difference in fact being that an electoral congregation itself chooses and supports its pastor. The fourth and last of the four Church laws extends the regulations under which a church can be used by other clergymen of the State Church, inasmuch as this can in future be done by one or more parishioners desiring a clergyman from another parish to officiate in their church, provided their own pastor gives his consent. Should the pastor withhold his consent the matter can be brought before the bishop or the Church Minister.

These Church measures were very fully and very lengthily discussed, both in the Rigsdag and outside, but they were eventually carried by very large majorities.

A number of other measures of considerable importance were passed. Amongst these may be mentioned Bills relating to harbour and other works on the coast of Jutland, and to the rates and organisation of the State railways; various measures dealing with the Färöe Islands; Bills for the building of a large new national hospital and for the national theatre; and a Bill as to higher national schools, etc. The latter, which is another outcome of the reforming energy of M. Christensen, the Church Minister, provides, in continuation of the instruction in the national schools up to the age of eleven to twelve years, two further courses: the intermediate school with a four, and the subsequent gymnasium with a three, years' course. The final examination of the latter constitutes the present "artium" or student's examination, which is requisite for all wishing to enter the university, and to take the degrees necessary for admission to the liberal professions or the Civil Service. The

effect of this measure is virtually an opening of the door of the university to every clever boy, however humble his origin.

The important Bill effecting reforms in the administration of justice was before the Upper House, and was there referred to a committee, but it was not finally disposed of.

The Rigsdag was prorogued on May 13, and on June 16 the general election to the Folkething took place, having been preceded by a keen electioneering agitation. It did not, however, to any material extent alter the respective strength of the various parties, although the Conservatives gained some seats in the capital. The Left Reform party stood their ground, and only lost a couple of seats, whilst the Conservatives and the Social Democrats each gained a similar number. The figures are: Left Reform, 74; the Social Democrats, 16; the Conservatives, 11; a group, formerly the Moderate Left, 11; and 2 Independents. The Rigsdag, according to the Constitution, met for a formal session on June 25, being again prorogued on the 29th.

As usual the Legislature assembled for the regular session on the first Monday in October. The balance sheet for the previous financial year compared favourably with the corresponding Budget, and the new Budget introduced was much nearer the coveted balance than its immediate predecessors. An increase in pay to various functionaries of the lower grades certainly entailed an increased expenditure of some 3,000,000 kr., but the revenue from the Post Office and the State railways showed a material increase, the latter rise owing both to higher rates and increased traffic. The discussion on the Budget in the Lower House was more especially marked by numerous heated encounters between the Government and the Social Democrats. A number of measures were introduced and some promptly disposed of, none more so than the Bill for the rebuilding of the Royal palace of Christiansborg, destroyed by fire some twenty years ago. This was accepted by the Rigsdag in a most loyal spirit, so that it might be laid before the King on the fortieth anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the Throne, November 15. Another measure passed was the one increasing the remuneration of the Members of the Rigsdag. Of other Bills that are worthy of mention there were the Reform in the Administration of Justice Bill, which, from the Upper, went back to the Lower House; the Bill authorising corporal punishment for ruffians—a measure that caused much controversy; a measure for the amendment of the new School Act, etc. As far as several of these contested measures are concerned, much depends, of course, upon the position taken up by the Landsting. In that House there are three groups: the Conservatives (30); the Left Reform, comprising a Social Democrat and three Moderate Left (26); and the Free Conservatives (9).

As already mentioned, there have been no material changes

in the strength of the respective parties, but there are signs that a few of the more Radical Members of the Left are alienating themselves from the Left Reform, which party, on the other hand, seems to meet with increased support from the former Moderates. There is, in other words, in the Lower House a large and stable Democratic majority, with certain agricultural sympathies, flanked on the one side by the Conservatives, and on the other by the Social Democrats, the latter comprising the Social Democrats proper, and some supporters of town Radicalism.

In the course of the year Iceland obtained a new Constitution, according to which it will have its own separate Minister, who is to reside at Reykjavik; when necessary the Minister will proceed to Copenhagen, in order to lay before the King, in the Council of State, Acts passed by the Icelandic Parliament, the Althing.

VII. SWEDEN.

The year 1903 was marked by steady development of the rich natural resources of Sweden, and by an important improvement in the relations with the sister kingdom of Norway.

The Riksdag was opened on January 17 by the King in person. His Majesty stated that the joint Swedish and Norwegian Committee, which had been considering the question of establishing separate consuls for the two countries, whilst maintaining joint diplomatic representation, had completed its labours, and that his Majesty's Swedish and Norwegian advisers were now considering the report. Proposals directed towards the extension of the political suffrage were under consideration, aided by a Special Committee. To meet the increased expenditure for military purposes and for further construction of railways, additional grants would be required, which it was proposed to cover by an increased stamp duty, by introducing a malt tax, and by raising the tax on corn-brandy and other spirits. The old so-called ground tax, which in bygone times had been one of the most important means of revenue for the Exchequer, did not appear in the Budget which was going to be laid before them. Of new Bills to be laid before the Riksdag the King mentioned a measure having reference to insurance companies.

The Budget for the ensuing financial year, which was introduced the same day, approximately balanced at 179,976,000 kr., or some 7,500,000 kr. more than the current year. Of this amount over 5,000,000 kr. came upon the Military, and about 1,000,000 kr. upon the Naval Service Estimates. The malt tax, 20 öre per kilogram, with some modification, was calculated to yield a revenue of some 6,300,000 kr. The tax on punch—almost a national drink in Sweden—the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to fix at 60 öre per litre, which was estimated to give a revenue of 1,560,000 kr. The tax on corn-brandy it was pro-

posed to increase by 15 öre per litre, calculated to yield an additional sum of 6,150,000 kr. annually above the present revenue from this tax, some 20,500,000 kr.

The elections to various permanent committees in the Second Chamber, which took place a few days after the opening of the Riksdag, were almost entirely in favour of the candidates nominated by the Landtmanna party and the Liberal party. This coalition was only brought about at the eleventh hour, and the Conservatives hailed the result with some bitterness, denouncing it as a Pyrrhic victory for the Landtmanna party, whilst the Liberals appeared to be correspondingly pleased. In the First Chamber, these elections showed no material alteration in the strength of parties.

A measure of some importance, and the first step as regards legislation concerning labour since the great strike in the spring of 1902, was promptly introduced by the Government, and purported to establish an institution for the conciliatory settlement of disputes between masters and men. The country is to be divided into a certain number of districts, the Government appointing for each district a suitable man, who, when disputes arise, shall try and reconcile the contending parties. Of other measures introduced by private Members, there may be mentioned Hallström's proposal for the building of a State railway from Lappträsk to Haparanda, and proposals, introduced in both Chambers, for voting the sum of 5,000,000 kr. for the formation of a lending fund to economic agricultural societies.

Of the measures referred to those concerning the taxation of malt, and increased taxation of spirits, punch, etc., were carried, whilst the proposed increase in the stamp duty was negatived, as also was a proposed extension of the income tax in the case of owners of real estate. One of the most important Bills passed was that intended to protect the forests of the country. This new law requires everybody who cuts down a forest to see that a fresh forest is planted in its place. Of other measures finally disposed of, the Insurance Companies Bill and the law intended to advance the shipping of the country may be mentioned. Numerous important measures were more or less advanced, such as Bills intended to bring about a better and more rational exploitation of the water power and the large deposits of the country. The Riksdag also requested the Government to introduce a measure for the erection of a Governmental Court, which should take over certain administrative-judicial functions hitherto exercised by the Executive.

The greatest share of public interest, however, was engrossed by the negotiations between Sweden and Norway concerning, more especially, the consular question. The negotiations on this subject were carried on by M. Boström, Premier; M. Lagerheim, Minister for Foreign Affairs; and M. Husberg, Councillor of State, on the part of Sweden; and M. Qvam, Minister of State; and M. Knudsen and M. Ibsen, Councillors of State, on behalf

of Norway. On March 24 the Swedish Foreign Minister issued a *communiqué* stating the result of some five months' negotiations. The Swedish representatives, it was stated, had pointed out during their negotiations that the establishment of a separate consular service for each of the two countries did not exactly appear to them desirable, and that they were inclined to think that the dissolution of the present joint consular system might prove disadvantageous rather than advantageous to the two countries. As, however, an opposite view had for a long time been held by Norway, and as during the negotiations about the report of the latest joint Consular Committee it had not appeared impossible under certain contingencies to bring about a system of separate consular services, which, while satisfying the Norwegian demands, did not appear irreconcilable with the interests of Sweden, the Swedish representatives, so as to ensure the much needed political concord between the two countries, proposed an arrangement on the following basis:—

1. Separate consular services to be established for Sweden and Norway; the consuls in each country to belong to that governmental department which the countries respectively decide.

2. The position of the separate consuls as regards the Foreign Minister and the Legations to be regulated by equal laws, which cannot be altered without the mutual consent of the two countries.

The Swedish representatives added, that they quite saw and admitted that the present position of the Foreign Minister did not satisfy Norway's just claims for equality within the Union. They had drawn attention to the desirability of this question being taken up for consideration, but so far Norway had not fallen in with this suggestion. They had, however, stated their willingness, when a wish to this effect should be expressed by Norway, to advise the King to lay before the Riksdag and the Storting proposals for such alterations in the Constitution of the two countries as might enable the King to appoint as Foreign Minister a Swede or a Norwegian, and secure that the Foreign Minister should be responsible before the legislative bodies of both countries.

The Norwegian representatives stated that they, of course, agreed that the present state of affairs as regarded the Foreign Ministry was not satisfactory, but they hoped that a satisfactory solution of the question might soon be taken up for discussion.

On May 6 the First Chamber began the discussion on the proposal concerning separate consuls for the two countries. Its committee *ad hoc* had proposed that the Riksdag, *à propos* of the above *communiqué*, should make a representation to the Government to the effect that no binding agreement should be made in the matter before the Riksdag had had an opportunity of stating its views. M. Boström, the Premier, who opened the debate, said it was of great importance that the conflicts within the Union should be settled, and that the

question should not be treated in a one-sided manner. A new basis for the negotiations had now been laid, but, of course, nothing could be definitely settled without the Riksdag. M. Ljungberg was dissatisfied with the Swedish Government and the Swedish delegates, who had conducted the negotiations. In his opinion the Government had not properly watched the interests of the country. M. Lundeberg, Vice-President of the Chamber, wished to maintain the Union in such a way that it would be strengthened and not weakened; he wished for equality in all matters, but joint representation when it was a question of foreign affairs. Bishop Billing was prepared to meet Norway in every way, as long as it did no harm to Sweden or the Union. The Foreign Minister warmly expressed his participation in the hopes which had been expressed as to the approach of a satisfactory settlement. Eventually the proposal of the committee was accepted by 106 votes to 32. The debate in the First Chamber was what the Conservatives called a polite but firm reminder to the Government; they were especially displeased with the position taken up by the Foreign Minister.

In the Second Chamber, however, the matter, thanks to the Liberal and Radical Members, took a more favourable course for the policy adopted by the Government, and events in Norway further advanced a settlement of the consular question in the spirit of the *communiqué* of March 24.

On December 21 the King, in a Council of State, formally accepted the severance of Sweden and Norway's consular service, a step viewed with much, though probably altogether unnecessary, alarm by the old Conservatives. Prior to this Council of State another Council had been held, on December 11, at which the Foreign Minister stated that the solution of the consular question would require laws of the same character for both countries, in addition to which various other proposals were required for each country. He did not think the sanction of the Riksdag and the Storting should be asked for before these proposals were framed, and each country ought to do this work separately, in the manner it saw fit. He finally asked the King, on this basis, and accepting the *communiqué* of March 24, to request the Swedish and Norwegian Councillors of State to continue the negotiations for a settlement in this manner of the consular question—the position of the Foreign Minister remaining *in statu quo*—and in due course to frame definite proposals. The Swedish and Norwegian Councillors of State having acquiesced, the King decided that the views of the Norwegian Government should be ascertained. The latter, in its communication of December 18, completely accepted the statement and proposals of the Foreign Minister, which, as already stated, were sanctioned by the King on December 21. Thus one of the most important steps in the political history of Sweden and Norway for many years was achieved.

Another question of grave and far-reaching importance

engrossed the attention of the various parties, *viz.*, the impending reforms in the political suffrage. It was extensively discussed and considered, both in the House and outside, and sundry committees and commissions had the various sides of the question before them. The central question, that concerning the suffrage proper, would not be brought forward till some time in 1904, but the commission, which had been considering the introduction of proportional representation, handed in its report on November 3. Its proposals, which were very lengthy, were not particularly well received; they provided for the country being divided into districts, according to the "Lehn" division, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö each forming a separate district. The 230 seats of the Second Chamber were to be distributed amongst the thirty-three districts according to the population. This would entirely do away with the right of the towns to a more numerous representation. The proposal contained two different methods of election, a direct and an indirect, the latter being more particularly intended for large divisions.

The importance which the Government attached to the suffrage question appeared from a statement made by the Premier about the end of November, that both he and the other members of the Government would tender their resignation if the Government's suffrage reform proposals were absolutely rejected. The only contingency in which the present Government could remain in office, if the forthcoming Riksdag did not arrive at a decision upon the suffrage question, was the House accepting a year's postponement, and at the same time passing a vote of confidence in the Government. The Social Democrats flatly denounced the plans of the Government in a manifesto, objecting to the guarantees asked for by Ministers and demanding honest universal suffrage.

A new political party was formed in the Second Chamber, principally comprising Government officials, amongst whom were the Postmaster-General, Bishop von Scheele, etc., and several unattached town Members. The group was called "the Friends of Moderate Reforms," but they were not expected to play any very prominent part for some time to come, although on the whole they may strengthen the Second Chamber as against the First Chamber by furthering good feeling between the two large parties, and it is also considered an advantage that they have absorbed a number of unattached Members, who might entail a risk of some Parliamentary confusion.

In the course of the summer General Crusebjörn resigned his office as War Minister, and retired to the post he had held before joining the Government. His retirement had been expected for some time, and all were agreed that he had rendered his country and the question of military reforms great services during the close upon four years he had been War Minister. His successor was Colonel Virgén.

VIII. NORWAY.

The great political event in Norway during the year 1908 was the general election, casting its shadows long before it, and in its results influencing the course of Norwegian politics in as marked a degree as the change in the national sentiment was sudden and unprecedented. Closely coupled with the issues of the election was the consular question, the portion of Norway's old differences with Sweden nearest at hand and clamouring for being first dealt with, and here as elsewhere cause and effect are often difficult to keep clear of each other. The change which the election wrought becomes all the more striking when compared with the first vote on the consular question in the Storthing, on January 23, when the Conservatives only mustered 32 votes against the 81 votes of the Left and the Moderates. The voting was on a resolution introduced two days previously by M. Berner, the President, to the effect that it was for the advancement of the interests of Norway and of good relations between the United Kingdoms that the consular question should now be solved through the establishment of separate consular services for each country, without this question being brought in connection with that of a settlement of the diplomacy and Foreign Ministers of the two kingdoms. Professor Hagerup, the Conservative leader, proposed an order of the day, expressive of the Storthing's pleasure at the negotiations commenced upon the consular question, and the hope that they would lead to a satisfactory result for the country. The two resolutions were respectively accepted and rejected by the votes mentioned above. The resolution of the Storthing was not considered sufficiently clear in Stockholm, and it was deemed expedient to postpone the negotiations until a fuller light was thrown upon the subject. At subsequent meetings of the Consular Committee in Christiania the framing of definite proposals in that matter was left with the Swedish Foreign Minister, M. Lagerheim, and Norwegian Councillor of State, Dr. Sigurd Ibsen. On March 19 and 20 the Consular Committee held important meetings in Christiania, with the ultimate result that an understanding was arrived at, embodied in the *communiqué* of March 23. This result was received with satisfaction by the Press of both countries. In Norway there was a general desire to see a resolution on the part of the Storthing in connection with the Foreign Minister's *communiqué*, so that a clear and distinct standpoint might be arrived at before the general election, but the Government's paper, the *Dagbladet*, was of an opposite opinion, thinking that a clear statement would only tend to split up the Left party into two fractions, of which the more conciliatory one would side with the Moderates and the Conservatives. The Government did, however, eventually decide to make a statement, in which stress was laid upon the fact that the forthcoming proposals, on the basis of the above-mentioned *communiqué*, should

not in any way interfere with the rights of each country as regarded the question of the Foreign Office, nor might they be taken as a proof that Norway had tied herself to the existing state of affairs; and that the question of the Foreign Office was not affected or prejudiced by the proposed consular settlement. The War Minister, M. Stang, was on this question one of the strongest opponents of a more conciliatory position on the part of the Government, and his statements in the Storting during the subsequent debate foreshadowed his approaching resignation. When he, a few weeks later, was charged by M. Björnsterne Björnson with having tried to upset the negotiations on the consular question and cause a war with Sweden, he maintained that the military precautions he had taken had been devised for the purpose of securing that the negotiations could be carried on in peace without any fear on the part of Norway of an attack by Sweden—a statement very characteristic of the extremity of his views.

Another Minister who experienced some difficulties and much hostile criticism was the Minister of Finance. The final discussion on the Budget was not completed till the very end of the session. A minority in the Financial Committee could not accept the estimated revenue from several sources, *viz.*, the Customs, spirit and malt tax; but at the voting the figures of the majority were accepted by 37 against 35 votes. The minority blamed the Finance Minister for not having presented a sounder balance sheet. They considered the financial situation was now such that new means of increasing the revenue were absolutely necessary. Should the cash in hand not prove sufficient to cover the deficit, the Government would have to ask for additional supplementary grants in the autumn. They estimated the deficit at 1,600,000 kr. The leading Conservative paper, the *Morgenbladet*, summed up the charges of its followers against M. Sunde as sanguine estimates, faint hopes for better times and warm summers, constant excuses for “unforeseen circumstances,” and a system coloured by the financial swindle in Christiania during the nineties; should he remain in office he would no doubt continue with his castles in the air and his loans, as long as such could be obtained, even if a usurer’s interest had to be paid.

The Storting brought its session, the longest on record—eight months and three days—to a close on June 13, without any corresponding legislative results. Proposals relating to whale preservation, increased duty on machinery, an export duty on ore, limited companies, etc., were negatived. Both Military and Naval Estimates were curtailed. Amongst the measures passed were the Bills dealing with commercial courts, consular fees, seaworthiness of vessels, compulsory service, and banks formed to aid labourers in acquiring cottages and land, etc.

The campaign in connection with the general election—which began early in August and lasted for about a month—

had called forth statements and resolutions long before it commenced in earnest. As early as in February, representative meetings of Left delegates adopted an electioneering programme. Among its features were continued work for arbitration and neutrality; insurance against disablement—if possible comprising the whole of the Norwegian nation; a stringent economy in finance, State loans only being applicable to railway construction; a direct method of election, etc. A few weeks later the programme was extended so as to contain the demand for full equality within the Union; the separate consular service to be completed within the ensuing Storthing's period, and the labour for a separate Norwegian Foreign Minister to be continued. As the time wore on it became more and more evident that the position of candidates towards the result of the negotiations with Sweden about the consular question was the most vital point in the campaign, and one which now required a clear and distinct statement. M. Björnstjerne Björnson came forward with his usual energy as a fervent advocate of conciliation with Sweden, and that his stirring eloquence greatly influenced the flow of events during the elections was beyond a doubt. Professor Hagerup, the leader of the Conservative party, spoke with much weight, pointing out that the old Conservatives, thanks to the many mistakes the majority had made, had now become the party of real progress, while he paid a tribute to Björnson as the most dangerous of all the opponents of the Government. The campaign brought about a coalition or at least co-operation amongst men who had hitherto been opponents, a new combined party, the "Samlingsparti," being the outcome. On the other hand the Left was in some places supported by the Social Democrats, as in Drontheim, for instance, where, notwithstanding, the Opposition conquered, the Government losing their old seats. The Nedenes election finally settled the victory of the Opposition, the respective strength of the new Storthing being: Conservatives and Moderates 63, Left 50 and Socialists 4.

Although the Blehr Ministry was not expected to and did not resign till the new Storthing had met in October, a combination Hagerup-Ibsen Ministry was soon looked upon as a probable solution, and events proved this surmise to be correct. The Storthing met in the beginning of October, and the necessary preliminary meetings having been got through, in which the election of Hagerup as President showed the altered aspect of affairs, the King in person opened the session on October 19, with a speech from the throne which, being countersigned by M. Blehr, could not be expected to be of any special interest. M. Blehr and his colleagues thereupon resigning, the Hagerup-Ibsen Ministry was forthwith formed on October 23. Professor Hagerup became Premier and Home Secretary, and Dr. Sigurd Ibsen became Resident Councillor of State in Stockholm; the other Councillors of State, as the members of the Ministry are

called, were M. Kildol, M. Michelsen, Colonel Strugstad, Pastor Hauge, M. Sehöning, M. Hausen, M. Vogt and M. Mathiesen ; M. Michelsen and M. Vogt to belong to the Stockholm section of the Norwegian Council of State. The new Ministry was well received ; the Moderate Left, which was represented by five Members in the Ministry, headed by Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, at once complimented M. Hagerup for the loyal and statesmanlike manner in which he had carried out his promises from the time of the election. The Conservatives were perhaps a little more reserved, thinking they ought to have filled more than half of the Ministerial chairs, but their satisfaction was all the same genuine.

The Budget of 1904-5, drawn up by the old Government, balanced with a total of 98,500,000 kr., rather more than 3,000,000 kr. less than the previous one. The ordinary Budget showed an increase of 1,400,000 kr., whilst the extraordinary expenses were by 4,700,000 kr. less than the previous year. The latter part of the expenditure, 9,980,000 kr., to be covered by the National Debt Department, was for continued railway construction. During the last five or six years the expenditure has risen from 68,000,000 kr. to close upon 100,000,000 kr., and the national debt has in the same period increased by 80,000,000 kr., so that it now amounts to some 260,000,000 kr. The final balance-sheet for 1902-3 was at the same time produced, showing a deficit of 2,534,000 kr., the receipts and expenditure being respectively 99,916,000 kr. and 102,450,000 kr. The cash in hand appears to have gone down from 8,821,000 kr. on March 31, 1902, to 4,706,000 kr. on the same date 1903.

The new Minister of Finance did not approve of his predecessor's Budget, and stated in a communication of November 9 to the Financial Committee of the Storting that it would have been preferable to have had a quite new Budget drawn up on the basis of new Estimates from all the various Departments, but so as not to interfere with the work of the Storting he would confine himself to making certain reservations. Several means of revenue, he thought, had been put too high. The gist of the new Finance Minister's criticisms was that the Blehr Ministry had estimated the revenue at about 2,000,000 kr. too much, that the actual available cash in hand was only a sum of 2,600,000 kr., whilst the former Government had used 6,000,000 kr. of the State Loan Fund for purposes outside those for which it was voted ; in other words, there was a deficit of close upon 3,500,000 kr. in that Exchequer which M. Sunde during the electioneering campaign had "booked" at 21,000,000 kr. to 23,000,000 kr. The result of the investigation of the Budget was a number of reductions in the expenditure under various heads, which the Financial Committee provisionally put at 3,500,000 kr. A new State loan for the forthcoming year was also spoken of. There was some discussion as to whether the military votes ought to be materially and permanently reduced.

That the previous Minister of Finance could not acknowledge the correctness of his successor's criticisms goes without saying.

Just before the end of the year Dr. Sigurd Ibsen found occasion to state that the further negotiations about the consular question were progressing most satisfactorily, and altogether the relations between Norway and Sweden assumed during the year an aspect of harmony and goodwill, the like of which had not been known for many years.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA (SOUTHERN).

I. PERSIA.

AT the close of 1902 a special mission, with Viscount Downe at its head, was despatched to Teheran to invest the Shah with the Order of the Garter, and the ceremony was performed with great display on February 2. This was followed, on February 9, by the signing of a new Commercial Treaty between Persia and Great Britain, by which specific duties, as set forth in its schedules, were fixed for various articles of import and export in lieu of the previous uniform 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty of the Treaty of 1857. Provision was also made for several useful reforms in the Customs Administration, such as the abolition of the system of farming and of all transit duties, the establishment of proper Custom Houses at convenient places, and the securing to both nations the benefit of the "most-favoured-nation" treatment in all commercial matters. This treaty did not effect any modification in the new Russo-Persian tariff which had come into force at the beginning of the year, and, although it may benefit the trade between Persia and the United Kingdom, there have been many complaints from Chambers of Commerce in India that it has already seriously affected Indian trade, and more especially the tea trade. On the other hand, Russian trade is said to have greatly increased under the new Russo-Persian Treaty; the Russian Bank has obtained a concession for the construction of a road from Tabriz to Kazvin, and it has established branches in Seistan, an example which has been followed by the English Bank of Persia. The chief Mullah of Tabriz was deported to Khurasan for inciting the people against the new Russian Commercial Treaty.

There was an atrocious massacre at Yezd in June of the Babis, or followers of Mirza Ali Mahomed, the Bab, who was executed at Tabriz in 1849. They are a harmless sect who study the Christian Gospels, and regard their founder as a re-incarnation of Christ, a prophet superior even to Mahomed, and his book *Ikan* as superseding the Koran. Their real offence

was that they preached against the rapacity and profligacy of the Mullahs, who incited the populace to outrages which the Persian authorities took no steps to prevent or punish.

In the Persian Gulf the great event of the year was the visit of Lord Curzon, who left Karachi on November 16 in the *Hardinge*, accompanied by four cruisers, and returned to that port on December 7. He arrived at Muscat on November 18, and received the Sultan on board the *Hardinge*, and invested him with the G.C.I.E. He then visited Bandar Abbas and held a Durbar of the Pirate Coast chiefs at Sharja. At Bandar Lingah he gave a dinner to the Governors of the Gulf ports, and at Bahrein, on November 26, he received a visit from Sheikh Isa bin Ali. Koweit was reached on the 28th, and Lord Curzon received and returned a visit of Sheikh Mubarek. At Bandar Bushire, on December 1, there occurred what is euphemistically called a misunderstanding; the Persian Governor had proposed a dinner in honour of Lord Curzon, but he omitted, no doubt under instructions from his Court, to pay him a first visit on board his ship, and in consequence of this Lord Curzon sailed away without landing. On his return journey he held a Durbar at Pasni, on the Makran Coast, for the chiefs and notables of Southern Baluchistan.

The claim of England to supremacy in the Persian Gulf is based not on definite treaties or international law, but on the necessity of safeguarding her position in India, and on what she has done to reclaim the Gulf from barbarism. The northern shore of the Gulf is divided between Baluchistan and Persia; to the south lies the Arabian peninsula, over the whole of which Turkey claims to exercise suzerainty, although her actual possessions there are confined to the single port of Basra. The whole of the southern littoral is held by petty independent chiefs who long lived by piracy. Early in the last century England put down piracy and the slave trade, and induced the chiefs to enter into engagements, the terms of which vary greatly, some of them treating the chief as an independent sovereign, others reducing him to the position of an Indian feudatory. England has continued to perform the duty of buoying, lighting and policing the Gulf, and she has enjoyed a practical monopoly of its trade. According to the Consular Report for 1902, out of 138 ships which entered the port of Bushire, 133 were British, whilst of the 121 which cleared from it only four belonged to other nationalities. Yet the only place in the Gulf which is actually British territory is one square mile at Bassadore, and the only territory over which a British protectorate has been formally proclaimed is the island of Bahrein. It is thus obviously open to any great European Power desiring to establish itself in the Gulf to obtain a concession from Turkey or Persia, and it was the attempt of Germany to obtain a port in connection with the Bagdad Railway which led to our interference in Koweit (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901, p. 340). That Russia desires to

obtain Bandar Abbas has long been perfectly clear, but it is not probable that she will make a formal demand for it for some time to come. Her policy obviously is to get Persia more and more into her power by means of loans, commercial treaties, and concessions for roads. By these means she may hope to work her way to Bandar Abbas, and to obtain a monopoly of its trade, whilst it still nominally remains Persian. Then may come a claim for its formal cession, and when this has been obtained the work of turning it into an arsenal may be commenced. Lord Lansdowne declared in the House of Lords that we should resist by all means in our power the attempt of any other nation to establish itself in force on the Persian Gulf, and no doubt the visit of Lord Curzon was intended to emphasise this declaration. There can be almost equally little doubt that the "misunderstanding" at Bandar Bushire was prompted by Russia as an answer to this demonstration. For the Persian Governor to have paid a first visit to the Viceroy on board the *Hardinge* would have been regarded by Orientals as an admission of England's claim to be sovereign of the waters of the Gulf, and this claim Persia was as willing as Russia to emphatically deny. On the whole it may be considered that Russia has distinctly improved her position in Persia during 1903; notwithstanding the mission of Lord Downe she has strengthened her financial hold over the country, she has concluded a commercial treaty favourable to herself, and she has prevented the concession of any material commercial advantages to England. Finally, she has induced Persia to administer a rebuff to the Viceroy of India.

II. AFGHANISTAN.

The second, like the first, year of Habibullah's reign passed quietly, without any internal disturbances, and nothing more was heard, or at least made public, about the attempt of Russia to establish direct intercourse between its own and the Afghan frontier officials for commercial purposes, to which reference was made in the preceding volume.

There was a severe outbreak of cholera at Kabul in September, which proved fatal to more than one of the Amir's leading officials. The Amir himself remained in Kabul throughout the outbreak, doing his utmost to allay the alarm, and personally superintending sanitary reforms. On October 16 he held a great Durbar in honour of his accession, and spoke in praise of the Mullahs, whom he is said to greatly favour generally. He was compelled to abandon his project of forming a bodyguard of Afridis owing to the jealousy which it excited, and those who had been enlisted were disbanded and sent back to their homes early in the year, and their rifles were taken back from them.

The Amir has appointed his brother, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, Commander-in-Chief, and he has ordered the construction of a

line of fortified serais from Dacca to Kabul, from Kabul to Kotal Manjan, in Badakshan, from Kabul to the Oxus, and from Balkh to Bala Murghab, on the Russian frontier.

Towards the close of the year it was reported that the Amir's half-brother, Mohamed Umar, was suspected of intriguing against him, and that there was a serious dispute between the Amir and Mohamed Umar's mother about family jewels. In October thirty-six Sepoys were tried by court-martial at Kabul on charges of inciting to rebellion, and were put to death in the presence of all the troops.

Major M'Mahon, the British officer appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Persia and Afghanistan, reached the Helmand on February 4, and was joined by the Afghan Commissioner on the 12th. The work was said to have proceeded satisfactorily, but it had not been finished up to the close of the year.

A joint Afghan and British Commission was appointed to demarcate the boundary between the two countries, from Nawa Kila, where Sir R. Udny left off in 1895, to the Peiwar, where Mr. Donald began on the Kurram side.

III. ADEN.

Some trouble occurred during the year with the Kutebi tribe in the Aden Hinterland, and in November a punitive column of 500 of the Buffs, with the Bombay Rifles, was sent out from the garrison. There were several minor engagements, but by the end of the year the troops had returned to their posts, having dispersed the tribesmen and inflicted severe punishment upon them.

IV. BALUCHISTAN.

As an instance of the careful watch kept on their frontier by the Afghans, it may be noted that a British officer, Colonel Yate, 29th Baluchis, and two orderlies, who had inadvertently crossed the boundary whilst shooting, were arrested by the Afghan patrols and detained in custody, though perfectly well treated, for twenty days, when orders were received from the Amir for their release.

The Khan of Khelat has leased in perpetuity to the Indian Government for an annual payment of 1,17,500 rupees the territory of Nasirabad Niabat, 500 square miles in extent, and the Manjuti lands measuring 250 square miles. The work on the Quetta-Nushki Railway has made fair progress.

V. THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

The Frontier remained quiet throughout the year, and an attack on three British officers at Miranshah Tochi on April 9 was merely the work of individual fanatics. The Mahsud Waziris and their neighbours behaved well.

A joint British-Afghan Commission was appointed to settle

the grazing disputes between the Turis in British territory and the local Afghan tribes which gave some trouble in 1902. The direct road between Tochi and Kurram was opened up and was guarded by the local tribesmen. The Militia system was said to have worked well, the Wana corps was to be increased, and the British troops to be withdrawn from that region.

VI. BRITISH INDIA.

(1) FINANCE.

Stated in their briefest form, the figures of the Revenue and Expenditure for the three years dealt with in the statement presented to Council by the Financial Member, Sir Edward Law, in March, 1903, were as follows :—

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| | 1901-2. |
| | Accounts. |
| Revenue | £76,344,525 |
| Expenditure (charged against Revenue) | 71,394,282 |
| Surplus | <u>£4,950,243</u> |
| | 1902-3. |
| | Revised Estimate. |
| Revenue | £76,892,500 |
| Expenditure (charged against Revenue) | 74,154,000 |
| Surplus | <u>£2,738,500</u> |
| | 1903-4. |
| | Budget Estimate. |
| Revenue | £76,355,400 |
| Expenditure (charged against Revenue) | 75,406,700 |
| Surplus | <u>£948,700</u> |

Accounts for 1901-2. — The causes which raised the originally estimated surplus of 690,900*l.* to one of 4,672,900*l.*, shown by the Revised Estimates, were fully explained in the financial statement of 1902. The closed accounts show an actual surplus of 4,950,243*l.*, which is a further increase of 277,343*l.* This was largely due, not to unexpected increases in normal revenue, for, on the contrary, there were sensible diminutions under some heads, and, in particular, under Land Revenue, owing to suspensions and remissions granted because of unfavourable seasons in the Punjab and parts of Madras, but to the employment of Indian troops outside India. Thus an increase of 72,389*l.* in Army Receipts and a decrease of 365,369*l.* in Army Expenditure were mainly caused by the employment of Indian troops in South Africa and China, and payment by the Home Government on account of stores supplied to them.

Revised Estimates, 1902-3.—The Revised Estimates showed an increase in the Revenue of 2,522,100*l.* and an increase in the Expenditure (including provincial surpluses and deficits) of 621,300*l.*, or a net increase on the right side of 1,900,800*l.*, thus raising the surplus of the original Estimate of 837,700*l.* to one of

2,738,500*l.* The increases under the different heads of Revenue were: Land Revenue, 698,400*l.*; Opium, 274,300*l.*; Salt, 66,700*l.*; Excise, 257,300*l.*; Customs, 286,700*l.*; Assessed Taxes, 47,000*l.*; Interest, 108,000*l.*; Post Office, 57,900*l.*; Telegraph, 51,500*l.*; Mint, 351,900*l.*; Receipts (Civil Departments), 49,400*l.*; Miscellaneous, 42,400*l.*; Railways, 77,000*l.*; Irrigation, 138,300*l.*; Receipts (Military Department), 31,400*l.* The total of these items is 2,538,200*l.*, but a falling off of 6,200*l.* in stamps and minor changes reduce the net increase to 2,522,100*l.*, as already stated.

Out of the very large increase in the Land Revenue, 480,000*l.* was due to the inclusion for the first time in the accounts of the Berar Revenue, and the remainder was due to more favourable seasons, especially in Burmah, Madras and Bombay. This increase had been obtained in spite of the remission of 504,300*l.* in the districts recently affected by famine. The increase under the head of opium was due to larger exports of Malwa opium and to a rise in price. In the earlier months of the year the average price was little, if anything, above the Budget Estimate of Rs. 1,100 per chest, but it rose in the later months until it reached Rs. 1,262 in March. The increase in salt might be attributed to a general improvement in the condition of the people. The large increase in Excise was also partly due to general improvement and partly to more efficient administration. In the Customs Revenue there was an increase under most of the important heads, except sugar and cotton goods. As anticipated, the Brussels Conference greatly disturbed the sugar market, and the amount received from countervailing duties was only Rs. 17,05,000, as compared with Rs. 33,83,000 actually received in the preceding year and the 24 lakhs of the Budget Estimate. In cotton the falling off was only serious in white piece goods. In the more important class of grey goods the imports rose from Rs. 46,66,879 to Rs. 47,36,512, and there had also been a rise in the receipts from the excise on home cotton. The increase in interest had occurred chiefly in England, and was due to temporary investment of larger sums and to higher rates than was anticipated. The increase in Assessed Taxes, which consist almost entirely of the Income Tax, and under Post Office and Telegraphs, was satisfactory, but does not call for special remark.

With regard to Railways, it was fully explained last year why it could not be expected that the figures of the preceding year would be maintained, and although the increase of 77,000*l.* was satisfactory, it was only one of 0·4 per cent. The increase under Irrigation occurred chiefly in the Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal. The excess of 31,400*l.* in the Army Receipts was chiefly due to credits for the supply of stores to troops serving abroad.

In the Expenditure there was a net decrease of 802,900*l.* In Army Services there was a decrease of 509,200*l.*, of which 479,500*l.* was due to the continued absence of troops in South

Africa, and the remainder chiefly to the lapsing of certain grants which could not profitably be spent during the year. The most important savings under other heads were: 259,100*l.* in direct demands on the revenue; 75,600*l.* in interest; and 488,900*l.* in salaries and expenses of civil departments. Direct demands on the revenue were reduced by 129,200*l.*, owing to the opium crop proving to be below the estimate, which allowed for a full crop, and there was also a considerable decrease in charges connected with Land Revenue. Under interest there was a large saving, owing chiefly to a reduction in the sum estimated for discount and interest on the loan of 150 lakhs raised in India in the summer of 1902. The decrease under salaries and expenses of civil establishments was largely due to the impossibility of profitably utilising during the financial year the special grants made for education, medical, police and justice. On the other hand, there was an increase of 299,600*l.* in the expenditure under Mint, due chiefly to a payment of 263,400*l.* to the Gold Reserve Fund (being net profits on coinage) and to the recoinage of withdrawn rupees. There was also an increase of 258,500*l.* under miscellaneous civil charges, of which 126,500*l.* was due to the inclusion of Berar transactions from October 1, and 66,300*l.*, due to the remission of Takavi advances in the Bombay Presidency. The increase of 211,300*l.* under Railway Revenue Account was due partly to the expense of increased traffic, but more largely to special expenditure on maintenance and renewals of permanent way, bridges and rolling stock.

But although the Revised Estimates showed a net saving of 802,900*l.* in the Expenditure, the amount required for the adjustment of provincial and local surplus or deficit was 1,424,200*l.* more than originally estimated, so that the actual total expenditure showed an increase of 621,300*l.*

Budget Estimates, 1903-4.—Remission of Taxation.—Before dealing with the Budget Estimates in detail the Financial Member referred briefly to the surpluses of the last few years, and stated that although many of the sources of revenue were precarious and the financial position of the country depended almost entirely on the nature of the season, yet in consequence of the repeated occurrence of a substantial surplus the Government had decided to reduce the Salt Duty by eight annas per maund, and to exempt from the Income Tax all incomes under Rs. 1,000 a year. The loss of Revenue resulting from this decision was estimated at: Salt, 1,113,300*l.*; Income Tax, 240,000*l.*; Total, 1,353,300*l.*

Revenue.—The Estimates of Revenue showed increases under some heads amounting to 1,291,700*l.*, and decreases under others amounting to 1,828,800*l.*, thus giving the net decrease of 537,100*l.* The heads under which important increases had occurred were Land Revenue, 621,200*l.*; Stamps, 75,000*l.*; Excise, 127,500*l.*; Railways, 306,900*l.*; and Receipts (Military Department), 119,000*l.* The increase in Land Revenue was principally in

Bombay, where 378,200*l.* was due to a return to more normal conditions, whilst it was estimated that an enhancement of 100,400*l.* would occur in Burmah, owing mainly to the revision of settlements in Upper Burmah, and 61,000*l.* of increase was due to Berar. In Excise also 43,300*l.* of the anticipated increase was due to the inclusion of Berar accounts, and a rise of 46,700*l.* was expected in Bengal and the United Provinces, and one of 33,300*l.* in Burmah. The increase of 306,900*l.* in Railway Revenue was chiefly attributable to anticipated considerable improvement in coal traffic on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The net increase of 119,000*l.* in Army Receipts was the difference between an enhancement of 184,600*l.* expected in the home Estimates, and a reduction of 65,600*l.* in Receipts in India. The important decreases allowed for were Opium, 121,500*l.*; Salt, 1,086,700*l.*; Customs, 273,400*l.*; other heads (including Assessed Taxes), 113,300*l.*; Interest, 141,600*l.*; Mint, 51,400*l.*; Irrigation, 39,700*l.*. A decrease of 1,200*l.* under "Other Public Works" made up the total of 1,828,800*l.* The decrease in Opium was due to the fact that it had not been considered safe to estimate the average price per chest at more than Rs. 1,100. In Salt the loss anticipated from the reduction of the duty was 1,113,300*l.*, but it was hoped that 26,600*l.* of this would be recovered from increased consumption.

In Customs a falling off of 90,000*l.* was expected in the countervailing duties on Sugar, of 50,000*l.* on Silver, and of 163,300*l.* in the export duty on Rice. The imports of Silver and the exports of Rice in Burmah in the preceding year were abnormally large. The loss resulting from the raising of the taxable limit of the Income Tax was estimated at 240,000*l.*, whilst an increase of 15,300*l.* was expected from the normal growth of the Revenue, thus reducing the net deficiency to 224,700*l.* Increases under other minor heads of Assessed Taxes reduced the decrease still further to one of 113,300*l.* The decrease in Interest—120,700*l.*—occurred in England, and was due to the fact that the Secretary of State would probably have less money to invest, and that the rate of interest would probably be lower. Under Mint a decrease was expected in dollar and copper coinage. The decrease in Irrigation was chiefly anticipated in the United Provinces and the Punjab.

Expenditure.—As compared with the Revised Estimate of 1902-3 the expenditure for the year 1903-4 showed a net increase of 2,692,300*l.* The most important increases were: Direct Demands on the Revenue, 647,700*l.*; Post Office, 90,800*l.*; Telegraph, 94,400*l.*; Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, 607,000*l.*; Railway Revenue Account, 426,600*l.*; Irrigation, 149,400*l.*; Other Public Works, 149,400*l.*; Army Services, 536,400*l.*; Special Defences, 1902, 120,000*l.* These gave a total of 3,066,500*l.* Of the large increase under Direct Demands on the Revenue 261,600*l.* was due to the inclusion of Berar accounts; 94,700*l.* to Opium, of which a full crop was anticipated; and the

balance was chiefly under Land Revenue, on account of a larger programme for Surveys and Settlements, and to Excise and Forests. Under Post Office 20,000*l.* was allotted for a fast mail service to the Persian Gulf. Under Telegraph 38,000*l.* was on account of the reduction in the rate of foreign messages, and the remainder was mainly for stores and new telegraph lines. Under Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments 78,500*l.* was due to the inclusion of Berar accounts; the remainder was chiefly for Courts, Police, Education and Medical, for, whilst in the closing year there were considerable lapses under these heads, the present Budget made full provision for all anticipated expenditure. The large increase under Railways was due partly to interest on increased capital and partly to larger traffic charges on increased mileage. Under Irrigation 129,500*l.* was allotted for new minor works, for which the full amount entered in last year's Budget but not expended had again been provided. Of the 394,200*l.* noted as increase under "Other Public Works" 266,600*l.* were due to the Special Grants now being made to Local Governments and 34,800*l.* were estimated for expenditure under Berar accounts.

Of the increase under Army Services 123,700*l.* was on account of the Hyderabad Contingent, and the balance was chiefly due to the non-repetition of savings on account of the employment of troops on Imperial services. As a set-off to these increases there were the following decreases: Interest, 132,900*l.*; Miscellaneous Civil Charges, 246,400*l.*; Mint, 6,700*l.*; Total, 386,000*l.* Deducting this from the increase of 3,066,500*l.* the result is a net increase of 2,680,500*l.*, which was raised to one of 2,692,300*l.* by charges under minor heads.

Capital Account.—For expenditure not chargeable to Revenue the estimated requirements were: State Railways, 5,334,700*l.*; Railway Companies, 2,100,500*l.*; Major Irrigation Works, 666,700*l.*; Total, 8,101,900*l.* In addition to this 690,000*l.* had to be provided for discharging Permanent Debt and 1,500,000*l.* for Temporary Debt, thus raising the total capital required to 10,291,900*l.*

To meet this demand there was the surplus of 948,700*l.* and the net receipts from Deposits, Advances and Remittances, amounting to 192,600*l.* The Railway Companies would raise 3,133,000*l.*, and it was proposed to raise the Permanent Debt by 3,333,300*l.* (including a loan of 2 crores to be raised in India) and the Unfunded Debt by 595,400*l.* This would provide a sum of 8,203,000*l.*, and the balance of 2,088,900*l.* would be obtained by reductions in the closing balances which would stand on March 31, 1904, at 11,496,301*l.* in India and 3,934,637*l.* in England.

Coinage, Currency and Exchange.—The coinage operations during the year had been confined to coining 7,09,44,122 Government rupees to replace the coinage of 1840, withdrawn from circulation, and Rs. 2,98,86,000 for native States. The

bumper rice crop in Burmah, and the large cotton crop in Bombay and Central India, caused a great demand for money, which was partly met by an increase in the sale of Council Drafts, estimated to reach 18,261,000*l.*, but chiefly by the importation of gold to the extent of 4,500,000*l.* and silver 4,000,000*l.* The Gold Reserve had risen during the year from 3,454,246*l.* to 3,810,730*l.* Exchange had been steady and favourable, the average rate obtained being 16·002*d.*

Currency Notes.—There had been a considerable increase in the circulation of currency notes, the average, excluding the amount held at the Government Reserve Treasuries and by the Presidency Banks at their head offices, rising to more than 25½ lakhs for the eleven months of 1902-3, as compared with a little over 23 lakhs for 1901-2. In March, 1903, an Act was passed authorising the issue of universal five-rupee notes, payable by all treasuries throughout India, except Burmah, but it would be some time before these notes were ready for issue to the public, as their form was still under consideration.

Presidency Banks.—The Government balances at the Banks had considerably exceeded the obligatory amount, and demands for money had been readily met. The Bank rate during the year had never exceeded 8 per cent.

Foreign Tariffs.—As in England, the lowness of the general tariff renders it difficult for the Government of India to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign Governments, or to pursue a policy of retaliation. But after prolonged discussion an arrangement had been made with France by which India continues to enjoy the minimum tariff, and the new Persian tariff, though it presses heavily on Indian trade at many points, was regarded by Sir E. Law on the whole as an improvement.

Countervailing Duties on Sugar.—Although the Government of India was represented at the Brussels Conference, it did not become a party to the convention binding the countries joining in it to fix by international agreement a limit for the protective duties to be imposed against countries producing beet sugar, and to abolish all bounties direct or indirect on the export of such sugar. It was agreed at the conference that the bounty system should be allowed to continue in full force till September, 1903, but that when in any country the duty on imported sugar exceeded the excise duty on home-grown sugar by 6 francs per 100 kilos. of refined sugar and 5½ francs per 100 kilos. of raw sugar, a special countervailing duty of half that amount should be imposed against such country. Acting on this principle the Government of India passed in June, 1902, an Act imposing special duties on sugar from Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the Act was subsequently extended to sugar imported from France, Denmark, Russia and the Argentine Republic. The effect of the Act was to practically close the Indian market to those countries, and the total receipts from countervailing duties for 1902-3 were only 70,381*l.*, as compared with 244,398*l.* in the preceding year.

Customs Administration.—In accordance with, though not in consequence of, representations made by the commercial community, a proposal had been submitted to the Secretary of State for creating in the Finance and Statistical Department a special section devoted to Commerce, and steps had been taken for the improvement and simplification of Customs procedure.

Army Services.—The grant for Army Services included large sums—in all 803,078*l.*—to be allotted among five Indian cordite, rifle, gun and gun-carriage factories. Of these, it was anticipated that manufacturing would commence in the Cordite Factory, Wellington, about the end of 1903; in the Ishapur Rifle Factory about the end of 1904, and in the Gun-Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore, the Rolling Mills, Ishapur, and the Gun Factory at Cossipore, in the spring of 1905.

Public Works.—The total length of railways open on April 1, 1902, was 5 ft. 6 in. gauge 14,057, metre gauge 10,553, and special 2 ft. 6 in. and 2 ft. gauges 768; total, 25,378 miles. To this 1,096 miles had been added during the year 1902-3, and about 654 miles were to be added during the ensuing year.

Famine.—As already stated, the season during the year 1902-3 had been generally favourable, and the only exceptions had been in Upper Burmah, where there was a shortage of the rice crop, and in parts of the Central Provinces, where there was a more severe failure of the same crop, with the result that at the time of the presentation of the Budget 36,000 people were in receipt of relief. In Upper India the winter rains had been scanty, and the spring crops in unirrigated areas, especially in the Punjab, suffered in consequence, but no severe distress was anticipated.

The direct Famine Expenditure during the year was 313,500*l.* The amount of outstanding advances to native States, chiefly for famine purposes, was about 211 lakhs, and in addition to this loans to the amount of about 33 lakhs were raised in the open market under Government guarantee. The interest on these loans for three years was remitted by Government, and it was decided that, to assist very small States who had raised petty loans in the open market, the outstanding balance of principal up to Rs. 2,000 should be paid off by Government and be replaced by Government loans at 4 per cent., to the estimated amount of Rs. 1,14,000.

Economic Progress.—The Financial Member was again able to point to the increase in the receipts under the heads of Salt, Excise, Customs, Post Office and Stamps and in the amount of deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks as proof of an increase in the material prosperity of the people. There had been some improvement in the tea trade, the price per pound having risen from 4 annas 3 pies per pound at the end of February, 1902, to 4 annas 9 pies at the end of December, whilst exports from Calcutta between April 1 and January 31 increased from 163,339,300 lb. in 1901-2 to 164,161,000 lb. in the corresponding period of 1902-3. There had not been the same

improvement in indigo, but there had been by no means that failure of that industry which some prophesied. During the last auction season there was a rise in price of 4*d.* per lb. and the natural product still fetched in some markets a price 30 per cent. higher than the artificial one. The planters were devoting much pains to improvements in cultivation and in the methods of manufacture, and in Behar great efforts were being made to extend the cultivation of sugar and also of rhea and tobacco.

The rapid increase in the coal trade noted last year had received a check, but experts spoke very highly of the quality of Bengal coal, whilst they warned coal-owners that the mines should be worked in a scientific manner and that only the best quality of coal should be sold for export. The jute industry appeared to be in a flourishing condition, but the reported deterioration of the fibre was a matter which required careful attention. There had been an excellent cotton crop and a bumper rice crop in Burmah, the latter causing an increase of about Rs. 27,73,000 in the export duty on rice. The general export trade had continued to rise steadily and, excluding treasure and Government stores, its value for the eleven months of the closing year was 75,969,551*l.*, whilst that of the imports during the same period amounted only to 47,164,115*l.* Including Government stores but excluding treasure the excess in the value of exports over imports was 24,907,365*l.*

The Debate in Council.—The discussion in the Legislative Council on the Financial Member's statements and proposals was little more than a chorus of congratulations to him and the Viceroy on a "Prosperity Budget," varied only by the usual lamentation from those native Members who belong to the pessimist school, and who are so firmly persuaded that India is being ruined that no facts or figures will shake their belief. Lord Curzon was foremost in congratulating himself on being able to announce a relief in the "burden of the taxpayer," but how a reduction of 8 annas in the maund, equivalent to 1*d.* in 10 lb., in the Salt Duty could afford any real relief to a man who buys his salt by the ounce, neither he nor any other speaker was able to explain. Indeed, many speakers frankly admitted that it was impossible that the relief should reach the very poorest, and they contented themselves with the hope that it might do some good to the petty traders. Most persons who have had practical experience of the working of the salt monopoly in India are of opinion that what the people object to in it is not an increase in the price of salt, but the stringent enforcement of vexatious rules for the protection of the monopoly. When the condition of India is such as is described by Sir E. Law, when many of the sources of revenue are precarious, and when the financial equilibrium depends almost entirely on the occurrence of seasonable rain, a sacrifice of some 1,200,000*l.* of annual revenue seems a high price to pay for the privilege of talking of reduction of burdens.

The relief given by raising the limit of assessment for the income tax is at once more real and less costly. There is no doubt that the tax did press hardly on persons with small fixed incomes, and the difficulty of ascertaining who amongst petty traders were really liable to the tax was almost insuperable and led to much vexation and injustice.

(2) FAMINE.

As stated in the preceding volume, famine had practically ceased by the close of 1902, and the returns for the week ending January 3, 1903, showed that it only lingered in parts of Bombay, the Central Provinces and Rajputana, and that the total number of persons in receipt of relief in these tracts was only 16,917. By April 4 all famine operations had ceased in Bombay and Rajputana, but in the Central Provinces the number of persons employed on relief works had risen to 40,364, and that of persons in receipt of gratuitous relief to 13,667, giving a total of 54,031. The return for the week ending July 27 showed that this total had then fallen to 28,819, and the setting in of a favourable monsoon enabled the Government of India to report in July to the Home Government that no further relief of any kind was required, and that no further weekly returns would be issued.

(3) THE PLAGUE.

When the total number of deaths from plague for the year reached 272,000 for 1901 it was considered most serious, and when the figures rose to 559,602 for 1902 it was hoped that a climax had been reached. Unfortunately this was far from being the case, and the total for 1903 is no less than 842,264. The following table shows in detail how this great total was distributed over the various parts of India :—

| | |
|---|---------|
| Bombay | 343,904 |
| Madras | 12,809 |
| Bengal | 65,685 |
| United Provinces | 77,137 |
| Punjab | 210,493 |
| Central Provinces | 39,660 |
| Mysore | 22,592 |
| Berar | 10,022 |
| Hyderabad | 27,891 |
| Rajputana | 2,036 |
| Central India | 29,097 |
| Kashmir | 765 |
| Sporadic cases in other parts | 173 |
| Grand Total | 842,264 |

Comparing the details for the chief provinces with those for 1902 we find that in Bombay there has been a rise from 217,910 to 343,904. For Madras and the Punjab the figures are practically the same as those for 1902, but in Bengal they have risen from 29,848 to 65,685, and in the United Provinces from 41,570 to 77,137.

The plague has worked its way into parts of Northern India not previously affected, and, besides the 765 cases in Kashmir, there were forty-nine deaths from it in the new North-west Frontier Province, and two in Baluchistan. A study of the weekly returns published by the Government of India shows that the plague usually decreases considerably as the heat increases.

Towards the close of the year Sir Charles Rivaz, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in addressing an assembly of village headmen and rural notables at Gurdaspur, stated that the work of inoculation, which the Punjab Government had taken up vigorously in the cold weather of 1902-3, had been kept entirely free from official pressure, and the number of inoculations had been 481,592; the results showed that whilst inoculation could not be regarded as an actual preventive of plague, it considerably lowered the rate of mortality amongst those who were attacked. Out of 5,291 inoculated persons who were attacked by plague only 1,279 had died, that is the recoveries were 76 per cent., whilst amongst the uninoculated they were only 36 per cent. It is now the settled policy of the Government of the Punjab, and also of the other local Governments, to abstain from any attempt to force on the people any preventive measures against plague, and whilst its officers are directed to do all they can to encourage and assist the people in adopting such measures as experience has shown to be useful, the only duty made compulsory is that of reporting all cases.

(4) GENERAL.

The Viceroy entered Delhi in state on December 29, 1902, and the great Durbar was held on January 1. It was attended by 100 ruling chiefs and the estimated number of visitors was 173,000 as compared with the 68,000 of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877. A grand review of 30,000 troops was held on January 8, after which the gathering broke up. The spectacle was a most imposing one, and it was made more so by the presence of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, who were specially deputed by their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of India to represent them on the occasion. The whole of the ceremonies and proceedings were admirably managed. The total cost of the Durbar was estimated at 180,000*l.* The King has appointed native officers representing all branches of the Indian Army to be his personal orderlies; they will attend all receptions at the Royal Palace from April to August, and a fresh set will be appointed each year.

In honour of the Durbar Mr. Phipps presented the Viceroy with the handsome gift of 20,000*l.*, which has been devoted partly to the establishment of a laboratory for agricultural research and partly to the provision of a second Pasteur Institute for Southern India similar to that at Karauli. The latter con-

tinues to do excellent work, and, according to its second annual report, during the year then under review 543 patients had been treated, with only five deaths.

There has been no legislation calling for special notice during 1903. Most of the commissions appointed by the Viceroy to consider the questions of the Police, Railways, Irrigation and the Indian Universities have presented their reports, but the orders of the Government had not been passed on them up to the close of the year. The report of the Irrigation Commission proposes an expenditure of 44 crores of rupees extending over twenty years on protective works.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Burmah has taken the rather important and decidedly popular step of recognising the Buddhist hierarchy in Upper Burmah with the Taunggyin Sadaw at its head, and presented him with a Sanad in full Durbar on November 13.

(5) NATIVE STATES.

INDORE.

The Maharajah Holkar announced in Durbar on January 31 his abdication in favour of his son, Tukoji Ras, a youth of twelve, during whose minority the Administration will be carried on by the native Ministers and Council, under the direction of the Resident. This step was denounced by many of the Bengali papers as an act of tyranny on the part of the Government of India, but all who have any acquaintance with the real facts of the case are well aware that the step was a most necessary one, and that in taking it every regard was shown for the feelings of the Maharajah.

ARCOT.

Ghulam Muhammed Ali Khan, Bahadur, has been recognised by the Government of India as Prince of Arcot, in succession to his father.

BURDWAN.

Maharaj Kumar was installed on the gadi of Burdwan by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on February 10.

JAIPUR.

The Duke of Connaught invested the Maharajah of Jaipur with the K.C.V.O. in Durbar on February 13.

KOLHAPUR.

The full sovereign power over feudatories, exercised by the Political Agent since 1862, has been restored to the Maharaj by the Government of Bombay.

VII. NEPAL.

In last year's note on Nepal it was stated that the ex-Prime Minister, Deb Shumsher, had settled down quietly in India.

on a liberal allowance from his brother, Chundra Shumsher, the present Prime Minister. The latter came to Delhi for the Durbar, and soon after the close of the ceremonies an alarming report was published in the newspapers of a plot to murder or capture him during his proposed visit to Benares. Five men, nearly all of them refugees from Nepal, were brought before the magistrate of Benares on the charge of being concerned in this plot, the real instigator of which was supposed to be Deb Shumsher. The investigation lasted a long time, and ended in the discharge of all the accused.

As Nepal is closely bound to Thibet, both by natural ties and by treaty, the Nepal Prime Minister took the earliest opportunity of pointing out to the rulers of Thibet that in their dispute with the Government of India they were in the wrong, that it was folly for them to persist in the course they were taking, and that they would certainly receive no assistance from Nepal. At the close of the year he paid a visit to Calcutta, no doubt with the object of conferring with the Viceroy on the situation, and rendering him any assistance in his power.

VIII. THIBET.

Although from the days of Warren Hastings projects for extending trade with Thibet have from time to time been entertained by the Government of India, the desire of the Thibetans to maintain their seclusion has been so strong that no serious effort has been made to carry them out. Thibet nominally forms part of the Chinese Empire, and two Chinese Ambans of high rank reside at Lhasa, of whom the senior bears the high-sounding title of "Chinese Imperial Associate Resident in Thibet and Military Lieutenant-Governor." But the suzerainty of China is a mere shadow, and although negotiations regarding Thibet are formally carried out through the medium of China the latter country has repeatedly admitted its inability to control the actions of the Thibetans, and has declined to be responsible for them.

In 1886 the Thibetans invaded Sikkim, and were not finally driven out till 1888. They were then pursued for some distance into the Chumbi Valley, but no attempt was made to exact reparation for their invasion, and although it is believed that the idea of annexing the Chumbi Valley, which though recognised as Thibet territory is geographically a part of British India, like Bhutan and Sikkim, was considered by the Government of India, it was given up out of deference to the feelings of China. In 1890 the Senior Chinese Amban at Lhasa proceeded to Calcutta, and a treaty was drawn up between India and China, and ratified with much ceremony, which provided for the settlement of frontier and grazing disputes between Thibet and Sikkim and the establishment of trade relations. This was followed by a further Convention with the same object in 1893, but no real settlement

was ever made, and the Thibetans continued to place every possible obstacle in the way of trade. [The average value of the trade between India and Thibet for the last five years, according to Lord G. Hamilton, did not exceed 115,000*l*.]

In 1902 the Chinese Government itself suggested that a Chinese Commissioner should proceed to the frontier to discuss on the spot the questions that were at issue, and in May, 1903, it was informed by the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Pekin that the Viceroy of India would appoint commissioners to meet the Chinese and Thibetan representatives at Khamba Jong, the nearest inhabited place on the Thibetan side of the frontier. On June 3 the Viceroy informed the Senior Amban at Lhasa, with whom he had previously been in communication on the subject, that Colonel Younghusband had been appointed British Commissioner, and would proceed with the Political Officer in Sikkim to Khamba Jong. The mission arrived there in July, but neither the Chinese nor Thibetan envoys put in an appearance, nor had they done so up to the end of the year. Colonel Younghusband returned to Simla to report to the Viceroy and receive instructions, and rejoined the mission later in the year. It was stated by Lord G. Hamilton in the House of Commons in August that the mission was accompanied by an escort of 200 men of a native infantry regiment, and that 300 men had been stationed in Sikkim. By the close of the year this reserve had been raised to some 3,000 men under Colonel Macdonald, R.E., and all preparations for a military advance, such as road-making, were being vigorously pushed on. But the mission was still ostensibly a peaceful one; its members remained encamped just across the frontier, waiting for envoys who showed no signs whatever of coming, and although the Thibetans appeared to be gathering in force to oppose, or even to drive back the mission, the British force in support was still regarded as a reserve only for the protection of the mission in case it should be attacked.

This is all that has been made public as regards the origin, object and progress of the mission.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the Thibetan Blue-book has been published (Feb. 8), which covers the whole course of disputes and negotiations between the Government of India and Thibet and China from 1874 down to the present time, the last despatch being one from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy, dated January 30, 1904, conveying instructions regarding the route and conduct of the mission. It is clear from these papers that neither Thibet nor China has ever had any real intention of carrying out even the trade provisions of the treaty of 1890 and 1893. Although the Chinese suzerainty over Thibet is a mere fiction, it has served as an excellent excuse for evading responsibility. When China has been appealed to it has expressed itself most desirous of carrying out the treaty, but has pleaded its inability to do so in face of the opposition of the Thibetans, and when the latter have been

appealed to they have pleaded the obstinacy of China, and have even said that the treaty was never communicated to them.

It is also quite clear that the real cause of the action of the Government of India was the information it received as to Russian designs on Thibet. These designs were, of course, denied at the interview, and in correspondence, between our Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, and the Russian Ambassador in London, but it was significantly remarked by the latter that Russia would view with apprehension any attempt to disturb the *status quo* in Thibet. It appears from the despatches that the Government of India proposed that the present mission should proceed to Lhasa before opening negotiations, and that a British Resident should be permanently stationed in that city. The Home Government refused to sanction either of these proposals, but it consented that the mission should advance as far as Gyangtse. It directed that force should not be used unless the mission were attacked, or its communications threatened, and it was to withdraw as soon as negotiations were concluded. What it is to do if the Thibetans decline even to open negotiations is not stated.

IX. SIAM.

The terms of the Convention between France and Siam, signed at Paris on October 7, 1902, were fully explained last year, but it was remarked that although the Convention was really a one-sided bargain in favour of France, it failed to satisfy the demands of the Colonial party, and it was very doubtful if M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, would present it to the Chambers for ratification. This anticipation has proved correct; there has been no presentation of the Convention during 1903, but the period for its ratification has been extended and has not yet expired. Negotiations, we are told, are still continuing, and, no doubt, pressure is being put on Siam to make further concessions, either by "giving proofs of its goodwill" or in some more direct way, and the probability is that Siam is endeavouring to ascertain how far she can count on the support of England in resisting these further demands, and that where she cannot count upon it she will yield.

In Siam itself the year 1903 has been one of substantial progress. In the Budget statement the closed accounts for 1901-2 show a revenue of 36,157,963 ticals, rising in the Revised Estimates for 1902-3 to 38,220,000, and in the Budget for 1903-4 to 45,540,000. This increase has been obtained without the imposition of any additional taxation. The expenditure for the year 1903-4, which is estimated at 45,499,365 ticals, thus giving a surplus of 40,635, contains a provision of more than 1,000,000 ticals for the improvement of the Army, and one of 1,500,000 for the construction of railways. In the year 1902-3 2,000,000 ticals was granted from revenue for the

latter purpose, and an additional 1,500,000 from the special reserve. It may be observed that the whole of the cost of the construction of railways in Siam has been met from revenue, and the Bangkok-Petchaburi Railway, 105 kilometres in length, which was opened for traffic in 1903, cost 7,880,000 ticals.

The closing of the Mint to the free coinage of silver in November, 1902, noticed in last year's volume, is said to have attained its object of laying the basis for a gold standard and placing the tical at a steady exchange value, but the most important fact of the year is the success which has attended the issue of the paper currency. The notes, which are of the denominations of 5, 10, 20, 100 and 1,000 ticals, are strictly convertible, and, for the present, the whole of the cash received for them is kept in deposit in the Treasuries, although the law allows 25 per cent. of it to be invested in approved securities. These currency notes are said to be much in demand, and by the end of March, when the new scheme had only been six months in operation, the value of the notes in circulation amounted to 3,479,105 ticals.

The King's sons have been placed at the head of the Army, mainly for the purpose of carrying out reforms and improving its efficiency. Under the old system all Government serfs had to give three months' services every year after attaining the age of eighteen, and they continued to serve until incapacitated by age or infirmity. A few years ago a change was made, and it was provided that men on joining the Army at eighteen should be kept under arms for three years, and then take turns of service of three months in every fifteen, going on leave for twelve months after every three months' service. At forty-one they were passed into the Reserve, and at fifty their military obligations ceased. By the change now introduced the whole Siamese population will be liable to serve, but exemptions will be granted on a far more liberal scale than in Europe. The men will only remain under arms for two years, and will pass into the Reserve, and will be only called out for a few days' training in each year, and at the age of twenty-five they will be finally discharged. It will be some time before this change can be generally carried out, and for the present it is only in force in the military province of Korat, where it is said to be proving a success.

The services of Mr. Ambrose, the British adviser to the Customs Department, have been retained for another five years.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the news has been received that the new Treaty between France and Siam was signed in Paris on February 13. Its terms cannot now be discussed in detail, but it may be said that by it Siam grants all the demands of France, and makes her practically mistress of the whole Mekong Valley.

CHARLES ROE.

CHAPTER VI.

ASIA (THE FAR EAST).

I. CHINA.

UNDER the agreement signed at Peking on April 8, 1902, the Russian troops withdrew their forces from between Shan-hai-Kuan and the Liao River on October 8, 1902, and were to withdraw from Southern Manchuria on April 8 and from Northern Manchuria on October 8 following. Early in 1903 great stress was laid by the Russians on the appointment of a Russian, nominated by them, to the post of Commissioner of Customs at Dalny and the point was conceded by China. On April 8 the Russian troops were withdrawn from Newchwang, but only as far as the railway terminus, an hour's march from the city. A Taotai had been sent from Peking to administer the Government but was requested by the Russian authorities to return, which he did. A few days later much excitement was caused by the arrival in Newchwang of Russian troops. The fact was at first contradicted and when established was explained as due to the movement of troops from Port Arthur to the North, a movement which, however, was not carried out further than Newchwang. Quickly following upon this incident came a report that the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* was demanding from the Chinese Government as the price of evacuation conditions which forbade the opening of ports in Manchuria to foreign trade, the presence of foreign consuls, the employment of other foreigners than Russians, and required the payment of Customs duties at Newchwang to the Russo-Chinese Bank and the organisation of a sanitary commission there under Russian control, as well as the non-alienation of Manchurian territory to any other Power. [On p. 121 will be found the contradiction of these reports communicated to the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne as having been given to him by the Russian Ambassador.]

The United States Government, which, with those of Great Britain and of Japan, had advised China to refuse the Russian demands, had separately protested against them to the Russian Government. In reply it received assurances which led Mr. Hay to write on May 1 expressing regret that there should have been even a temporary misconception or doubt of Russia's position in the matter. Meanwhile the United States Minister at Peking had received from the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* himself a copy of the demands in question, which agreed with what had been reported but had been described by the Russian Ambassador at Washington as mere inventions. This disclosure excited great irritation in America, but the United States Government confined its action to the publication, on May 3, of a note by Mr. Hay, stating that, while the correctness of Mr. Conger's

report had been confirmed, the Government did not feel bound to make any further representations and felt bound to accept the explanation of the Russian Government. At the same time the United States Government pressed on the negotiation of its commercial treaty with China and stipulated for the opening to foreign trade of Mukden and another town in Manchuria in order to establish American rights of trade in that province. Great opposition was raised to this by M. Lessar, the Russian Minister, who had returned to Peking, and the Chinese Government pleaded that it could not open these places as the province was not in its possession. But the point was insisted upon by the American Government and the treaty was signed at Shanghai on October 8, the day fixed for the Russian evacuation of Manchuria. The Japanese Commercial Treaty was signed on the following day. Under the two treaties Mukden and the ports of Antung and Tatungkou on the Yalu River were to be opened to foreign trade on the exchange of ratifications. The American treaty was accepted and ratified in the United States with great promptitude. Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Chinese Government to ratify the American and Japanese Treaties, but that result had not been secured at the end of the year.

While these treaties were being negotiated, much had occurred to emphasise the firmness of the stand made by Russia for her hold of Manchuria. On August 4 the foreign community at Newchwang had been invited to attend the opening of the offices of the Russian Civil Administration at that port, and on August 12 a ukase was published under which the Amur district and the Kuan-tung territory were formed into a special Viceroyalty, and Admiral Alexeieff was appointed Viceroy. [For the effect of this proclamation see under "Russia."] The ukase was evidently the outcome of the results of a conference held at Port Arthur early in July between General Kuropatkin, M. Lessar, Admiral Alexeieff and other Russian officers to consider the situation, which had already excited great resentment abroad, and especially in Japan. Throughout the discussions China had shown her fatal lack of backbone, and great difficulty had been experienced in stiffening her sufficiently to refuse her consent in writing to the Russian demands. These in September, as advanced by M. Lessar, differed little in substance from those of M. Plançon in April, and while deferring the date of evacuation would have recognised Russia's authority in all branches of the Administration.

As the date (Oct. 8) promised for the evacuation approached the interest in the situation grew still keener, but the day passed without incident. On October 9 the Russian garrison at Newchwang was paraded through the streets. On the following day a display of Russian strength, which foreigners were invited to witness, was given at Port Arthur in combined military and naval manoeuvres. The troops reviewed were announced

to be 100,000 strong, but were probably not more than 45,000. The discovery of this overestimate in some degree diminished the effect produced. But the Chinese Government at last awoke for a short time to a realisation of the fact that Manchuria, the home of its dynasty, and in which lay the graves of its founders and of their ancestors, was lost to China despite Russian promises. For a few days there was a talk of war with Russia, but after those few days the Empress-Dowager restored her attention to the festivities which should celebrate her seventieth birthday. On October 28 the Russian troops reoccupied Mukden, as, according to a note published at St. Petersburg, Admiral Alexeieff found that his work of extending civilisation in Manchuria was seriously hindered by the inertia of the Chinese officials in every district which had been entirely evacuated by the Russian troops. At the same time the Russians further strengthened their position at Liao-yang and in the country near the Yalu [see "Japan" and "Korea"].

While Manchuria had been lost to China, so far as her own strength to recover it was concerned, the same process was in course of completion in Mongolia. From the accounts of travellers in that country it appeared that the Chinese traders were being driven back towards China, the feeling of loyalty towards China had been weakened, and Russia was advancing her influence both by the survey of a railroad from Khailar, on the East Chinese Railroad, along the west front of the Khing-an range to Kalgan, and also by the erection of forts at Urga, the chief place in Northern Mongolia. At the same time an expedition, under M. Popoff, was exploring the commercial and other resources of Mongolia.

Yuan-Shih-Kai, the Viceroy of Chih-li, who had recently been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army, did, it is true, in October and afterwards urgently press on the Government the necessity of fighting for Manchuria, and of siding with Japan if she declared war against Russia. Purchases of arms and ammunition were made by him from Japan, and there were probably about 65,000 men in Chih-li at the end of the year who had been well trained under Japanese instructors, and who under other than Chinese officers might deserve to be taken into account as auxiliaries. But with the exception of Chang Chih-tung and General Ma there seemed to be few others at Peking who were in favour of action.

By the death of Yung-lu in April China lost the only statesman who might have had sufficient influence at Court to override the pernicious counsels of the eunuch Li Lien-ying. His hand was evident in the extravagant expenditure by the Empress-Dowager on personal objects which were of no benefit to the Empire, whose state of impoverishment was keenly lamented in Imperial decrees. Thus a special railway line had been laid to the Western Mausolea, and when the Court visited the tombs in April fifty trains were required for the Imperial

paraphernalia; on the return of the Court 200,000 taels were said to have been spent on the decoration of the train and the Peking Station; at Yuen-ming-yuen it was proposed to build a palace in foreign style at a cost of 20,000,000 taels; and the celebration of the Empress-Dowager's seventieth birthday was estimated to cost 10,000,000 taels.

The Imperial Maritime Customs revenue, though it has suffered from the loss of the Newchwang duties (530,000 taels being paid into and retained by the Russo-Chinese Bank there), advanced by 300,000 taels on 1902, and the rise in the value of silver raised the sterling value of its receipts from 3,900,915*l.* in 1902 to 3,982,000*l.* in 1903. This appreciation of silver, amounting to 3½*d.* in the tael, was peculiarly fortunate for China, whose monthly payments towards the indemnity of 1901 alone amounted to 1,250,000 taels. The question of the payment of this indemnity on a gold or silver basis had not yet been decided: the United States alone accepted payment in silver; Great Britain agreed to accept payments in silver to be placed to account; Japan demanded payment in gold; and the Commission of Bankers periodically protested against payment except on a gold basis.

The burden of the indemnity did not appear to lie heavily upon trade as compared with those due to fluctuations in silver, the uncertainties arising out of the position in Manchuria and the rise in cotton goods. In the early part of the year a terrible famine existed in Kwangsi, but as this is the least populous and least commercial of the provinces, foreign trade was little affected by it. It was at the northern ports of China, where, under favourable conditions, a large expansion might reasonably have been expected, that a falling off in the trade returns occurred. At Tien-tsin this was partly due to the stringency of the money market as well as to the political situation. The portion of the railroad open from Hankow was already largely utilised for the carriage of export goods, and especially of hides and tallow, and the extension of the Imperial Chinese Railway to Sin-Min-Ting led to a very large freight in cereals from that district.

The anticipations of internal troubles in China, with which the year 1902 closed, were fortunately not realised. In Kwangai the Viceroy at Canton manifested unusual energy in putting down the disturbances, which had assumed serious proportions, and which seizures of arms at Hong-Kong and Canton showed to be not without sympathisers elsewhere. In Yunnan, Honan, Chih-li, Sze-chuen and Che-kiang disturbances occurred, but were promptly suppressed. In the North-West the power or the determination of the banished Boxer leaders to start a fresh anti-foreign campaign seemed to have been miscalculated.

An incident which excited great feeling among foreigners in China arose out of some virulent attacks in a Shanghai newspaper, the *Supao*, on the dynasty. A demand was made un-

orders from Peking for the surrender of the editor of the paper and several members of its staff for summary execution. The grossness of the attack led some of the foreign Ministers in Peking to favour compliance with the demand, but the Municipal Council of Shanghai opposed every obstacle possible to punishment without trial. Their firmness obtained considerable support to the principle, and the punishment inflicted in a similar case in Peking, where, under orders from the Empress-Dowager, a man named Shen-Chien was summarily flogged to death, secured the adherence of most European Powers to an insistence on a fair trial in the presence of a foreign assessor before prisoners arrested in the foreign settlement of Shanghai could be handed over for punishment. The discussion extended over several months, but at last, on the Municipal Council's urging that the prisoners were entitled to be released unless the trial took place soon, the men were tried in the manner desired, and the principal offender was condemned. Sentence was reserved, as the punishment proposed by the Chinese official of life imprisonment was considered too severe for the case. The other prisoners were released, and a most valuable precedent established in the interests of justice.

On January 18 the monument at Peking to the memory of Baron von Ketteler was dedicated by Prince Chun in the presence of the foreign Ministers with great ceremony.

The presentation by King Edward on March 20 of a gold watch to General Mei in recognition of his distinguished services to British missionaries in Chih-li in 1900 was heartily welcomed by foreigners in China.

The "Kowshing" case was after eight years' negotiations settled in March by the payment by the Chinese Government of the equivalent of 33,000*l.*

The Hata Men Gate in the wall of Peking was restored at a cost of 300,000 taels, contributed by provincial high authorities.

The railway siding dispute at Tien-tsin was settled by arbitration.

In May H.M.S. *Glory* visited Hankow, the first battleship to ascend the Yang-tse so far.

Exchange of ratifications of the British-Chinese Commercial Treaty took place at Peking on July 28.

The Chinese Government determined to establish its Northern Arsenal at Tê-Chou in North Shantung instead of at Tien-tsin.

Sir E. Satow returned from leave to Peking in August.

An agreement for the construction of a railway from Tonquin to Yunnan was signed at Peking in October by French and Chinese Ministers.

Railways.—The final section of the railway from the Ping-hsiang coal mines in Kiang-si to Li-ling on the Lu River in Hu-nan was completed in February. A bridge is in course of construction across the river in order to continue the line to Hsiang-tan. The Peking Syndicate's line from Tao-kou-chen in

Honan was carried $75\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Ta-wang, and is being continued to Ching-hua ($17\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Some 800 feet of wharf were built at Tao-kou-chen, which is the head of the water communication with Tien-tsin. Of the Belgian Lu-Han line from Peking to Hankow over 200 miles from each terminus have been laid. It is expected that 117 miles out of the remaining 300 will be open in August, 1904. Of the German line to Tsi-nan Fu (255 miles) the portion reaching to Tsing-chou Fu (150 miles) was opened in April. Construction trains are running to Chang-tien (30 miles farther), and a branch line from that place to the Po-shan coal mines is being rapidly constructed. The American light railway from Canton to Fatshan (11 miles) was opened in November.

The British-Chinese Corporation had not yet begun work on its lines from Shanghai to Nanking and from Kowloon to Canton. This corporation has made an agreement with the Peking Syndicate for the joint construction and working of a line from Pu-kou, opposite Nanking, to Sin-yang on the Lu-Han line.

A concession was granted for the construction of a railway from Liu-lin-po on the Lu-Han line in Chih-li to Tai-yuan Fu in Shan-si (130 miles). The total cost is estimated at 6,800,000 taels, and the necessary funds are to be advanced by the Russo-Chinese Bank to the Shan-si Bureau of Commercial Affairs.

A light railway of 1 metre gauge is being built from Kwang-chou-wan to Mei-lu (12 miles), presumably as portion of a line to run through Yu-lin to West River.

Manchuria and Port Arthur.—The railroad from St. Petersburg to Dalny was officially declared open in August. Heavy rains in September washed away large portions of the Manchurian line, and caused much delay in traffic, but postal communication between London and Shanghai by this route was soon regularly established, the transit occupying about twenty-one days. M. Witte, in his report in the spring, stated that 756,985,907 roubles had already been spent on the Siberian, Manchurian and auxiliary lines, and that the total expenditure would probably reach 1,000,000,000 roubles. In December the cost was officially stated to be 940,000,000 roubles (99,500,000*l.*), which works out at 16,600*l.* per mile for the whole length, 3,992 miles. Several tunnels have yet to be bored, and the railway round Lake Baikal has yet to be built.

Dalny, the terminus, seemed likely to prove a disappointment commercially and to be abandoned for Port Arthur. Moles of concrete blocks had been run out into the sea, and a breakwater constructed, but these works had checked the force of the tide and thus allowed the harbour to be frozen in winter. Waterworks had been built and electric light installed, but neither shipping nor residents had been attracted to the port. On the other hand, provision was being made for a permanent establishment of 16,000 troops.

At Port Arthur the fortifications had been strengthened—

with the guns taken from Tien-tsin ; a new town was being built along the western basin, which was to be deepened to a depth of 30 feet ; a dry dock 680 feet long was designed, and a canal from the basin to the sea. One million three hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been granted by the Russian Government for deepening the inner roadstead, and already eight ironclads and a fleet of torpedo boats could anchor where formerly only native boats could venture. In 1903 13,000,000 roubles were appropriated to additional fortifications at Port Arthur and the protection of Dalny. When completed the fortifications would form a continuous line along the thirty-five miles of coast. A census taken at Port Arthur in 1903 showed a population of 42,065, Russians numbering 17,700, Chinese 23,494, and Japanese 678.

A special commission, consisting of the Ministers of the Finance, Marine and Military Departments, M. Bezobrazoff, General Wogack and others, was appointed, on the creation of the new Vice-royalty, to determine, with Admiral Alexeieff, the organisation of its administration, the measures to be taken for its commercial and industrial development, and other matters. The Budget was to be incorporated with that of the Empire after submission to the Commission and the economic section of the Imperial Council.

II. HONG-KONG.

The revenue for the year 1902 amounted to \$4,329,712 and including land sales to \$5,901,073, almost all the main sources of revenue exceeding the estimate. The expenditure exceeded the estimate by \$1,350,593 and amounted to \$5,909,548. The excess was chiefly due to expenses connected with plague.

The Estimates for 1903 gave the probable revenue as \$5,187,773 and expenditure \$4,714,501. An increase of \$1,225,000 was expected to the revenue from the opium farm in 1904.

The development of the New Territory proceeded steadily. Its area is about 370 square miles, of which the cultivated portion is about sixty square miles. Police stations have been established, the settlement of land claims was advancing, and an excellent road has been made from Kowloon to Taipo, at the head of Tolo harbour, which was selected as the best position for headquarters. The cost of administration, owing chiefly to the land courts and public works, the former of which will not be needed much longer, amounted in 1902 to \$326,668, while the revenue was only \$45,334. The population in 1903 was 102,254.

Plague was present in the Colony through the greater part of the year. Sanitation works were to be carried out under a special Sanitary Commission in order to cope with this evil, which was ascribed in part to overcrowding.

A strong protest was made against the construction of the new Admiralty Dock on the Island, but the Admiralty and

Colonial Office declined to consent to its removal to Kowloon as desired.

Sir H. Blake, the Governor, left in November for Ceylon, to which Colony he had been transferred, and the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. F. H. May, acted as Administrator pending the arrival of Sir Matthew Nathan, the new Governor.

III. KIAO-CHOU (GERMAN).

The Estimate introduced into the German Parliament in March for military and other expenses at Kiao-chou was sharply criticised and reduced from 15,300,000 to 12,300,000 marks, of which sum 7,470,000 were for buildings, fortifications and a floating dock. Baron von Richthofen in the course of the debate mentioned that the regular garrison, 1,700 strong, had been reinforced by 600 men withdrawn from Shanghai. The German Government was said to have previously spent 50,000,000 marks on the Colony. The area of this is 208·4 square miles, but it is only in the immediate neighbourhood of the port that improvements are being carried out, except by the railway and mining companies. Of these the Shantung Railway has invested 54,000,000 marks and the German Mining Company 12,000,000 marks without any guarantee from the Chinese Government such as has been granted to the British-Chinese Corporation. Of the line to Tsi-nan Fu 189 miles had been completed and the line was expected soon to be open as far as Chang-shan Hsien, from which a branch line to the Po-shan coal district was being constructed. The coal carried by the line from the Wei Hsien district has not yet attained large proportions.

In February Marine Staff Paymaster Fichter was appointed Governor of the Colony.

IV. WEI-HAI-WEI (BRITISH).

Little of note occurred at Wei-hai-wei. Attention has been called to the small sum expended (16,000*l.*) by the British Government on this Colony in 1903, as compared with that granted by the German Government for the development of Kiao-chou.

V. FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

The railway from Hanoi to Nandinh was opened on January 8. The line is opened also from Haiphong to Hanoi (61 miles), and from Hanoi *via* Lang-Son to the Chinese Frontier, whence it is to be continued to Lung-Chou and Nan-ning Fu. Lines were under construction from Hanoi: (1) along the Red River Valley to Lao-Kai, from which point it was to be carried on, *via* Mengtze, to Yunnan Fu (281 miles), at an estimated cost of

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12,500*l.* per mile, and to be finished within five years; and (2) to the Annam Frontier.

The force in Indo-China, which stood at 24,000 men, has been reinforced by 6,000 men.

The foreign trade in 1902 showed an increase of 37,343,540 francs.

| | 1902. | 1901. |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Imports | 215,162,998 | 202,477,670 |
| Exports | 185,266,589 | 160,608,377 |

The Colonial Council of Cochin-China voted 16,000,000 francs for sanitation and waterworks at Saigon.

VI. KOREA.

In May, 1903, a Russian settlement was found to be established at Yongampho, about fifteen miles above the mouth of the Yalu River, on the southern bank. The Korean Government protested against its occupation, and the Russian Minister replied that it was necessary as a site from which to ship timber cut under a concession granted by the King in 1896, a concession granted while the King was seeking refuge in the Russian Legation. The felling of timber in forests which the Korean Government maintained were not included in the concession was stopped. The construction of a telegraph cable across the river and of a land line to Wiju was also abandoned, but the work of laying out the settlement was continued, the river bunded along its front, and some brick houses built. Some hesitation was shown with regard to the erection of a fort, but apparently some work was done in this direction. Meanwhile the Russian Minister strenuously endeavoured to force the Korean Government to legalise the occupation of the land (some 300 acres), and to induce it not to listen to the arguments of the Ministers of Great Britain, the United States and Japan, who urged with growing insistency the necessity of safeguarding Korean interests by throwing open both Wiju and Yongampho to foreign trade. The Korean Government sought safety in inaction, not venturing to comply with either request for fear of provoking resentment.

The first section of the Soul-Fusan Railway, *i.e.*, from Soul to Su-won (25 miles), was opened in October. From Fusan fifteen miles of railroad have been opened. The total length is 263 miles.

An interdict imposed on the issue of notes by the Japanese Bank in Soul was withdrawn in deference to a protest by Japan. The non-issue of title-deeds for land owned by foreigners in Soul led to a declaration by foreign Ministers that they would not be able to attend the New Year's reception, a threat which produced promise of compliance with their wishes. An order prohibiting the wearing of the national white outer clothing and replacing white by black remained in force for ten days only.

At the close of the year a rising of the Tonghaks in the Southern Province was reported to have taken place, and in the capital the condition was so unsettled and the control exercised by the Government over its troops so doubtful that guards were despatched from the foreign fleets to protect their legations in Seoul.

While the integrity and independence of the country were questions which might involve Japan in war with Russia, Korea herself had not the power nor the energy to influence the decision regarding her fate in one direction or the other.

The American gold mines at Unsan, in Phyong-an Province, running 200 stamps, paid 125,000*l.* in dividends. The ore averages 6 dwt. to the ton, and working costs are from 5*s.* to 7*s.* per ton. The British-Korean Corporation's mine at Yun-san, in the same province, was expected soon to begin crushing operations.

VII. JAPAN.

On December 28, 1902, the Japanese Diet had been dissolved in consequence of an adverse vote on the Budget brought forward by Count Katsura's Ministry, which provided for the continuation of the land tax in order to meet the demands for naval expansion and extension of the railroad and telephone systems. On the necessity of naval expansion all were agreed, but the tax was distasteful in itself and had only been accepted for a term of five years and for a special purpose.

In the House of Representatives which met in May after the elections the Government were still in a hopeless minority, but were sustained in their position by the Marquis Ito, who, feeling the dangers of frequent changes of Ministry, used his influence as leader of the Sei-yu-kai, which held a majority in the House, for national instead of party purposes. As the Budget had not been passed that for 1902-3 remained in force for 1903-4, but the Ministry on the opening of the Diet (May 12) introduced a Supplementary Budget in which the obnoxious land tax again figured. The introduction of a Budget supplementing one which had no formal existence was much criticised by the Opposition and the Land Tax Bill was promptly thrown out (May 21). Marquis Ito then endeavoured to arrange terms between the Sei-yu-kai and the Cabinet, and in a conference it was decided to drop the land tax and to provide funds for naval expansion by economies in the Administration, by domestic loans and appropriation of moneys set aside for railway extension. This arrangement was accepted by the Sei-yu-kai, not without some discontent on its being discovered that the terms had already been arranged by Marquis Ito before their committee met the Cabinet. Under the Bill, which was passed, 10,000,000*l.* were found for new ships and 1,500,000*l.* for naval expenses. Three first-class battleships, three first-class armoured

cruisers and two second-class cruisers were thus to be added to the fleet.

The House then showed its discontent by introducing a vote of censure on the Ministry for the unconstitutional form of the Budget. The vote was thrown out by 228 to 223, but a combination of parties resulted in the defeat of the Government (May 29) on resolutions demanding the fixing of Ministerial responsibility in connection with recent official scandals. The Cabinet ignored the censure and in the House of Peers the Premier declared that the resolution passed by the House of Representatives did not involve the resignation of the Ministry, as the Cabinet held its commission from the Emperor and not from the Diet. The position of the Cabinet had become untenable and after the Diet had closed (June 4) the Minister of Education resigned, as he was regarded as responsible for the "text-book" scandal, which had led to the conviction of over forty subordinates in his department on charges of bribery by booksellers and publishers. The Minister of Commerce, who had advised some ill-considered legislation for the regulation of rates of exchange, accompanied him together with the Minister for Communications, whose programme for railway extension had been excluded.

Count Katsura himself would have resigned, but the action of Russia in Manchuria confirmed Marquis Ito in his opinion of the inadvisability of a change of Ministry. After much consultation with his colleagues the Marquis consented, at the Emperor's invitation, to accept the post of President of the Council. Marquis Yamagata and Count Matsukata on similar grounds accepted membership of the Council. The weight gained by the accession of these statesmen placed Count Katsura in a stronger position than he had previously occupied, and the efficiency of the Cabinet for administrative economy was increased by a diminution in its number, as no new men, except Baron Kuroda, were for a time called upon to fill the vacant Ministries. Among other changes that followed, the *Sei-yu-kai*, with which Marquis Ito was unable to continue his connection, was introduced by him to a new leader in Count Saionji, and a section which had broken away from the party in dissatisfaction at the absolute control exercised by Marquis Ito founded the *Doshi-shukai* (assembly of fellow-thinkers) under Count Itagaki.

In June General Kuropatkin, the Russian Minister for War, visited Tokio, and was the guest of the Emperor. His reception and the friendly tone of the Russian Press at the time gave some promise of a satisfactory settlement of the Russo-Japanese question in Manchuria. But Russia's continued occupation of Yongampho in Korea undeceived those who held this hope, and excited intense irritation in Japan. On August 12 the Japanese Ambassador at St. Petersburg presented a proposition for the arrangement of Russia and Japan's mutual

interests in Manchuria and Korea. His letter and the correspondence which followed had not been made public by the end of the year, but it may be presumed that M. Kurino claimed (1) fulfilment of the agreement signed between Russia and Japan in March, 1898, in which both Powers recognised Korea's independence, and (2) recognition of an agreement between Japan and Korea signed June 19, 1898, in which preferential rights for railway construction were conceded to Japan. The negotiations made no progress, and in October were removed from St. Petersburg to Tokio. At a conference held in October between the Japanese Ministers and the "Elder Statesmen" (*Genro*), Marquis Ito was said to have proposed that Japan should limit her demands to a pledge from Russia to respect and maintain Chinese and Korean integrity and sovereignty. But the demands made appear to have been for (1) the independence and integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires; (2) the recognition of Japan's special interests in Korea, and of Russia's in Manchuria; (3) "equality of opportunity" for Russia and Japan's commerce in Manchuria and Korea. The answer to this letter was not received until forty days afterwards (Dec. 11), and the temporary preservation of peace was largely due to the fact that Japan held in the *Genro* six statesmen (Counts Okuma, Itagaki, Inouye and Matsukata and the Marquises Ito and Yamagata) whose work in the Restoration and since entitled them to the confidence of their countrymen, and whose presence in the Council enabled the Ministry to refrain from the declaration of war which the public desired. While the receipt of the answer was impatiently expected from day to day, the Japanese Diet had met (Dec. 5), and the Emperor had in person delivered (Dec. 10) a speech in which he referred to the prudence and circumspection shown by his Ministers in the negotiations for securing Japan's rights and interests. The House of Representatives the same day adopted, without a division, a reply imputing to the Ministry a temporising policy at home and neglect of its opportunities abroad. The boldness of this reply was unprecedented. The House, which had been newly elected, was dissolved the next day, a measure which had been expected (and which entailed the loss to the House and its President of their salaries). The Russian reply is known to have been unsatisfactory. After consultation between the Ministry and the *Genro*, Japan, on December 21, asked the Russian Government to reconsider their reply. The answer to this request was pending at the close of the year.

The delay in the Russian answer to Japan's first note, coupled with the energy shown in collecting Russian troops and sailors into Port Arthur and Manchuria, caused great impatience throughout Japan, and threw into strong prominence the calm determination with which the Japanese Government pursued its aims. This calmness was the more striking, for the Press was full of rumours of Russian designs upon Korea.

and more especially on Masanpo, the port in Southern Korea, possession of which would secure to Russia a most important link between Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and would permanently threaten Japan. The purchase in December by Great Britain, for 1,750,000*l.*, of two Chilean warships relieved Japan from the fear of Russia's acquiring them. Shortly afterwards Japan herself bought two Argentine armoured cruisers which were nearing completion at Genoa.

Japan's announcement that she was determined not to abandon negotiations so long as there was a hope of peace, the reluctance of both Powers to figure as the aggressor, and the character enjoyed by the Tsar as a lover of peace, together with the earnest efforts made by Great Britain and France to maintain peace, seemed at the close of 1903 to be the only factors holding out any hope that hostilities might be averted. Both the United States and China had given out officially that they intended to assume an attitude of strict neutrality. Meanwhile Japan's preparations for war were complete and enabled her to hope for a successful opening of the campaign if war was forced upon her.

The revenue for the financial year to December 31, 1903, amounted to 11,763,000*l.* against 12,966,000*l.* for 1902, and the expenditure to 16,192,000*l.* against 18,452,000*l.* The Budget for 1904 remained unchanged, in consequence of the dissolution of the Diet, but it was hoped that expenditure would be reduced by 1,000,000*l.* by economies in administration and the postponement of public works. It was proposed that the manufacture of tobacco be taken over by the Government, and that the present evasion of taxes on *saké* be efficiently guarded against. Imports in 1903 showed an increase of 16·4 per cent. and exports of 10·4 per cent. The rice crop was the best for many years past and was valued at 120,000,000 yen more than that of 1902. The export of silk in 1902 was 77,584 bales; in 1903 it probably exceeded 80,000 bales.

The establishment of a Japanese Bank for China and Japan with a capital of 20,000,000 yen, the extension of the camphor monopoly from Formosa to the whole Empire, and the development of its kerosene trade were the chief events in Japanese commerce.

The question of the taxation of houses in the foreign settlements had been submitted to the Hague Court of Arbitration, but another question affecting foreigners arose in the Japanese demand for the deposit of security by foreign insurance companies established in the country, and the refusal to accept Japanese 4 per cent. bonds (1899) as part of the security.

The construction of a harbour at Tokio at an estimated cost of 28,600,000 yen was decided upon; work was being proceeded with on the Osaka Harbour, the cost of which was estimated at 22,570,000 yen, and a new dock had been opened at Hakodate capable of receiving vessels up to 12,000 tons.

Immigration into Formosa seemed to proceed but slowly. The total number of Japanese in the island (exclusive of 80,000 troops) was stated by Baron Kodama in June to be 30,000 out of a population of 3,000,000, of whom 100,000 were aborigines and the remainder Chinese. But gold mining and the camphor industry are making progress.

W. R. CARLES.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA (WITH MALTA).

I. SOUTH AFRICA.

DISAPPOINTMENT with the present and anxiety for the future give the keynote to affairs in South Africa during the year 1903. It would, however, be unphilosophic to emphasise what may be merely a transient mood, or deduce from it an unfavourable future for the country. What is a single year in the life-history of a vast area such as South Africa, peopled with diverse races and only just emerging from the convulsions of war between the two sections into which the white overlords of the region have for three-quarters of a century been divided? To draw conclusions from the events of so brief a space of time would be as misleading a proceeding as to attempt to define the future of an individual from hearsay evidence of his doings during a single hour. Here the impartial presentation of facts alone concerns us.

The year opened with Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa as the protagonist of Anglo-Dutch reconciliation. He arrived at Pretoria on January 4, where he was received with enthusiasm by the English and with chill politeness by the Dutch, who, through their ex-Generals, asked for a general amnesty and greater facilities for the resettlement of the burghers on their farms. At a banquet given to him in Pretoria Mr. Chamberlain preached the doctrine of union and conciliation—the fusion of the white races into one African nation. He appealed to the Boers through their leaders—several of the ex-Generals were at the feast—to forget the past, to work for the future and not to conduct internal controversies upon racial lines. He hoped that the time would quickly come when representative government could be granted to the new Colonies; but the most urgent questions were the settlement of the claims for compensation and the more speedy repatriation of the people; and though Mr. Chamberlain made it clear that non-representative government was not permanently suitable for a country with a white population such as South Africa enjoys, he also

left it to be inferred that the existing administration would not immediately be disturbed. On the whole it was felt that Mr. Chamberlain had gone as far as could reasonably be expected of him, but the Boers with characteristic pertinacity endeavoured to press him to make concessions such as their leaders had failed to obtain from him in London after the Peace. They presented him with an address which set forth a number of claims more or less inconsistent with the terms of the Vereeniging Treaty, and speeches were made in support of them to which Mr. Chamberlain made a tactful but firm reply, keeping closely to the peace compact, treating it as the charter of the Boer people, assuring them that its provisions would be justly and even liberally interpreted by the British Government, but specifically rejecting the demand for a present amnesty of rebels, and telling the burghers that though he did not exclude the idea of future amnesty it would not come as the result of pressure. The Home Government must have time to see how the situation developed. Gratification was expressed at the results of the interview, and the Boers seemed to be pleased with the Colonial Secretary's assurances and not disappointed that he had shown them that he was not to be squeezed.

From Pretoria Mr. Chamberlain went to Johannesburg, and to the sacrifices made by its citizens on behalf of the principle of equal rights for white men south of the Zambesi he did eloquent justice. The great question which Mr. Chamberlain had to handle was that of the war contribution of the new Colonies. After much negotiation, he was able to announce at a banquet in Johannesburg—and in the course of a speech glowing with hope for, and expectation of, a speedy revival of the country—that an arrangement had been made. The Imperial Government would submit to Parliament a Bill to guarantee a loan of 35,000,000*l.* sterling on the security of the assets of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. It would be an investment loan devoted to paying the existing debts of the Transvaal, for necessary expenditure upon public works, for land settlement, and for new railways. Thus the two Colonies would be immediately placed in funds for the development of the country. That was one side of the agreement. The other was that as soon as possible after the placing of this loan, another loan of 30,000,000*l.* would be issued, to be called up in annual instalments of 10,000,000*l.* This loan would be treated as a war debt secured on the assets of the Transvaal; and a group of South African financiers had undertaken to subscribe the first 10,000,000*l.* without commission or any preferential security.

At that time the labour question was becoming increasingly acute, and the mining interest had urged Mr. Chamberlain to deal with it as the most pressing problem before the country. The expedient of Chinese immigration under a system of indenture had been mooted, and Mr. Chamberlain had dealt

with it somewhat warily, without, however, committing himself to the exclusion of Chinese. When the financial arrangement outlined above was rumoured in Johannesburg it was suggested there that Mr. Chamberlain's consent to the introduction of the yellow man had been bought by the mining interest—that they had pledged themselves to take up 10,000,000% of the war loan in return for the Imperial Government's willingness to sanction the importation of Chinese. Mr. Chamberlain dealt with this ignoble suggestion indignantly, and went on to speak of the labour question, using language which implied that he would not regard with disfavour any practicable scheme by which compulsion to work by increase of taxation could be applied to the black races. A study of his speeches brought out the view that the labour problem was one for the Colonies to settle for themselves, and that it was not for the Imperial Government to hamper them by prohibiting the importation of Asiatics, or imposing upon them the views of Exeter Hall. But this is a question that must be dealt with later on.

From Johannesburg Mr. Chamberlain made a tour through the new Colonies and to Cape Colony, visiting Boer settlements, British farms and Kaffir locations, obtaining a first-hand acquaintance with life on the "illimitable veldt," and everywhere urging the necessity of racial harmony and common effort for the good of the country. Potchefstroom, Lichtenburg, Vryburg, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Graaf Reinet and Cape Town were visited. The limits of space do not permit of references to the many speeches Mr. Chamberlain made. They were straightforward and yet tactful, eloquent in their sincerity, forcible in their appeal. But who can measure their effect upon the Dutch population? They seemed for a time to kindle the fires of loyalty, notwithstanding a good deal of captious Boer argument which plainly showed that the burghers still regarded themselves as a nation and not as a subdued and incorporated people. But the Boer leaders were too cautious to be enthusiastic themselves, and it is questionable whether the burgher attitude toward Mr. Chamberlain amounted to much more than sullen acquiescence in the power he had exercised over their destinies. General Delarey's remark at Lichtenburg, that Mr. Chamberlain was the strong man who held the keys and could both lock and unlock, seems to epitomise the Boer feeling towards him. In Cape Colony Mr. Chamberlain soundly rated the Afrikaners for disloyalty, and for a chronic propaganda of racial antagonism; and a deputation from the Bond waited upon him in Cape Town to assure him of their acceptance of the Treaty of Vereeniging as the commencement of a new era. But the Bond is an inscrutable organisation, and in its official utterances little confidence can be placed. Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, however, its real leader, seemed to have been influenced by Mr. Chamberlain's private discussions with him, and at the deputation mentioned made a speech pledging the Bond to loyalty, and abounding

in friendly assurances. Mr. Chamberlain cordially welcomed these assurances, while he lectured the rebel and semi-rebel elements in Cape Colony because of the mischievous use to which they had put the boon of self-government. He spoke also of Federation :—

“ I should like to see Federation. I will go one step further and say I should like to see you re-united in one great Parliament of an Imperial race. But undue hurry would be fatal. Nothing would please me better than to know that Federation would come within the lifetime of this generation. I make a last appeal. I have come to South Africa at some inconvenience to myself. I have no personal motives and no political ambitions to gratify. I am older than most of those present, and my time of active service is necessarily coming to a close. I have tried to fulfil my great mission in an impartial spirit. I have spoken frankly and without reserve. I shall go away hopeful and confident regarding the rest of South Africa, and I am sanguine even here. Upon you a great responsibility lies. You are engaged in building up a new nation. What that nation shall be depends largely upon what you do now, not on the past. You have a clean slate, and I ask you to give up all kinds of animosity which can prevent co-operation for the common good, and also for that Imperial dominion which is yours as well as ours.”

Before leaving the subject of the tour a somewhat detailed reference should be made to Mr. Chamberlain's proceedings at Bloemfontein, for here he received a deputation of Boers, headed by General Christian De Wet, and from what passed it is possible to define the aims of the irreconcilable element among the burghers. An address was presented setting forth these grievances : (1) That the terms of peace had never been given the force of law, and in this connection a case in which a plea under the peace terms had been disallowed in a court of justice was cited. (2) That there had been a violation of the terms in the fact that certain burghers had not been allowed to return. (3) That the administration of education and railways had been centralised in the Transvaal. (4) That, in violation of the peace terms, rebels had not been amnestied in spite of all the representations made to the Cape Colony on the subject. (5) That an inquiry should be made into the cases of certain burghers who during the war had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. (6) That all receipts given by the late Free State Government should be paid. (7) That claims for compensation under Lord Roberts's proclamation of June 29, 1900, should be met. (8) That receipts should be paid on the earliest opportunity. (9) That it was a grievous wrong that burghers who had been on commando after September 15, 1901, should be obliged to contribute to the maintenance of their families in the concentration camps. (10) That full compensation should be given for the occupation of burghers' property prior to the conclusion of peace.

And the address hinted further that these were merely temporarily pressing questions, and that there were other vital issues affecting the future of the country which had been held in reserve.

Mr. Chamberlain told the deputation that he was surprised and offended by their address. He regarded it as reflecting on his honour and on that of the British Government. The accusations as to violation of the terms of peace were baseless. He dealt with the paragraphs point by point, and as to the hint of other vital questions in the background he told the deputation that the Government were anxious to promote conciliation; but if the people persisted in a policy of grumbling about imaginary grievances he would despair of reconciliation and would advise the Government to hold its hand; it was useless to make further advances to people who had accepted the already enormous grants without a word of thanks, and who only made concession a basis for further demands. Stung by this rebuke General De Wet rose to speak, but Mr. Chamberlain waved him down. There was a sharp altercation between Mr. Chamberlain and members of the deputation on the subject of the treatment of burghers who had laid down their arms and taken them up again. When General De Wet got a hearing he complained that a deputation of Kaffirs had been received before the Boer deputation, and declared that he would not rest until he had caused a rebellion, not, he was careful to explain, an armed rebellion, but one of agitation and discontent, against the Government. Mr. Chamberlain retorted by complaining of the discourteous tone of the address, and while affirming that the British Government would strictly carry out the terms of peace, it certainly would not do what some of the Boers wished—subject those who had been the friends of the Government to the will of those who had remained its enemies.

This is, of course, merely a crude paraphrase of the proceedings with the object of elucidating the persistent efforts of the ex-military leaders of the Boers to undo the compact of Vereeniging and to give effect to their animosity towards the "hands-uppers" and National Scouts, to whose desertion of the Boer cause they attributed the extinction of the Republics. But here our record of the tour must cease. Whoever wishes for an adequate account will find it in Mr. Jeyes's "Mr. Chamberlain: His Life and Public Career." It is enough to add that the Colonial Secretary sailed from Cape Town for home on February 25, leaving behind him an ineffaceable impression, and having, it is to be hoped, sown in the Dutch and Afrikaner minds the needful seeds of loyalty.

To the great end of racial reconciliation, it is natural to believe that some sensible contribution was made by the judicious tone of Mr. Chamberlain's language to the Dutch Loyalists at the Cape. While promising them that any cases of boycotting or persecution, as to which adequate detail was given, would be inquired into and if possible set right, he urged them to accept

the assurances of loyalty offered by Mr. Hofmeyr on behalf of the Bond, and to allow time for his words in condemnation of offensive conduct towards Loyalists to permeate the minds of all those with whom he exercised influence.

With Mr. Chamberlain's departure Lord Milner threw himself with renewed energy into the task of rehabilitating the fortunes of the distracted country. He had previously endeavoured to enlist the co-operation of leading Boers in the work of the new Legislative Councils, but in the Transvaal Generals Botha, Delarey and Smuts rejected his overtures. They professed a sincere desire for co-operation in promoting the welfare of the country, but argued that public feeling was still in such a state of irritation that discussion of affairs in a Representative Council would be inadvisable. What the country wanted was a cessation of political strife. Lord Milner made a diplomatic reply, taking the ground that association of Boers and British in the work of the proposed Councils would tend to compose rather than exacerbate dissensions; but his arguments had no apparent effect upon the ex-Generals, who did not think they could be of any service on the Council.

Lord Milner did his best with the material at his command, and many pages of this work might be filled with administrative details bearing upon repatriation, land settlement, railway extension, mining and labour questions and legislation. These and like matters were for many months in a condition of fluidity, and we can only record incidentally some of the results. An Intercolonial Conference was held at Bloemfontein in March which decided upon a Customs Union for South Africa. The provisions of this convention, which was subsequently accepted by the several Governments concerned, provided for the free inter-colonial exchange of produce grown and goods manufactured within the signatory Colonies, and for a rate on oversea goods of from 2½ to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, with special duties on certain articles competing with Colonial trade. Agricultural machinery, iron and steel (raw and manufactured), machinery, rubber, mining requisites and such like necessities were to be admitted free, while on certain classes of goods there was to be a rebate to Great Britain and to reciprocating British Colonies of 25 per cent., and on another class of 2½ per cent.

Early in May the Transvaal Legislative Council was enlarged by the appointment of Mr. E. F. Bourke, Mr. J. C. Brind, Mr. Andries Cronje, Mr. J. Z. de Villiers, Mr. T. Everard, Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Mr. W. Hosken, Mr. H. C. Hull, Mr. R. K. Loveday, Mr. A. Raitt, Mr. P. Roux, Mr. H. Solomon and Mr. H. P. van Rensburg—a list notable for the absence of the names of prominent ex-military leaders. The members were to hold their seats for two years. The Council as finally constituted consisted of sixteen official members, with Sir Arthur Lawley as President, and fourteen unofficial members, six representing the Rand and five being

Boers. It was opened at Pretoria on May 20, Sir Arthur Lawley foreshadowing its legislative work — measures dealing with local self-government, the magistracy, and the creation of local advisory boards to advise the Government on educational matters—both the State and private schools being under the control and inspectorate of the Government, but provision being made for the teaching of the Dutch language in accordance with the terms of peace. A similar Council was at work in the Orange River Colony, but it is scarcely necessary to follow its proceedings here, because of their relative unimportance in comparison with the pressing questions of the Transvaal.

Meanwhile efforts were being made to draw labour for the Rand from British Central Africa, and early in June the first batch of a thousand negroes from Nyassaland arrived. In July a Commission was appointed—amid much agitation for and against the introduction of Chinese—to inquire into the amount of labour necessary for the industries of the Transvaal; and at the Intercolonial Conference, at which Lord Milner presided, complaint was made by the mining interest of the large quantity of native labour absorbed by the Government in railway and the like public works.

In the Transvaal Legislature on July 15 the Budget for 1903-4 was introduced. The *Times* gave the following summary: "The entire expenditure for the civil administration of the Transvaal to June 30, 1902, was provided from the local revenue, with the exception of 541,000*l.* met out of the Imperial grant in aid. The expenditure included 181,000*l.*, interest on the debt of the late Government, and 407,000*l.* for public works. For 1902-3 the revenue from ordinary sources amounted to 4,682,000*l.* The expenditure during the same period was 4,578,000*l.*, including South African Constabulary, 1,250,000*l.*; Public Works, 969,000*l.*; Education, 259,000*l.*; Posts and Telegraphs, 315,000*l.*; and Town Police, 285,000*l.* The estimated revenue for 1903-4 is 4,500,000*l.*, and estimated expenditure 3,590,000*l.* The balance of the revenue over the expenditure will be required as a contribution to the Intercolonial Budget to meet the interest on the first instalment of the war debt."

From the proceedings of the Intercolonial Council, which had been formed by Order in Council for the joint affairs of the two new Colonies, it appears that the Budget estimated the railway revenue at 2,350,000*l.*, against that sum being the loan charge of 1,441,000*l.* Constabulary accounted for 1,520,000*l.* and minor items 67,000*l.* Of the deficit 600,000*l.* was allotted to the Transvaal and the balance to the Orange River Colony. Lord Milner said the revenue of the Transvaal was sufficient to cover the contributions and spoke of the financial result as remarkable and gratifying. He also emphasised the advantage of a common tariff as a step towards federation.

The Cape Budget showed an expenditure to June of

10,783,484*l.*, and there was a surplus of 1,028,682*l.* which was appropriated in further expenditure on account of the war, refugees and loans. The estimated revenue for 1903-4 was 11,725,000*l.* and the expenditure 11,585,232*l.* In Natal the revenue for 1903-4 was estimated at 4,075,266*l.* and the expenditure at 6,382,445*l.*, including considerable increases in the charges for public works, education and other purposes. But on the revenue side there was a loan of 2,316,689*l.*, making a surplus of 9,510*l.* in the revenue over expenditure. Adverting in this connection to Rhodesia, the Administrator's Budget statement showed an expenditure for the year ending in June of 740,000*l.* and a revenue of 513,000*l.* Without entering into the intricacies of South African finance, a subject which only a trained accountant could unravel since the complications introduced because of the war, it is sufficient here to note that the official financial authorities of the different Colonies made decidedly optimistic speeches in connection with the broad figures here recorded. In July an unpleasant incident occurred in the Transvaal, ex-General Botha, the Chairman of the Boer Relief Committee, writing to Sir A. Lawley complaining of delay in the provision of funds for the Local Relief Committees, and insinuating that there had been unwillingness on the part of the Government to discharge its moral duty in the matter, and to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's promises. Sir A. Lawley placed the blame for any delay on the Boer Committee, and ex-General Botha afterwards repudiated any intention to insult the Government, whom, he said, he wished to assist in promoting the prosperity of the country.

Early in August Lord Milner, to whose incessant labours, strength of purpose and conciliatory skill no tribute could be fulsome, arranged to come home on a few months' leave of absence. Sir Arthur Lawley was sworn in as Acting High Commissioner, and one of his first acts was the publication of an Order in Council providing for the administration of Swaziland by a resident commissioner, assistant commissioners and a judiciary, the finances of the country being under the control of the Transvaal Treasury.

At this stage it will be convenient to make a brief survey of affairs in Cape Colony. Trade was prospering. The imports for the year ending in June were of the value of 37,594,143*l.*, as against 27,752,836*l.* in the previous year; and the exports 22,850,198*l.*, as against 12,693,756*l.*—gold representing 7,000,000*l.* of the latter increase. Goods entered for the Transvaal showed an increase of 4,000,000*l.* In political circles there had been a constant agitation for a revision of the sentences passed under martial law, and on August 22 the Government were defeated by 32 votes to 22 on a motion for the appointment of a Judge of the Supreme Court to investigate the question. The defeat, which was due to the Bond, with whom the Premier, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg had acted, was unexpected, and it was resented

by him. He turned the tables on the Bond by treating the vote as one of want of confidence, and announced that he would go to the country as soon as the Appropriation Bill was passed, leaving certain pressing Railway Bills and other measures whose passage was much desired by the Bond to take their chance in a new House. There was much wrangling over this development, and finally the Ministry advised the Governor to prorogue Parliament to September 15, when the House of Assembly ceased to exist by effluxion of time. This was done; both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council—the latter having eighteen months to run—being dissolved. Dr. Jameson, the leader of the Progressives, thereupon started an energetic campaign. The policy of the party was defined as one of closer unity with the Mother Country, equal rights for whites, reform in representation, a vigorous educational propaganda, more liberal State assistance in agriculture, railway extension and British immigration, the maintenance of the Customs Union, compensation to loyalists for losses in the war, prohibition of the entrance of Asiatics into the Colony, and of the sale of liquor to aborigines, and the application of the Employers' Liability Act throughout the Cape. The policy of the South African party (the Bond) was announced to be the union of the different nationalities in British South Africa, the promotion of the self-dependence of South Africa, and the development of the South African national sentiment. It will have been observed that there is a fundamental difference between these two programmes, the one aiming at Imperial solidarity, and the other at South African independence. The elections took place in November and December, after a vigorous campaign, in which Dr. Jameson was the leading and, apparently, the most influential figure, and in which a great deal was heard on the subject of Chinese immigration, both parties being agreed on the necessity of keeping the yellow race out of Cape Colony, and the South African League being opposed to its admission into South Africa anywhere. The result was a small majority for the Progressives, but the final figures were not forthcoming at the end of the year.

The old question of a scarcity of native labour for the mines of the Rand was greatly to the fore during the year. It was, indeed, the dominant factor alike in politics and economics; for while the dearth of labour prevented the adequate recovery, much less the expected development of the gold industry, it also created a sharp and vital cleavage of opinion on the suggested remedy by the importation of indentured Chinese. The subject is so complicated, the issues underlying it so deep, that it is necessary to write here with cautious reserve. A few fundamental considerations may, however, be stated. In the first place, the present and the immediate future of South Africa depend upon the maintenance and extension of the gold industry. That is the salient economic fact. In the second place,

the scarcity of native labour—to whatever extent it may be due to the disinclination of the mine-owners to pay the high rates obtainable by the blacks in other occupations, and railway construction and other public works have opened out abundant and profitable avenues of manual employment—is undeniable, at least on the evidence in the Report of the Labour Commission. This shows that whereas 110 companies employed 111,697 natives before the war, in July, 1903, all the Rand mines could only obtain 55,507 natives. In the third place, efforts to obtain labour from other parts of the Continent, such as Nyassaland, East and North-East Africa, resulted in the provision of companies rather than of the battalions that were urgently required. In the fourth place, it was imperative that a remedy should be found if South Africa in general, and the two new Colonies in particular, were to be prevented from economic and social retrogression, much less aided in that expansion and development which were confidently expected to accrue as the result of the overthrow of the Boer oligarchy—the substitution of a competent and honest government for one against which war was waged on the ground that it was both incompetent and corrupt.

Having cleared the ground by formulating these considerations, the one practical question that remains is the nature of the remedy to be discovered. Native society being in a state of disintegration, the tribal system everywhere being relaxed and apparently marching to general chaos, and there being neither tribal, white nor economic compulsion driving the “boys” on to the reefs, there seemed no immediate prospect of finding a solution for the labour difficulties of the mines, either by offering greater monetary inducements or by modifying, by legislation and taxation, the economic conditions of native life. That at least was the view equally of the mine-owners and of those who are adverse to any administrative pressure being brought to bear upon the native population, though the latter, of course, held that the scarcity was artificial, and remediable by the mine-owners paying a higher rate of wages and offering better conditions of life on the Rand—arguments rejected by the mine-owners.

Without determining the respective values of these contentions, the broad fact remains that if the mines were to obtain the supply of labour they needed at a price which the owners declared they could alone afford to pay if the industry were to be maintained at the level it reached before the war, and if it were to undergo the expansion self-evidently practicable by the existence of deep levels and new auriferous discoveries, recourse would have to be had to some source of labour outside South Africa. The question of employing whites in the mines need not here be discussed. It was tried to some extent and proved too costly. South Africa may be a white man’s country in the sense that he is master and owner of it, but it is a fallacy to regard it as a white man’s country in the sense that he can

and will dig and delve and do heavy manual work either in the open or underground. Such things are not done in lands peopled with an inferior race, and if they are done can be done only at the risk of the white sinking to the economic level of the black. But this side issue need not be further discussed here. Suffice it to say that the question resolves itself into that of the quarter from which the local labour supply shall be reinforced and the conditions under which it shall be imported.

Exclusive of the white and the negroid races India and China offer the only practicable sources of supply. From the standpoint of the mine-owners, however, East Indian coolies were deemed to be undesirable. The East Indian does not take kindly to work underground. Out of the sunlight he sickens and dies, and, moreover, he has neither the physique nor the stamina for heavy muscular toil. Furthermore, as a British subject he would remain in South Africa and press so heavily upon the small white trader and agriculturist as to eliminate that element from the country. India was, therefore, provisionally excluded from the mine-owners' calculations as a recruiting ground. China alone remained and an agitation for the introduction of Chinese commenced. The Chamber of Mines had sent a representative (Mr. Skinner) to gather the data and he returned from China with a report that labour could be obtained and would be effective in itself and financially practicable. Equipped with the result of his researches the mine-owners pressed the agitation. Their project was, at first, very unfavourably received alike in South Africa and in England, but it would seem that some if not much of the hostility towards it, at least in the Transvaal, had been overcome. The evidence accumulated by the Labour Commission appointed by Lord Milner early in the year had more to do with that result than the influence—legitimate and, it was alleged, also illegitimate—exercised by the mine-owners, against whom, in some quarters, it is common form to make accusations of wholesale bribery. While this Commission was sitting many meetings were held in the Transvaal for and against the proposal, and acute divisions of opinion and feeling were revealed. In this place, however, hard facts are preferable to rhetoric and space will best be used by summarising the data submitted to the Commission by the Chamber of Mines. They estimated the total permanent available supply of native labour at 235,000 boys. The mines then (in August) suffered a shortage of 115,100. They submitted the following conclusions: (a) That for the proper working and development of the mineral fields and of the present and future industries of the country large numbers of unskilled labourers are required. (b) That in order to enable these fields and industries to be profitably worked these labourers must be found at a rate of pay not beyond a certain limit. (c) That the rate of pay is at present already so high that it operates against the low-grade propositions being profitably worked. (d) That all the

information submitted to the Chamber shows that the want of unskilled labour is felt not only in the Transvaal but in the whole of South Africa. (e) That the present recruiting fields for African native labour are almost or quite exhausted, and new fields are either not open or else cannot be developed for a period of years. (f) That under the present conditions and cost of living the use of white unskilled labour economically is impossible. The Chamber is therefore convinced that there is no other solution than to allow the importation of suitable unskilled labour.

The Commission concluded its labours in November, and published a majority and a minority report. The former shows that the trouble as affecting the mines is of long standing; the difficulty of obtaining sufficient native labour has hampered the mines from an early date after the discovery of gold, and the idea of indirectly forcing the native to work by imposing additional taxation upon him is as old as the early shafts of the Rand. A document submitted to the Commission by Mr. H. H. Webb, consulting engineer of the Consolidated Goldfields, showed that of the 7,145 stamps on the Rand only 3,725 were worked; the remaining stamps were idle for lack of labour. If these 3,420 stamps could be worked they would yield employment to 5,612 white artisans, and would mean an output of over 2,000,000*l.* sterling yearly in coal consumption and local trade. Over 20,000 more "boys" would be required for these mines. After review of the labour demand in gold districts outside the Rand the report came to the conclusion that, without making allowance for further expansion of the gold industry, fully 197,644 natives were wanted. Of these 68,280 were employed in July, "and the difference, 129,364, represents the number which must be forthcoming to meet the immediate requirements of the Transvaal." It was estimated that, under favourable conditions, 11,200 additional stamps would be erected on the Rand during the next five years; entailing a total native supply for the Rand of 368,637. This figure did not include the requirements of the outside districts or of the potential exploitation of the vast deposits of iron and copper in the country. And not only for the mines but also for the railways, new and under reconstruction, was there a marked shortage of labour, with its effect of decreasing the employment of white artisans.

Coming to the labour resources of the various native areas the report gave figures showing that 88·90 per cent. of the labour of the Rand came from the East Coast (Portuguese), the Transvaal providing 7·02 per cent., Cape Colony 2·15 per cent., Zululand 1·02 per cent., and other regions infinitesimal proportions. Why, with so many millions of blacks should there be such a scarcity of labour? The report answers this question by pointing out that the African native tribes are, for the most part, primitive pastoral or agricultural communities, who possess exceptional facilities for the regular and full supply of their

animal wants, and whose standard of economic needs is extremely low. Their wants are few, and they can easily earn the money with which to satisfy them from the scanty European agriculturists. The Commission did not favour the idea of compulsion upon the negro. Suggestions of this nature were dismissed as of no practical value. "Not only are they opposed to the views of the majority, but the consequences of compulsory labour prejudicially affect employer and employed alike, and create social problems of the utmost magnitude." Nor did the Commission attach much importance to the idea of higher taxes. As for any modification of the native system of land tenure, advocated by a procession of witnesses, such a change would have to be generally applied throughout South Africa, and though it might cause a number of natives to seek work outside their settlements, its results upon the labour supply would only become apparent after a considerable lapse of time. As for white labour the report dismissed it with the statement that the evidence is overwhelmingly and conclusively against its employment in the lower grades of manual work. Experience at the Cape showed that in the towns on the coast whites could not compete with blacks in heavy work, and, notwithstanding the figures submitted by Mr. Creswell with regard to white employment in the mines, the same conclusion in their judgment held good in the Transvaal. Finally, the majority report made a comprehensive declaration that labour was insufficient in South Africa, and that no adequate supply exists in South and Central Africa to meet the requirements of the country. The report was signed by Mr. A. Mackie Niven (chairman), Sir George Farrar, Messrs. J. Donaldson, W. L. Daniels, G. H. Goch, J. W. Philips, J. C. Brink, S. Evans, E. Perrow and C. F. Tainton.

The minority report bears the signatures of Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, and treats the evidence of the representatives of the mine-owners as being, not necessarily dishonest, but selfish, in the sense that it was dictated by purely commercial interests. "The function of the Chamber of Mines is to see that the mines under their control pay the largest dividend possible to their absentee proprietors, and this without any regard to local feeling and opinion." This sentence gives the keynote of the minority report. Its signatories denied that any set back in the gold industry was due to scarcity of native labour, and complained that for the purposes of proving the contrary properties had been included in the estimated requirements which ought not to have been included—in fact, that the mine-owners had "cooked" their case. Their estimate, said the minority report, "is misleading and casts grave responsibility on those who submitted this evidence under oath." It was contended that the native supply was sufficient for present needs, and the principle was enunciated that the mines of the Transvaal were the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and

coloured, and not of the foreign investor, who was entitled to nothing more than a good interest on his capital; the mines should, in fact, be worked in the interests of the people of the Transvaal. The following conclusions were stated: (1) That there is sufficient labour in Central and Southern Africa for present requirements, although efforts will be required to obtain it. (2) That the present so-called shortage in the Transvaal is largely due to temporary and preventable causes. (3) That understanding future requirements to mean such as, if satisfied, will benefit the country as a whole, we consider there is also sufficient labour in the territories named above for future requirements. (4) That in many ways the supply of native labour can be supplemented and superseded by white labour.

It will have been observed that the Majority Report did not specifically recommend the importation of Asiatics, either Chinese or Indian—that it was content to describe and enforce the discrepancy, which the signatories held to be established both as to present and prospective needs, between the requirements of the mines and the available supply, and to offer proof of that disproportion in the form of statistics and opinions necessarily excluded from these pages for reasons of space. We have already mentioned that, at first, opinion in the Transvaal was hostile to the introduction of Asiatics, but that it underwent a marked change when the evidence given before the Commission was realised, and the pressure of financial stringency in Johannesburg came, towards the end of the year, to be more acutely felt. The report of Mr. Skinner, to whose inquiry in China allusion has already been made, was not, also, without its effect in assisting local opinion to the conclusion that an influx of labour from the Far East would be less disadvantageous to the country than a prolongation of the relative stagnation of affairs on the Rand. Mr. Skinner believed that a sufficient number of Chinese could be recruited for present and for future needs, and that in a few months gold production could be appreciably accelerated. He urged that there should be no relaxation of effort to increase the Kaffir supply, and, with a clear appreciation of the undesirability of any permanent complication of racial problems in South Africa, he treated the introduction of Chinese as a temporary expedient pending the time when South Africa should be able to supply all the native labour needed. He recommended strict regulation of the immigration, as to sanitary matters, confinement to mine locations and return on the expiry of indentures; and it appeared that the result of his inquiries was to show that the Chinese Government would oppose no obstacles to the work of the recruiting officers. He was able to show that Chinese labour would not affect the rates for white labour and would, indeed, by extending the area of work, provide additional employment for skilled white artisans; and of these there were large numbers in Johannesburg who were unemployed, the inflow of whites

after the war having wholly exceeded the demand caused by the rate at which the mines were reopened. Mr. Skinner's report was so temperate, cautious and reasonable that its effect in diminishing repugnance to the idea of Chinese immigration was inevitable.

What was the official view of the question? It was defined by Sir Arthur Lawley, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, in a speech at a banquet in late November. The Reports of the Commission, he said, would be fully discussed in the Legislative Council; every member would exercise individual judgment and give an independent vote; and upon the vote of the Council the attitude of the Government of the Transvaal and of the Imperial Government would entirely depend. Two points (we quote from the *Times* report) might be taken for granted: legislation for the importation of labour would only be introduced if the Council were satisfied that it was essential in the interests of the country, and was in accordance with the wishes of the people; secondly, no legislation would be passed which did not ensure the certain repatriation of indentured labour.

The attitude of the Government was thus in accordance with the principle on various occasions laid down by Mr. Chamberlain when Colonial Secretary—namely, that South African questions should be decided by South Africans, and that the Imperial Government would not override the Colonial view of what Colonial interests demanded in internal affairs. The debate on the Commission Reports took place in the Legislative Council of the Transvaal in the last days of the year, the subject being introduced by Sir George Farrar. He urged that delay in the importation of Chinese would be fraught with economic danger, and that he sought not to supplant but to augment the present native supply. A prolongation of the present financial crisis might mean a state of bankruptcy, and compel the country to proclaim a *moratorium*. He denied that Chinese labour would be cheap, and repelled a suggestion that the mine-owners had put hindrances in the way of native recruiting in order to emphasise the scarcity of black labour and make the introduction of Chinese seemingly more urgent. He outlined the conditions under which the new labour should be admitted. The Chinese should be imported in batches of two hundred and fifty, and be licensed to reside on the property of their employer under a three or five years' indenture. They should carry passes, be protected from any ill-treatment, but be forbidden to trade, to engage in skilled labour, or to own land, and heavy penalties should be provided both against employer and employed if the latter were not repatriated at the expiry of the indenture. He moved a resolution affirming the principle of the introduction of Chinese. This was opposed by Mr. Hull, who claimed that the needs of the mines had been greatly exaggerated, and attributed the shortage of native labour to the reduction of the rate

of wages that obtained before the war, inadequate protection of natives from ill-treatment by other natives, and the splitting up of tribal parties in the mines. He defended the native against the charge of idleness, and asserted that there was sufficient labour for all needs if fair inducements were offered to the natives. He was authorised by General Louis Botha to say that he and all the Dutch he represented were steadfastly opposed to the introduction of Asiatics, and he argued that the "boom" which was expected as a result of the advent of Chinese would not be a good thing for the country.

The Attorney-General, Sir Richard Solomon, devoted himself to an analysis of the evidence of the Report, drawing the conclusion that South and Central Africa were insufficient sources of labour supply. As for the attitude of Cape Colony, which seemed to be violently opposed to Chinese immigration on the broad ground that it would be impossible in practice to prevent the Chinese from overrunning South Africa, he was able to quote resolutions going as far back as 1874, favouring the introduction of East Indians and Chinese because of the difficulties of getting natives to work in that Colony; and he claimed that the Cape Labour Commission of 1890-3 demonstrated that it was useless to look for the labour needed by the mines from the African States. The whole weight of the evidence of the Transvaal Commission convinced him that the mines had not exaggerated the number of native labourers they required. Mr. A. S. Raitt spoke against the motion, dwelling upon the opposition of the Boers and the Southern Colonies to Asiatic labour, and emphasising the Imperial importance of the question. Mr. Welldon, Acting Minister of Mines in the room of Mr. Wybergh, who had resigned a few weeks previously because he had come to a conclusion adverse to any Chinese immigration, treated the question technically and statistically, advancing the conclusion that the mines were at present 50 per cent. below their existing labour requirements, and indicating the probability that five years hence there would be fifteen thousand stamps at work on the Rand. Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner for Native Affairs, said he would vote for the resolution. He defended the mine-owners for having reduced the rate of native wages after the war; even now the level was so high that farmers could not afford to employ labour. It was very clear that the natives were not in sufficient number to supply the needs of the country. Mr. Hosken took a similar view. Mr. Bourke thought the matter should be deferred until representative government had been given, and would therefore vote against the resolution. Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Colonial Secretary, did not think that the importation of Asiatic labour would prevent South Africa from becoming a white man's country, but would accelerate that end. Mr. Brink, who spoke in Dutch, declared that the children of the Dutch farmers had to work in the fields because of the scarcity of Kaffir labour;

he would vote for the motion. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick pointed out that depopulation, and perhaps starvation would ensue if the present crisis were prolonged. He protested against the charge of ill-treating the natives which was made against the mine-owners. He denied the right of other parts of the Empire to interfere in the question, but he believed that when they knew the circumstances the various States of the Empire would admit the right of the Transvaal to settle this matter for itself. The Opposition, he maintained, offered no constructive policy.

On a division being taken on December 30 Sir George Farrar's motion was carried by 22 votes against 4, the minority consisting of Messrs. Loveday, Raitt, Hull and Bourke. The President did not vote. The year thus closed with the Legislative Council of the Transvaal committed to the principle of the importation of Chinese under indenture for work in the mines.

In anticipation of the debate an active public agitation had been carried on. Among its incidents—or among causes contributing to the discussion—was the resignation by Mr. Wybergh of the office of Commissioner of Mines. Mr. Wybergh announced that there had been a gradual divergence of opinion between him and the Government on matters affecting the industrial and mining population, and stated that the financial interests had increased their influence with the Government, which had lost touch with the people. Sir Arthur Lawley in accepting the resignation expressed astonishment at the suggestion that the policy of the Government had been unduly influenced by the financial houses of the Rand. Mr. Wybergh, it should be noted, had strongly advocated the employment of white unskilled labour in the mines, denying that it would be impracticable or excessively costly. For somewhat similar reasons Mr. Monypenny, who had done brilliant service in the cause of British supremacy in South Africa as a journalist before and during the war, and had staked life as well as reputation on the issue, found himself unable to continue in the editorship of the *Johannesburg Star*, sacrificing a lucrative office to his convictions and thus following the best traditions of a profession which, in South Africa at least, has been too much under the influence of financiers. Other incidents of the controversy were the holding of a mass meeting in Johannesburg to formulate a demand for a *Referendum* on the question of Asiatic labour, a proposal to which the Government gave no countenance, possibly as holding that it would too sharply accentuate the division of the whites into two camps. Another demand was that the question should not be decided until representative government was granted; but it seemed to be evident that the Government, in view of the urgency of the problem, as evidenced by financial stringency and trade stagnation, would not wait for that constitutional development, but at the end of the year were determined to arrive at a practical settlement of the controversy by initiating legislation providing for Chinese immigration.

Lord Milner returned to South Africa in December with the added reputation of a man who had declined high office in England in order to finish the work to which he had set his hand, notwithstanding that his hopes of a speedy recovery of the country after the war had met with disappointment. South Africa was, no doubt, full of grumblers—that was to be expected, seeing that the towns on the coast and in the interior were thronged with unemployed whites, who were being reinforced by every ship; and there was a tendency in some quarters to visit responsibility for this state of things upon him. But Lord Milner had a very cordial reception, which showed that confidence in his ability and courage was in the main unshaken. He was entertained at a banquet on his arrival in Johannesburg, and the company was thoroughly representative. He admitted the non-realisation, so far, of the hopes he had expressed for the development of the country, but said he saw no cause for wavering in pursuit of the objects the Government set before them from the first, or to doubt their ultimate attainment.

Reference should be made to the highly optimistic report on the trade of South Africa prepared by Mr. Henry Birchenough, the special Commissioner appointed by the Board of Trade. He spent the early part of the year in the Colonies. Mr. Birchenough emphasised the magnitude of the South African market: "The rapidity with which South Africa has come to the front as a great market for British manufactures is almost startling. Ten years ago, in 1893, Great Britain's exports to South Africa were valued at a little under 9,000,000*l.*; last year [1902] they almost reached 26,000,000*l.* In 1893 South Africa stood sixth on the list of Great Britain's customers; last year she stood second," being only beaten by India. As for the Transvaal, the pivot on which the commercial prosperity of the country turns, there were all the elements, he said, of exciting developments, and it was difficult to speak of its eventual future without exaggeration. There is reason to believe that the existing mines "represent rather the opening than the closing of a great chapter in the history of gold mining. Hardly a month passes without some discovery being made which adds to the known extent of the gold-bearing districts." Then there is coal in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, enormous iron deposits in the Middleburg-Ermelo region, diamond-bearing farms near Pretoria, which may one day rival those of Kimberley, and other metals in paying quantities. The Rand industry he believed to be capable of much greater extension, exclusive of the large area of deep level ground. The reader may be referred to this report for a full review of railway construction and other public works now in progress in South Africa, and at the close of the year threatened with delay unless the financial situation be relieved by the influx of labour for the Rand.

The condition of the Transvaal is, perhaps, best illustrated by a few figures from the financial returns. For the first quarter of the year—June 30 to September 30—the receipts amounted to 1,149,333*l.*, as against 994,114*l.* in the corresponding period of 1902. The estimated revenue for the whole year had been placed at 4,500,000*l.* The September returns showed a fall in the revenue, being 336,936*l.*, as against 345,505*l.* in August and 463,871*l.* in July; and even at this figure the September revenue included 52,000*l.* from the sale of Government Netherland Railway Debentures, this sum being accidental and not true revenue. The expenditure for the quarter amounted to 1,320,997*l.*—171,683*l.* in excess of the revenue. But, deducting extraordinary expenditure, the true expenditure was put at 900,997*l.* This sum was in large measure expended on public works. The estimated expenditure for the whole year was 3,588,896*l.* In the Orange River Colony there was stagnation, if not distress, in some parts, and the circumstances in both Colonies were such as to call for retrenchment. The Government recognised the necessity later in the year, and economies were effected wherever possible. For the second quarter of the year—October 1 to December 31—the figures are not yet complete; but the Budget for 1903-4 showed an estimated expenditure for the Transvaal and Orange River Colony of 3,030,353*l.* and estimated revenue 2,350,080*l.*—an estimated deficit of 680,273*l.* These are the revised figures, and are taken from the Blue Book issued early in 1904.

In the summer some ill-feeling was produced by the publication in England of a letter written by General Louis Botha to Mr. Leonard Courtney, and there were other indications that some of the Boer leaders, and particularly the pastors of the Dutch Church, were determined to do what they could to keep alive racial ill-feeling; but their success did not seem to be great, and the attitude and behaviour of the Boer population throughout the year have, on the whole, been consistent with a frank acceptance of the peace settlement, and with hopes of the ultimate reconciliation of the two sections of the white race.

In Natal there was in August a change of Ministry, Mr. Sutton forming a new Administration, and during the year official reports were issued strongly condemning the railway administration and the organisation of the Civil Service of the Colony. A scheme for the improvement of Durban harbour, at a cost estimated at between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.*, is under the consideration of the Natal Government, which has also considered the advisability of a harbour on the coast of Zululand, the engineers' report being in favour of Umhlatuzi Lagoon, north of the Tugela River, rather than St. Lucia Bay. A scheme of afforestation has been put into operation in Natal. [The leading Budget figures for Natal and Rhodesia will be found on p. 395.]

In Rhodesia there was general depression owing to the slow

development of mining, due in part to scarcity of labour. The Rhodesians have decided in favour of the principle of importing Chinese. There has been some agitation on the subject of railway rates and on the choice of Salisbury as against Bulawayo as headquarters of the police.

Rhodesian figures show imports for the year ending March 31, 1903, 1,858,569*l.*, against 1,443,053*l.* in 1902, and for the second three months of 1903 of 467,612*l.*, against 443,757*l.* The Rhodesia railways (owned by the Rhodesia Railways and Mashonaland Railway Company) have undergone extension during the year, and the sections completed are now as follows: Vryburg to Bulawayo, 588 miles; Bulawayo to Wankie Coalfields and Victoria Falls, 288 miles (238 miles completed); Bulawayo to Salisbury, 300 miles. Branch lines: Gwelo to Selukwe, 23 miles; Bulawayo to Gwanda, 104 miles; and Bulawayo to Fig Tree (for Matoppos), 9 miles. The Ayrshire Gold Mines have a narrow-gauge line from Salisbury to their property (84 miles). A survey is being made for a line from Salisbury to the Mazoe Goldfields, 26 miles. The Beira and Beira Junction Railways (worked by the Mashonaland Railway Company) have a total length of 204 miles, from Umtali to Beira.

During the year the great coal deposits of Wankie have been opened up, and arrangements made for bridging the Zambesi at a point and in a manner which, it has been complained, will mar the view of the Victoria Falls.

[The Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it right to add that, while publishing, with much pleasure, Mr. Whates's interesting and well-informed review of South African affairs, he considers that there are points of view connected with the Chinese labour question which deserve attention, in addition to those which Mr. Whates has set forward. Among these may be named the possibility that facilities for obtaining a practically limitless supply of cheap unskilled labour might operate to discourage the adoption, or the improvement by invention, of labour-saving appliances; the probability that, once acknowledged and accepted, the necessity for importing cheap Oriental labour would be regarded as continuing in force for a very long period; the unlikelihood that, in that event, it would be deemed permanently possible to maintain the highly artificial and expensive—even if ethically justifiable—conditions proposed to be attached to such labour in the first instance; and the consequent probability of a complication of the racial difficulties of South Africa by the permanent addition of a yellow element. It is arguable, in view of such considerations as these, that a certain present retardation of economic development in the Transvaal might be a risk worth facing.]

II. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Again it is an agreeable duty to record uninterrupted advance in the prosperity of Egypt, and noticeable, though slow, progress in the Soudan. One event, however, gives a significance to the history of the year which will be variously interpreted according to the existence or absence of apprehension concerning the real security of our power in Mahomedan countries. Reference is made to the rise and summary extinction of a new Mahdi, of whose existence people in England were unaware until they heard that he had been attacked, captured and executed. His name was Mahomed El Amin. It appears that he was a native of Tunis, about forty years of age, and "a man of great intelligence." He had twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and established himself at El Obeid, entering into relations with the local sheikhs and attracting a large following. He appears to have taken the Mahdi as his model, and to have had a select personal following, for he and they were not clad like the Soudanese Arabs, but were partially veiled and wore rich silk garments of Meccan origin. How long he had been at work in Southern Kordofan does not appear to be known, but Colonel Mahon, the Deputy-Governor of the Soudan, heard of him in November, just as he was about to return to England on leave. He had, indeed, but lately left El Obeid and arrived at Khartoum on his journey north when the news reached him that Mahomed had proclaimed himself Mahdi, and had gathered his following together in the Tagalla Mountains. He took two hundred cavalry from the Khartoum garrison and went with them by steamer some two hundred miles up the White Nile, sending also orders to El Obeid for a force of two hundred infantry and two Maxims to meet him near Tagalla. After the junction had been effected the Colonel led the force for five days across the desert towards the Tagalla Mountains, and then heard that the Mahdi was in a certain village. A forced march by night enabled them to surround the village by daybreak. The Mahdi was entrapped by the unexpected rapidity of the Colonel's movements, and there was no alternative for him but to surrender, for most of his followers had deserted. He was taken to El Obeid, tried and hanged out of hand.

It is impossible to avoid a certain sympathy for him, for from his point of view his propaganda, in which it was reported he had shown much ability and energy, was legitimate in its religious if not also in its political aspects, but only those responsible for the peace of the Soudan are entitled to judge how rebellion, open or incipient, shall be dealt with there. Strong measures are the most merciful in the end, because these alone can serve as a deterrent to other would-be imitators of Mahdism; and the vital fact is that a recrudescence of fanaticism was prevented. What this means to the Soudan and to Egypt need be

suggested only to the memory and the imagination. The episode—a dramatic and terrible one—illustrates the inflammable nature of the population of the Soudan, and shows how necessary are constant vigilance and promptitude of action on the part of the authorities.

To turn to more prosaic matters, there is little in the year's news from Egypt which is of more than local interest and the material for recording the progress both of Egypt and the Soudan is best derived from Lord Cromer's annual report. First, as to finance. The accounts for 1902 show a revenue of E. 12,148,000*l.* and expenditure of E. 11,432,000*l.*—a surplus of E. 716,000*l.* For 1903 (we take the figure from the Budget for 1904 submitted by Sir Eldon Gorst, then Financial Adviser to the Khedive, on December 12) the receipts were E. 11,000,000*l.* and the expenditure E. 10,975,000*l.*—a surplus of E. 25,000*l.* The estimated receipts for 1904 were E. 11,500,000*l.* and expenditure E. 11,410,000*l.*, a surplus of E. 90,000*l.*, which is added to the special reserve fund. The expenditure on railways is fixed by the *Caisse de la Dette* at 52 per cent. of the gross receipts, which, with certain additions, yields a total for 1904 of E. 1,242,000*l.* The total cost of the Egyptian Army for 1904 is put at E. 635,000*l.*, a reduction of E. 10,000*l.* as against 1903. The re-arming of the Army with a really serviceable rifle is in progress and will be completed by the end of 1905. E. 196,000*l.* is allotted as the Egyptian contribution to the expense of Civil Administration in the Soudan—the same figure as in 1903. The Soudan revenue in 1903 had again shown a satisfactory increase, exceeding the Estimate by about E. 34,000*l.* In the Soudan Budget for 1904 a further increase of E. 7,000*l.* had been included in the estimated receipts, making a total of E. 41,000*l.* These additional resources would be employed in furthering the development of the country and improving the administration. Sir Eldon Gorst's memorandum showed that there would be a balance in the hands of the Egyptian Government of about E. 3,048,000*l.* when the accounts for 1903 were closed. After deducting the advances and credits on account of the *Caisse* there would be an unpledged balance of E. 2,080,000*l.* Hence, besides a reduction of the land tax, there was a programme of useful and productive public works, such as further irrigation, sanitation, roads, railways, etc. These would absorb E. 1,147,000*l.*, leaving an unemployed balance of E. 933,000*l.* And when the accounts for 1903 were closed there would be an unpledged balance of E. 585,000*l.* in the Special Reserve Fund.

The Council of Ministers had authorised an advance for the construction of a railway to connect the valley of the Upper Nile near Berber with the Red Sea at Suakin. The total sum needed would be E. 1,770,000*l.*, which would be spread over from three to four years. Obviously it would be undesirable to sanction any further large advances out of this fund during that

period. The construction of the railway would be put in hand without delay, and if no unforeseen contingency occurred it was hoped that it would be available for traffic in about three years' time. In previous issues of the ANNUAL REGISTER the desirability of constructing this railway has been indicated. In Lord Cromer's report, issued in April, 1903, he pointed out that E. 10,000*l.* had been allotted for surveying the route, and E. 31,000*l.* for improving the harbour at Suakin. He combated the suggestion that Egyptian interests might suffer through the existence of a Berber-Suakin Railway, by reason of the diversion to the Red Sea of trade which would otherwise have come down the Nile. The Red Sea ports, he pointed out, were the natural outlet for the trade of the Soudan. Increase of the Customs receipts at Suakin would profit Egypt by rendering possible a reduction of Egyptian expenditure on the Soudan. But, further, the railway would, in the main, not divert existing traffic from Alexandria, but create a new trade, by making it worth while to produce articles in the Soudan, such as cotton, which could not be sold at a profit in Europe if they were weighted with the cost of freight from Khartoum to Alexandria. Similarly the internal development of the Soudan would be facilitated by the cheapening of the cost of imports, such as coal, which now costs 4*l.* per ton at Khartoum.

With regard to irrigation Lord Cromer was able to show that the Assiout dam, including the Ibrahimieh head regulator, had repaid the greater portion of its cost in the first year of its completion. Much progress had been made in the construction of the Nile reservoirs. As for irrigation projects on the Upper Nile (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901), Lord Cromer said it was for many reasons desirable that there should be a pause. It was impossible, on the information at present available, for even the most competent engineers to advise confidently what works should eventually be undertaken or to estimate their cost. Definite action in the sense of using Lake Tsana, in the Abyssinian Highlands, was still improbable. The only change in the situation was that made by the Treaty with the Emperor Menelek (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902, p. 416), stipulating, among other things, that the Emperor should not construct any work across Lake Tsana, the Sobat or the Blue Nile, which might arrest the flow of water to the Nile, except by agreement with his Majesty's Government. Lord Cromer added that, while this provision was of importance there were various difficulties—financial, engineering and even political—which made it by no means certain that the construction of important works at Lake Tsana, under Anglo-Egyptian auspices, would ultimately appear a desirable undertaking. Among these he mentioned the probable necessity, with a view to the suggested works, of making a railway from the Nile Valley to Lake Tsana—"in itself a huge undertaking"; the importance of avoiding any measure which could excite any

suspicion in the minds of the Emperor Menelek or his subjects that any aggressive intentions were entertained ; and the obvious objections to locating in a foreign country, however well disposed its ruler, of a reservoir which would form one of the main sources of the water supply of Egypt.

All the departments of the Egyptian Government were working smoothly, and there had been no untoward incidents during the year. For detailed evidence of the benefits conferred upon the people the reader must be referred to Lord Cromer's report—a rich mine of significant facts and of penetrating comment—which also affords much evidence of the actual condition of the Soudan. What Lord Cromer (and the Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate) wrote in the spring of the year held good at its close, subject, of course, to any qualifications that may reasonably be made with regard to Southern Kordofan because of the rise and extinction of Mahomed El Amin. Reviewing Sir R. Wingate's memorandum (a full and exhaustive document) in the light of a recent visit to the Soudan, Lord Cromer said that, considering the former devastation of the country, there was a distinct advance in every direction. "I am able," he said, "in support of this statement, to quote the very high authority of Sir Rudolf von Slatin, who, in addition to his former prolonged experience, has, during the last two or three years, travelled over the whole length and breadth of the country in his capacity of Inspector-General. 'The whole situation in the country,' he wrote in a recent report, 'is very satisfactory. Everywhere I went, from north to south, and from east to west, I found that, compared to last year, villages and cultivation had increased. The population is larger and wealthier ; flocks and herds are more numerous ; security prevails ; and general satisfaction is expressed with the present rule.'"

The great need of the Soudan was capital expenditure on a large scale, and it was quite hopeless to expect that unaided private enterprise would supply this want. Recourse must be had to Government action. Funds could not be obtained from the British taxpayer, nor would such a course be either just or desirable. The Government of the Soudan could not, on its unaided credit, raise money. The imposition of additional taxation upon Egypt for the purposes of the Soudan was not at present practicable. But fiscal reform in Egypt might now be regarded as complete, and as the people of Egypt were now very lightly taxed, Lord Cromer saw no objection to maintaining the present level of taxation with a view to the provision of the capital necessary for the improvement of the Soudan. But he was "reluctantly obliged to confess that the immediate results of the re-occupation of the Soudan, in so far as the suppression of slave-raiding is concerned, have been less decisive than I had hoped." The difficulties were still great. Time, patience and continued vigilance would be required, and in spite of disappointments he was not inclined to modify the view he had expressed

in 1899 that it was permissible to hope that the next generation would see the almost entire extinction of the institution of slavery in Africa.

III. NORTH-EAST AFRICA, UGANDA, ETC.

Northern Somaliland.—The story of the year in the Protectorate of Somaliland is one of inconclusive operations against the Mullah, Abdullah Mohammed. The force of Indian troops and native levies was under the command of Brigadier-General W. H. Manning, and the co-operation of Abyssinia and Italy was again obtained, that of the latter, however, being confined to the employment of gunboats for preventing the landing of arms and to giving England the use of Italian territory. The effect of Abyssinian co-operation was indiscernible. Early in January a force was landed at Obbia in Italian territory, and proceeded against the Mullah, who was then believed to be north of Galkayu. Yusuf Ali, the local sheikh, proved obstructive, and it was found necessary to deport him. Late in February a flying column was sent from Obbia to Galkayu with the object of driving the Mullah from the neighbourhood of the Amai Wells and occupying Damot, thus forcing the Mullah into the uninhabitable and waterless region to the east. Galkayu was reached by the Brigadier-General early in March, and a force of 1,081 rifles concentrated there. The Mullah immediately evacuated Galadi, and when the Brigadier-General arrived there, after a trying march, at the end of the month, he was unable to get within striking distance of the Mullah. This was the situation also on April 10; but at this time a column of 520 rifles, under Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe, searching the country in the direction of Wardair, fell in with some of the Mullah's horse-men. A detachment had gone on ahead, under Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett, to bring in a reconnoitring company of the 2nd Battalion King's African Rifles, and on April 17 General Manning had a despatch from Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe saying that he feared a disaster had befallen Plunkett's force. General Manning moved out to support Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe, and brought his force back to Galadi. Colonel Plunkett's force had been overwhelmed on April 17, the "missing" numbering 195, including Colonel Cobbe, Captain Johnston Stewart, Captain Olivey, Captain Morris, Lieut. Gaynor, Lieut. Bell, Captain McKinnon and Lieut. Chichester—all British officers. We quote from General Manning's despatch: "From the narrative of survivors of the action, it is evident that the enemy was in overwhelming numbers, and that he fought with a fanatical bravery that he has never displayed before. It is also evident that the Somalis alone were not engaged in this action, but that Adones from the Webi Shebeli were for the most part employed. . . . From the report of Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe it is evident that disobedience of orders on the part of

Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett, in pushing on to get into contact with the enemy, resulted in an action occurring, in which a small force has been annihilated. Had Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett contented himself with bringing in Captain Olivey's company, I should have been able to reach Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe on the 19th with reinforcements, when the enemy would either have retired or would have engaged me with probably different results. Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett has paid the penalty of his life for his disobedience of orders, and he, together with all those who were killed at Gumburu, fought with the greatest gallantry in endeavouring to retrieve the day, but were overwhelmed by numbers. The service ammunition, with the present rifle, has little stopping power, and, in a fanatical rush of savages, a heavier bullet, or one with greater stopping power, is very requisite. I deeply regret the loss of life which has occurred. I consider that Lieut.-Colonel Cobbe acted in the best manner that he could in the circumstances."

The operations from Obbia had been conducted in conjunction with a force from Berbera to Bohotle under Major Gough, and this body had been engaged (400 strong with three Maxims) at Dartoleh, in the direction of Wardair from Bohotle. The enemy attacked on April 22 "in a most determined way, exposing themselves freely". Major Gough had to fight his way back (losing thirteen killed and twenty-five wounded) to a zareba at Danop and thence to Bohotle. It thus became necessary for General Manning to cross the Haud in order to save this force from being overwhelmed. Keen apprehensions were excited in England as to Major Gough's ability to hold out, seeing that Bohotle was "contained" by the Mullah's forces, which had crossed our lines of communication between the garrisons that had been left at Damot and Bohotle. But the march across the Haud was so conducted that the Mullah missed his opportunity to attack, and Damot was relieved on June 21, and Bohotle on the 26th. All the forces were then concentrated at Bohotle.

The operations had failed, and it was necessary to recommence them on a larger scale and to reorganise the columns. For several months the Mullah was free to raid where he willed, and it was evident that he still continued to receive arms and ammunition from oversea. In November it was stated that 4,000 Abyssinian troops would co-operate with the British forces in a fresh advance, and that the co-operation of the Mijertains and Warsangel, two powerful coast tribes, had been secured. On November 15 General Manning crossed the hundred miles of desert between Bohotle and Galadi and returned, leaving Colonel Cobbe with a garrison at Galadi and rations until January 1. The plan was for the British to move down the Nogal Valley from the Berbera-Bohotle bases while the native tribes mentioned held the northern side of the Nogal, and it was hoped to bring the Mullah to bay or drive him on the Abyssinians. Early in December the Mullah

occupied Mudug, and there was some fighting at Damot. On December 19 Colonel Kenna was engaged with the enemy at Jidballi, and found them so strong in numbers that he retired on Banwein. The year closed without decisive results, but with denials of Abyssinian co-operation, and rumours of Somali levies having joined the Mullah.

Uganda and East Africa Protectorates.—Quietude has reigned during the year. But Uganda has suffered severely from the scourge of sleeping sickness in the lake regions of Chagwe and Busoga, the shore districts of Buddu and east to Kisumu in East Africa. The investigations of the Royal Society have established the fact that sleeping sickness is transmitted by a species of tsetse fly—*Glossina palpalis*—and by it alone. No cure is yet known. Colonel Hayes Sadler, the Commissioner of Uganda, made a series of tours and his report for the year ending March, 1903, is crowded with interesting information about the Protectorate. The receipts were 44,158*l.* (almost half what they were in 1900-1) and the expenditure 251,597*l.*; but much of what was formerly counted as receipts now figures in the returns of East Africa, the Eastern Province having been transferred to the latter Protectorate in April, 1902. The value of the trade of Uganda in 1902-3 was 103,242*l.*, of which 40,705*l.* were exports. Great Britain possesses 60 per cent. of the import trade. The hut tax was being collected without trouble; the Uganda Railway was revolutionising the conditions of life and the standard of prosperity was rising. "Among the people there has been quiet and contentment and patience under a deadly epidemic." On the whole Colonel Sadler's report is encouraging, but it is evident that Uganda does not offer great attractions to European investment and enterprise. Colonel Sadler gives much interesting information about the Nile Province of the Protectorate, which should be consulted in connection with the reports on the Soudan.

In the *East Africa Protectorate* peace has been maintained and there is no indication among the Somalis of Jubaland of a recrudescence of the troubles of 1900, which synchronised with the rise of the Mullah in Northern Somaliland. Sir C. Eliot's report (Mombassa, April 18, 1903) still advises that we should refrain from a forward policy, the Somalis not being likely to attack our fortified posts—Kismayu, Yonti and Gobwen. The expenditure on the Protectorate (apart from the railway) is about 230,000*l.*; the revenue actually received, about 100,000*l.* Sir C. Eliot asks, What has been accomplished in East Africa? What solid hopes does it afford of commercial and financial progress? He answers the questions by saying that East Africa is the greatest philanthropic achievement of our time; it is no longer a human hunting ground, where the hunters did not even take ordinary precautions for preserving the game. Secondly, a large part of it is a white man's country, suitable for European colonisation; and thirdly, it is a rich country. Towards the

conclusion of an exhaustive and valuable report he writes as follows: "Many millions have been expended on the construction of the railway; that expenditure is a matter of the past, and it is of no practical use to inquire whether it was excessive or not. But what is certain is that the railway can only be made to pay by developing the countries through which it passes and by expending a reasonable sum on that development. I do not propose at present to extend our effective administration, and I trust military operations may be unnecessary, but the present East African Budget cannot be profitably reduced. With an adequate Administration, proper investigation of the resources of the country, and encouragement to European settlers and merchants, I consider it certain that the country will pay its way in ten years, and I have a good hope that it will do so in a much shorter period."

IV. NORTH AND WEST AFRICA.

Nineteen hundred and three is a memorable year in the history of *Nigeria*, for it witnessed the overthrow of the Northern Hausa States—the termination of the Fulani domination over the great region comprised in the Sultanate of Sokoto. In the two previous issues of the ANNUAL REGISTER are sketched the conditions leading up to this achievement, which, outside Nigeria, was thought to be a somewhat remote probability. The High Commissioner, Sir F. Lugard, found his hands forced, however, at the end of 1902 by the hostile behaviour of the Emir of Kano, and he made his plans—to the alarm of the Colonial Office, then temporarily in charge of Lord Onslow, Mr. Chamberlain being in South Africa—for an expedition which should secure the double purpose of the safety of the Northern Frontier Delimitation Commission and the overturn of the Fulah States if that should prove to be necessary and practicable. He concentrated a force of a thousand at Zaria, then our most advanced post, and did not take Lord Onslow so fully into his confidence as the Under-Secretary would have desired. The position at the end of 1902 was that he was at Zaria apprehending attack, and that the Colonial Office was worrying him lest any precipitate conflict should end in disaster. Trusting to his local knowledge of the situation (*vide* Northern Nigeria Cd. 1,433), Sir F. Lugard argued strongly against delay, and he was reluctantly given a free hand. He determined to advance rather than await attack at Zaria, and on February 3 Colonel Morland reached Kano and carried the city by assault. The Emir and a thousand horsemen fled towards Sokoto. In the fighting at the town 300 of the enemy were killed, and our own loss was slight. To quote from a chapter in Mr. S. H. Jeyes's "Mr. Chamberlain": "Thus the great commercial city of the Western Soudan—the starting-point of the caravan routes across the Continent to the north and east—fell under British

control. An Emir favourable to the new Administration was installed, a Resident and garrison stationed in the city, and authority exercised therefrom over a wide area hitherto closed against us. Colonel Morland then led the column against Sokoto, which was occupied on March 15, after a feeble resistance. The expedition thus broke down the last important barrier to British ascendancy from the coast to the French desert area. With a force of less than 1,000 strong, Sir F. Lugard had done much more than it was expected he would be able to do. In spite of occasional disorders the fear of a Mahomedan movement which would sweep back the whites into the Delta need no longer be entertained. Mr. Chamberlain, who never stints his subordinates of praise, spoke of this achievement in terms of fitting generosity, and the messages sent from the Colonial Office doubtless made amends for the public remonstrance which Lord Onslow had administered to the High Commissioner." But so long as the Emir of Kano and his horsemen were roaming abroad there was an element of danger, and in June, while Sir F. Lugard was at home on leave, a British force in pursuit of him received a rather serious check. He was, however, eventually run to earth, and killed in an engagement which gave finality to the incorporation of the Northern States.

But it is not practicable for a region such as Nigeria to be held by a handful of Europeans, with a relatively small though highly organised native army, without a succession of warlike incidents, and at the close of the year it was reported that the British Resident and a police officer had been killed in the Bassa province, which lies below on the left bank of the Benue, where that river joins the Niger, and which is inhabited by a powerful Pagan tribe, known as the Akapoto. A punitive expedition was ordered. During the year there were several minor expeditions in Southern Nigeria, in pursuance of the policy of opening up the Pagan countries from the Delta to the Benue. There was a good deal of sharp fighting at different times, but it is sufficient to say that the work of subjecting the tribesmen to British rule—a task that necessarily cannot be concluded, at least, for some generations—has been satisfactorily discharged.

There are no trustworthy figures as to the finance and trade of Northern Nigeria during the year, the conditions having been profoundly modified by the inclusion of the Northern States; but the Report (for 1902) for Southern Nigeria was issued in December. It shows a revenue of 361,815*l.*—a decrease of 19,000*l.*, and an expenditure of 331,397*l.*—an increase of 23,204*l.*, more than half that amount being attributed to the increase in military expenditure. The total trade turnover was 2,335,089*l.*—almost equally divisible between imports and exports. Acting-Commissioner Probyn wrote in an optimistic strain of the financial, commercial and general condition of the country.

In other parts of British West Africa there is little to

record, peace having been maintained during the year, and the work done being that of consolidating our rule in the hinterland, carrying forward the railway schemes and developing the resources of the territories. In the *Gold Coast Colony* the most significant event of the year has been the completion of the railway as far as Kumasi, with branch lines to the various mining properties. The Colonial Office report shows that the Colony and the hinterland Protectorate are progressing in trade and finance. The imports in 1902 were 2,125,464*l.*, and the exports 774,186*l.*, more than two-thirds of the trade being with the United Kingdom. The gold exports reached 96,810*l.* Most of the companies have as yet confined themselves to development work, pending the completion of the railway. The report mentioned says that "gold is generally diffused throughout Ashanti and some part of the Northern Territories, and appears in quartz formation and alluvial deposits, and in the Wassaw district there is a conglomerate or bank formation. The rivers of the Colony are said to be rich in alluvial deposits."

But gold has been exported from the coast since the fifteenth century, and it is probable that the expansion of commerce in West Africa will depend in the future more upon cotton cultivation than upon minerals. During 1903 the British Cotton Growing Association sent a number of experts to West Africa, who have reported most favourably on the suitability of the soil for cotton growing, and steps have already been taken to teach the natives how to grow the staple. In *Lagos* and in *Sierra Leone* the prospects of cotton growing are bright. Indeed in the former Colony it may almost be said to be an established industry, for consignments of cotton have reached England, and machinery has been sent out by the Cotton Growing Association for erection at Abbeokuta in the hinterland of *Lagos*.

With regard to non-British parts of West Africa the agitation against the Administration of the *Congo Free State* led, during the year, to diplomatic representations by the British Government, to which reference is made in the English and Belgian sections. Consular investigations made at the instance of the British Government are said to have confirmed the accusations made against the State; but the question is one upon which an open mind should be kept until official evidence is forthcoming. Important discoveries of gold are reported to have been made in the Congo Basin. There was some talk during the year of requiring the Belgians to withdraw from the *Lado enclave*, which King Leopold is entitled to hold for the term of his life, but there was no change in the situation.

The *French Soudan* and coast colonies continue to abound in evidences of French activity. From a lecture by Mr. G. Forbes White, given before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce in December, it appears that Dakar, the principal port in French West Africa, is now a fine town. The Government are spending large sums in the improvement of the harbour.

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Ocean-going steamers now go 600 miles up the Senegal to Kayes, and by the end of 1903 it was expected that the railway would reach Bammako, from which point the Niger is navigable to Timbuctoo, and up stream as far as Kouroussa. The country has some excellent roads, is well populated, and extensively cultivated, while the upper valley of the Niger is richly fertile. Peace has been maintained throughout the year, and it is clear that *Senegambia* has a great future, particularly as a cotton-growing area. In the *French Congo* there has been some decline in trade (which in 1902 reached a total of 14,000,000 francs), but this is attributed to the still unsettled difficulties arising from the Concessionnaire System, which has hampered, if not destroyed, the activities of the foreign traders, chiefly British. An analogy has been drawn between the Concessionnaire System here and that of the Congo Free State, and it is argued that it is a violation of the Berlin Acts. Full particulars of this question will be found in Mr. E. D. Morel's "The British Case in the French Congo" (Heinemann, 1903). Colonel Marchand was reported at the close of the year to have been entrusted with a special mission to inspect the stations of the French Congo, Lake Chad and the Soudan, with the object of establishing a governor-generalship for the Gaboon, Congo and Lake Chad region, and perhaps also to select a railway route which will make France independent of the Belgian line, and draw the trade of the Upper Congo, Ubanghi, Sangha and Ogowé basins to the French coast. A further railway project is that from Tlemcen across the Morocco Frontier to Fez, by which trade may be opened through Morocco to the west coast. With reference to the Anglo-French boundary delimitation between the Niger and Lake Chad, the Commission at the end of the year was working east towards the lake.

In *Portuguese Africa* there is nothing to record. Apathy rules there, and is likely to do so until the Williams railway scheme from Lobito Bay reaches fruition. The trade of Portuguese West Africa, according to the *Commercio do Porto*, is declining, but hopes of a revival are fixed upon cotton, which was formerly an important export from Angola.

In *German South-West Africa*, where there is a white population of 4,600 (including 1,500 Boers), there was a native rising towards the end of the year, and a few settlers were massacred. The trouble was officially reported to have been suppressed, but it recurred seriously.—Some references to German Colonies in Africa will be found under "Germany," pp. 284-5.

Morocco.—The rebellion against the Sultan, described in the last issue of the ANNUAL REGISTER, continued with varying fortunes throughout 1903. So confusing and untrustworthy is the news from the interior, that it would be useless to attempt to give a coherent narrative. The salient fact of the situation is that the Moroccan question had not been complicated by French intervention, and that at the close of the year the Sultan

seemed to have re-asserted his authority against the Pretender, who had made the Royal liking for European innovation a pretext for clutching at the throne. In the early months of the year there was much fighting in the neighbourhood of Fez, and it seemed at one time that the Pretender would overthrow the Sultan. In April the Riff tribes were reported to have proclaimed the brother of Mulai Abdul Sultan, and anarchy seemed to be general. In May Tetuan was attacked, but the Government troops held their own. Mr. Harris, the *Times* correspondent, was captured by some rebel tribesmen, but his release was eventually obtained. In October the Government troops appear to have suffered some reverses, but as the year waned more favourable news was reported, following a change in the Ministry of War, Sid Mohamed Guebbas taking that office. But of the details of the year all that can safely be recorded is that, notwithstanding the rebellion, Mulai Abdul Aziz is still Sultan of Morocco.

V. MALTA.

There was some political agitation in the island during the year, but it is of slight importance in view of Mr. Chamberlain's withdrawal in 1902 of the proclamation substituting English for Italian, at a future date, as the official language. No real grievance exists among the Maltese, who possess, however, a somewhat perfervid political class which finds scope for its mental energies and oratorical gifts in making avoidable trouble in the Legislative Council. A Blue-book containing Correspondence on the language question was issued in July, the principal point being Mr. Chamberlain's contention, in a despatch to the Governor, Sir C. Mansfield Clarke, that while the total population was 180,000 the voters numbered only 18,000, only a small proportion of whom voted. The elected members were not, therefore, entitled to take advantage of their position to deprive the majority of the Maltese of freedom of choice as to the language in which their children should be educated. A new Constitution designed to limit obstructiveness in the Council was passed in September against the protest of the elected members, who thereupon resigned. The King visited Malta in April and was received with great enthusiasm. The Governor's report for 1902-3 shows a satisfactory financial position and much prosperity in the labour market owing to the number of important works now in progress. The English language is gaining ground, the growth in the number of persons with a knowledge of English being 37·5 per cent. as against a 7·5 per cent. increase in those having a knowledge of Italian.

H. WHATES.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA.

I. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

AGAIN in 1903 the United States wrote a chapter in the world's history. Again it drove a peg into the Monroe Doctrine and reaffirmed its primacy on the American continent. Hitherto the spread of American influence has been to the west. The year 1903 saw the beginning of the sweep to the south.

In September the Colombian Congress refused to ratify the Hay-Herran treaty negotiated in Washington, by which the United States was to be permitted to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama to link the Atlantic with the Pacific, subject to the payment of \$10,000,000 for the concessionary rights and an annual rental of \$250,000. The Bogota Government had been warned that failure to ratify the treaty would be followed by a revolution in the State of Panama, which expected to profit materially by the canal. The Washington Government was also not unaware of the impending revolution. On November 3 Panama declared its independence of Colombia, and its existence as a sovereign State under the name of the Republic of Panama. A force of Colombian troops, some 500 in all, were at both ends of the isthmus in the principal cities of Colon and Panama. A small American gunboat, the *Nashville*, was in the harbour of Colon. The Colombian troops made no attempt to maintain the authority of Colombia, and after a faint show of resistance, in which no blood was spilled, they consented to be deported to the Colombian port of Cartagena.

The commander of the *Nashville* landed a detachment of marines for the ostensible purpose of protecting the property of the railway company and keeping transit open across the isthmus, a duty devolving upon the United States under the stipulations of the treaty of 1846 with New Granada, the predecessor of Colombia. The commander of the *Nashville* made it known that in case the Colombian troops attacked the forces of the Provisional Government of Panama he should come to the assistance of Panama; he also announced his determination to maintain uninterrupted the railway communication across the isthmus; and, to prevent any interference with the proper running of trains, the railway could not be used for the conveyance of troops, nor would fighting be permitted along its route, or in the terminal cities of Panama and Colon. In other words, if Colombia wanted to recover its lost territory, and found it necessary to use force, it might fight, but it must not fight at the only places where fighting would be of the least material advantage. These were bold words of the *Nashville's* commander, as at that time he could not put more than forty men on shore, the

Panama Government had neither troops nor arms, and the Colombian soldiery outnumbered him ten to one. For a couple of days the situation was critical, then heavy American reinforcements arrived on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides of the isthmus. The revolution was over. The Colombian troops sullenly permitted themselves to be deported without having fired a shot. A provisional junta was constituted to manage the affairs of the new Republic until the election of a President and the adoption of a Constitution, and three days after the Republic came into being the United States gave it an international status by formally recognising it, and entering into diplomatic relations. Other Governments promptly followed suit, but Great Britain held off until December 22, or until Panama had agreed to assume that portion of the foreign debt of Colombia proportionate to her population.

The original cause of the revolution had been the failure of Colombia to ratify the canal treaty and the desire of the people of Panama to see the canal built. The new Republic without loss of time entered into negotiations with the United States for a treaty, which was signed by Secretary Hay, for the United States, and M. Phillipe Bunau Varilla, the Panama Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, on November 18. By the terms of the treaty the United States agrees to safeguard the independence of the new Republic. The Republic of Panama on its part agrees to a perpetual grant of a strip of land ten miles wide, extending from ocean to ocean, together with the usual territorial sea limits of three nautical miles at both ends of the grant. This, of course, includes any and all islands within these limits. Over this territory the United States has practically unlimited control, including the right to erect fortifications, maintain garrisons and exercise all the rights of sovereignty. The money consideration for these privileges is \$10,000,000 to be paid the Republic of Panama on the exchange of ratifications, and an annual payment of \$250,000, beginning nine years after such ratification.

Colombia protested against the action of the United States. It accused the United States of having fomented and encouraged the revolution; of having made possible the secession of Panama by becoming in effect the ally of Panama and hampering the sovereign rights of Colombia; of virtually making war on Colombia, although friendly relations were supposed to exist between the United States and Colombia; and declared that if it had not been for the assistance given by the United States to Panama, and the announced policy of the United States not to permit the landing of Colombian troops on Panama soil, Colombia would have been able to exercise her sovereignty, put down the rebellion and defeat secession. Colombia pledged herself in advance to negotiate and secure the ratification of a canal treaty acceptable to the United States.

No more attention was paid to the protest of Colombia than

to the bribe of a new canal treaty. So far as the independence of Panama was concerned, that was a *fait accompli* and could not be changed. The United States denied that it had encouraged or assisted the revolution. It claimed not only rights under the treaty of 1846, but that certain obligations were imposed upon it, one of the highest being the duty to preserve free and uninterrupted transit across the highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. In performance of that duty it had used its military forces to prevent interference with the railway or the dislocation of business in Panama and Colon. As for the offer of Colombia to enter into negotiations for a new canal treaty that was impossible, because the territory affected was no longer Colombian, but had passed to Panama.

The Government of Colombia threatened to compel Panama to return to her former allegiance, and began to mobilise troops, after having vainly appealed to some of the European Powers for assistance. The United States met these threats by concentrating a powerful naval force in both oceans and preparing plans for sending infantry and artillery to the isthmus in case of necessity. The year closed with active military preparations proceeding on the part of the United States and some doubt existing whether Colombia would be rash enough to force a trial of strength with its powerful northern opponent.

President Roosevelt's action in so promptly recognising the new Republic and entering into full diplomatic relations with it before the adoption of a Constitution or the election of a President met with general approval, although it aroused some opposition, principally among his political opponents, who accused him of having connived at the revolution for the purpose of obtaining the canal, an end which did not justify the means. But public opinion as a whole supported the President. For more than half a century the American people had cherished the hope of an isthmian canal; the Spanish war had shown them that it was a military as well as a political and commercial necessity, and when Colombia was finally induced to negotiate a treaty, it seemed as if these hopes were at last to be realised and the dream of visionaries translated into substantial achievement. But there was another reason why the majority of the American people sanctioned the course of the President without caring to split hairs too finely. The building of the canal, the bringing of Panama under an American protectorate, the tacit acquiescence of all the world in American action, the refusal of any great Power to protest or to encourage Colombia to thwart American ambition were all gratifying to American *amour propre*. Furthermore, it was another recognition by the world of the Monroe Doctrine and the hegemony of the United States on the continent of North America.

The action of the United States in making it possible for Panama to gain and maintain her independence was a stern object-lesson to all of South America. It was noticed that the

United States was tired of the constant unseemly brawling which is the Latin-American idea of government. The Isthmus of Panama is one of the world's great highways, and it was a highway made dangerous and difficult to travellers because of never-ending revolution. The material interests of the United States, the interests of all the world, made it necessary that peace and security should prevail where before only disorder and danger existed. In reality the United States and not Panama will now be the Sovereign Power on the isthmus. It has long been believed by many thoughtful Americans that the United States for its own protection must be the "overlord" of all Central America. The treaty with Panama is the first step, and a long step, towards that goal.

President Roosevelt in his Annual Message to Congress, which met in "regular" session on December 7, in discussing the canal, used this language: "For 400 years, ever since shortly after the discovery of this hemisphere, the canal across the isthmus has been planned. For two score years it has been worked at. When made it is to last for the ages. . . . Last spring a treaty concluded between the representatives of the Republic of Colombia and of our Government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia, and after a body of experts appointed by our Government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the isthmus had pronounced unanimously in favour of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the Government of Colombia. . . . In our scrupulous desire to pay all possible heed, not merely to the real but even to the fancied rights of our weaker neighbour, who already owed so much to our protection and forbearance, we yielded in all possible ways to her desires in drawing up the treaty. Nevertheless, the Government of Colombia not merely repudiated the treaty, but repudiated it in such manner as to make it evident by the time the Colombian Congress adjourned that not the scantiest hope remained of ever getting a satisfactory treaty from them. The Government of Colombia made the treaty, and yet when the Colombian Congress was called to ratify it the vote against ratification was unanimous. It does not appear that the Government made any real effort to secure ratification."

The President gives a list of the revolutions in Panama since 1850—fifty-three in fifty-three years, and adds: "In short, the experience of over half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States has enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of sovereignty. . . . The control, in the interest of the commerce and traffic of the whole civilised world, of the means of undisturbed transit across the Isthmus of Panama has become of transcendent importance to the United States. We have repeatedly exercised this control by intervening in the

course of domestic dissension, and by protecting the territory from foreign invasion. . . . Under such circumstances the Government of the United States would have been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of November 3 last took place in Panama. This great enterprise of building the inter-oceanic canal cannot be held up to gratify the whims, or out of respect to the governmental impotence, or to the even more sinister and evil political peculiarities of people who, though they dwell afar off, yet, against the wish of the actual dwellers on the isthmus, assert an unreal supremacy over the territory. The possession of a territory fraught with such peculiar capacities as the isthmus in question carries with it obligations to mankind. The course of events has shown that this canal cannot be built by private enterprise, or by any other nation than our own; therefore it must be built by the United States."

The treaty was at once submitted to the Senate, and was still pending when Congress adjourned for the Christmas vacation. The Democrats at first believed it might be to their political advantage to defeat the treaty, but it became quickly apparent that this would be resented by the country, and every indication at the end of the year pointed to the ratification of the treaty when Congress reassembled in January.

The Panama incident was the most important event affecting the United States in 1903. Generally the year was one of peace and prosperity, although industrialism was carried on at a lower tension than marked the feverish excitement of commercial operations in 1902, and the effect of over-capitalised ventures was plainly seen in the number of large joint stock companies forced into bankruptcy. The growing menace of the Trusts had at last compelled Congress to adopt remedial and restrictive measures. On February 13 Congress created the Department of Commerce and Labour, the Secretary of which, through his subordinate, the Commissioner of Corporations, should have certain control and power over particular joint stock companies. The establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labour, the President said in his Message, "marks a real advance in the direction of doing all that is possible for the solution of the questions vitally affecting capitalists and wage workers."

"The preliminary work of the Bureau of Corporations in the Department has shown the wisdom of its creation," the President added. "Publicity in corporate affairs will tend to do away with ignorance, and will afford facts upon which intelligent action may be taken. Systematic, intelligent investigation is already developing facts, the knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding of the needs and duties of the business world. The corporation which is honestly and fairly organised, whose managers in the conduct of its business recognise their obligation to deal squarely with their stock

holders, their competitors and the public, has nothing to fear from such supervision. The purpose of this Bureau is not to embarrass or assail legitimate business, but to aid in bringing about a better industrial condition—a condition under which there shall be obedience to law and recognition of public obligation by all corporations, great or small. The Department of Commerce and Labour will be not only the clearing house for information regarding the business transactions of the nation, but the executive arm of the Government to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving commercial and industrial conditions, and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress—capital and labour.” The new Department might also be expected to exercise the “constant watchfulness needed to secure to Americans the chance to participate to the best advantage in foreign trade.”

The Annual Message of the President is always a very long document, and only its salient features can be summarised here. Mr. Roosevelt warned Congress that the surplus, which in 1903 aggregated \$54,297,667, was in danger of extinguishment because of the decrease of revenues, and that strict economy was necessary. He urged that bribery should be made an extraditable offence; a recommendation inspired by the widespread corruption in municipal affairs in nearly all the large cities of the country. “While there may have been as much official corruption in former years,” he said, “there has been more developed and brought to light in the immediate past than in the preceding century of our country’s history. It should be the policy of the United States to leave no place on earth where a corrupt man fleeing from this country can rest in peace. There is no reason why bribery should not be included in all treaties as extraditable.”

In regard to the decision of the Alaska boundary tribunal the President said: “The result is satisfactory in every way. It is of great material advantage to our people in the far North-West. It has removed from the field of discussion and possible danger a question liable to become more acutely accentuated with each passing year. Finally, it has furnished a signal proof of the fairness and goodwill with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty, and by their nature incapable of submission to a third Power for adjudication.”

President Roosevelt heartily congratulated the Congress “upon the steady progress in building up the American Navy. We can not,” he said, “afford a let-up in this great work. To stand still means to go back. There should be no cessation in adding to the effective units of the fighting strength of the fleet. Meanwhile the Navy Department and the officers of the Navy

are doing well their part by providing constant service at sea under conditions akin to those of actual warfare." The President recommended that Congress should authorise the creation of a general naval staff similar to the army general staff.

Although there was neither a Presidential nor a general Congressional election in 1903, which made it an "off year" in politics, it was not without its interest for politicians, as the State and municipal elections were eagerly watched as foreshadowing in a measure the drift of public sentiment, and indicating the result of the more momentous struggle of the Presidential election of 1904. There were, however, few striking changes. The Republicans made desperate efforts to carry Maryland but were defeated, the Democrats having raised the "race issue." Not for many years has discussion of the negro problem raged so widely and fiercely as during the past twelve months, largely due to President Roosevelt's policy in regard to the appointment of negroes, and to his having somewhat impolitically invited Booker Washington, the famous negro educator, to luncheon at the White House. This inflamed the South against the President and the Republican party, and undoubtedly contributed to Democratic success.

The most important municipal election of the year was in New York, where Tammany defeated the "Fusion" candidate, Mayor Seth Low, who stood for re-election, and elected George B. McClellan. The Democratic victory caused great rejoicing among Democrats throughout the country, as it was taken to indicate a reversal of popular sentiment, and to give promise that the Democrats would carry the State of New York in the Presidential election, and it is absolutely essential for them to carry that State if they are to elect their candidate.

An important event was the formal declination of ex-President Grover Cleveland to permit his name to be further considered in connection with the Democratic nomination. Influential Democrats in many parts of the country were agitating in favour of Mr. Cleveland's nomination, despite the unwritten tradition that no man may for a third time be President. Finally Mr. Cleveland wrote to one of his intimate friends: "In full view of every consideration presented I have not for a moment been able, nor am I now able, to open my mind to the thought that in any circumstances or upon any consideration, I should ever again become the nominee of my party for the Presidency. My determination not to do so is unalterable and conclusive." At the end of the year the Democrats were still seeking for a candidate, but had not agreed upon one, although it appeared settled that Mr. Bryan, who twice led his party to defeat, could not hope again to receive the nomination. While there was some opposition among Republicans to the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt, it had not developed sufficiently to cause his friends uneasiness, but they nervously watched Senator Hanna, President McKinley's intimate friend, and feared that should he declare

himself a candidate for the nomination he might be able to defeat Mr. Roosevelt's aspirations.

The second session of the fifty-seventh Congress came to an end on March 4, after having enacted little legislation of public importance. It created (as mentioned above) a Department of Commerce and Labour, whose head is a member of the Cabinet (the American Cabinet has neither constitutional nor legal standing, but by custom all the heads of the great executive departments constitute the Cabinet), thus increasing the Cabinet to nine members. Mr. George B. Cortelyou, of New York, formerly private secretary to President McKinley, and who served President Roosevelt in the same capacity, was appointed by the President the first Secretary of the department. Legislation was enacted to increase the efficiency of the Militia, and make it more to be relied on in case of war. An Act was also passed to expedite the hearing of suits in equity brought against corporations charged with violating the anti-trust laws or forming monopolistic combinations in restraint of trade.

The President called an extra session of Congress on November 9 to enact legislation to carry the provisions of the Cuban reciprocity treaty into effect. This was done on December 16, and the treaty became operative on December 27. By its terms all imports from Cuba, not already on the free list, are taxed 20 per cent. less than like importations from other countries. All articles imported into Cuba from the United States pay from 20 to 40 per cent. less duty than the importations of other countries. The treaty is expected greatly to stimulate trade between the United States and Cuba to the corresponding detriment of other nations, especially Great Britain and Germany.

President Roosevelt made a trip through the Western States lasting from April 1 to June 6, in the course of which he travelled 15,000 miles and made some 300 speeches. The majority of these were non-political, and were an exhortation to higher civic virtue and right living. In some of his political speeches he justified the acts of his Administration, and declared that the Republican party had redeemed its promises in regard to the Philippines and Cuba. In California he made a short but significant speech, defining the policy of the United States in the Pacific and the destiny of the United States as a Pacific Power.

In October, 1902, the President, with the assent of both parties, appointed a commission to arbitrate as to the issues in the great dispute in the Pennsylvania anthracite district, the miners meanwhile returning to work at the old wages (see *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1902, p. 429). This commission made its award on March 21. The miners had asked for an increase of wages of 20 per cent. and were granted 10 per cent.; provision was made for a more equitable system of weighing coal; a permanent board of conciliation was created.

This conflict between the colliery owners and their men was one of the most important industrial struggles the country has known. The award of the President's Commission was a material as well as a moral victory for the men, and "to its influence may be traced with moral certainty much of the strike rage which has since then spread over the whole country like a flood." Putting aside the discussion of what must be purely a speculative inquiry, although the President's opponents claim that he is morally responsible for the arrogant demands of labour and the great strikes which have made the year notable, the fact remains that employers and employes have been either in a state of warfare or else maintained an armed truce. In nearly every trade there have been strikes involving thousands of men and entailing financial losses amounting to millions. In Colorado a strike in the mining regions was attended with scenes of such violent disorder that the Militia was called out and martial law was proclaimed. The President was asked to send United States troops into the State to restore order, but refused on the ground that the State Government had not exhausted its powers. In Chicago a strike of tramcar employes was marked by much violence and disorder. This was followed by a strike of cabmen and livery drivers, the strikers going to such extreme lengths that they refused to drive hearses or mourning coaches and picketed houses where funerals were held. In Waterbury, Connecticut, a strike of tramcar men lasted from January to May, attended by violence and murder. In New York all building operations were brought to a standstill.

For the first time in the history of American industrial operations employers were organised to resist the tyranny of labour unions, a national association of employers having been formed in Chicago. In Chicago the principle of the Taff Vale decision was for the first time applied in America. A union was fined \$1,000 as a corporation for having violated an injunction. This is the only recorded case of a labour union having been held liable for its acts in a corporate capacity and punished for them. Heretofore, as in England before the Taff Vale decision, it was held that members of a union could be held liable as individuals, but that the union as a body was immune and did not share in the responsibility of its members who carried out the orders of the executive body of the union.

One of the most extraordinary episodes of the story of the strikes of the year was the conviction of Sam Parks, the walking delegate of the Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union of New York, who was sent to prison for extortion. A strong, brutal, masterful man, Parks had complete ascendancy over more than 4,000 members of his union for his personal benefit, ordering strikes on and off, as one move or the other brought him most in blackmail from the firms affected. He raised the wages paid, it is true, and that was part of his power, but many thousands of dollars which he received as an officer of the union were never

accounted for. He lived in coarse luxury upon his stealings and extortions. In the midst of prosperity he caused millions of dollars of loss by holding up building operations through the summer. With his subjects obedient to his orders, he extorted money from any firm he could embarrass. A gravely significant act—and the same situation was disclosed in Chicago—was that Parks was heavily paid by certain building companies, whose work went on smoothly, while their rivals were idle because Parks had ordered their men on strike.

In the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902 (p. 431 *et seq.*) was related the attempt on the part of Germany to make it appear that, while England favoured European intervention in behalf of Spain prior to the Spanish-American War, Germany had refused to join in a coalition against the United States; and the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to the United States, nominally to witness the launching of the Emperor's racing yacht *Meteor*, but actually to try and strengthen the relations between Germany and the United States, was another play in the same game.

A curious sequel was the sudden recall of Dr. von Holleben, the German Ambassador to the United States, on April 8. It was known that when Prince Henry was in Washington he took offence at something done by his country's Ambassador, and it was commonly reported that Prince Henry held Dr. von Holleben responsible for having permitted his Government to commit the inexcusable blunder of attempting to defame the reputation of Lord Pauncefoot; Prince Henry having learned from personal intercourse the high regard in which Lord Pauncefoot was held, and the utter disbelief of Americans that he was ever anything else but their loyal and consistent friend. Whatever the causes, Dr. von Holleben scurried away from Washington without presenting the customary letter of recall to the President, and was succeeded by Baron Sternburg.

At the close of 1902 negotiations were in progress between Great Britain and the Powers regarding the submission of their claims against Venezuela to the Hague Tribunal (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 436). In February, Mr. Herbert Bowen, the American Minister to Venezuela, acting on behalf of that Government, signed at Washington protocols by which England, France, Germany and the other Powers having claims against Venezuela agreed to submit them to the adjudication of the Hague Tribunal, before which arguments began September 21 and were closed November 15. The decision had not been announced at the end of the year. Great Britain and Italy each received an immediate cash payment of 5,500*l.* on signing the protocols, and Germany a sum of 76,000*l.* to be paid in instalments. It was agreed that 30 per cent. of the Customs revenues of the ports of La Guayra and Porto Cabello should be ear-marked to extinguish the claims of foreign creditors; Great Britain, Germany and Italy, the so-called "blockading Powers," maintaining that the debts of their nationals should be paid before those of

the so-called "peace Powers". It is this question which was submitted to the Hague.

A pleasing incident of Anglo-American friendship and solidarity was the visit in October of the Honourable Artillery Company as the guests of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston, in return for a visit paid by the American company to the parent organisation in 1896. Under the command of their colonel, the Earl of Denbigh, G.C.V.O., the Honourables arrived in Boston on October 2, and sailed again on October 15, the intervening time being used in a trip to various points in the United States and Canada. In Washington the command was received by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House, and at every other place visited an equally hospitable welcome was tendered. "It was an event of international importance," an American newspaper said: "Lord Denbigh's cablegrams to King Edward, reporting the enthusiastic welcome of his command, bearing arms on alien soil, elicited replies which proved that the British Sovereign recognised the importance of the event in cementing Anglo-American friendship."

Investigations which lasted through most of the year disclosed gross frauds in the Post Office Department. Fourteen officials and about a score of outsiders who were interested in Government contracts were indicted at intervals through the summer and autumn. The whole affair showed a vast and complicated system of bribery and corruption protected by and involved in political interests. The actual stealings of the indicted men were relatively small, but the loss to the Government in waste amounted to millions. The statute of limitations enabled some of the most culpable to escape prosecution.

In April the United States Circuit Court of Appeals decided that the merging of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railway Companies was illegal; a decision which, if affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States, will have a far-reaching effect on the Trusts and the consolidation of competing railways and other industrial concerns to eliminate competition. The decision of the Supreme Court had not been handed down at the close of the year.

A curious psychological manifestation was the so-called invasion of New York by John Alexander Dowie, a combination of charlatanism and shrewd business abilities. Dowie claimed that the mantle of the Prophet Elijah had fallen upon his shoulders, and that he was possessed of the divine power of healing. He established an industrial and religious community at Zion City, near Chicago, and in October took 3,500 of his supporters to New York to convert that city. His efforts in that direction were futile, and after a stay of a week in New York, without having made any converts, he returned to Zion, and shortly afterwards suits were begun to declare Zion bankrupt. Through the aid of some of his wealthy believers he was

enabled to weather the storm and have the bankruptcy proceedings quashed.

The All American cable from San Francisco to Manilla was opened on July 4 with a message of greeting from President Roosevelt to Governor Taft. The line is of great military and commercial importance to the United States, as it puts the country in touch with its Pacific possessions. It will be extended to Shanghai, which will give the United States the first direct service to China.

The horror and detestation aroused by the massacre of the Jews in Kishineff led people of all denominations to hold great meetings of protest, and a petition was prepared and signed by thousands of prominent men to be presented to the Tsar, asking him to take such steps as to make a recurrence of the massacre impossible. The Russian Government showed its displeasure at the active interest taken by the United States in protecting the Russian Jews, and finally, on July 3, officially informed the Government of the United States that it would decline to receive the petition. The President, to show his sympathy with the object sought to be attained by the petition, directed that it be filed in the archives of the State Department.

In August Joseph Pulitzer announced his intention to give \$2,000,000 to establish a school of journalism in connection with Columbia University of the city of New York.

The last of the international yacht races between *Reliance* and *Shamrock III.* was sailed on September 5, and resulted in a victory for *Reliance*.

The threatened hostilities between Russia and Japan caused much concern to the United States, as Russia's domination in the Far East menaces American commercial interests in that quarter of the world. Both China and Japan endeavoured to enlist the material support of the United States, but on November 2, in reply to an appeal from the Chinese Government, Secretary Hay informed the Chinese Minister that his Government could see no way in which it could interfere at that time. A commercial treaty with China, opening to international trade the ports of Mukden and Antung in Manchuria, had been negotiated during the summer and was ratified by the Senate on December 18.

The death of Sir Michael H. Herbert, his British Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, on September 30, caused great regret, as he was deservedly popular in the country to which he was accredited, and had established his reputation as a diplomatist of unusual ability. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who presented his letters of credence to the President on December 2.

In December, in co-operation with the British and Japanese Governments, the United States demanded of Korea the opening of the port of Wiju to international trade, but the negotiations were still pending with the close of the year.

Under the treaty with Cuba, Guantanamo was ceded to the United States as a naval station, and the American flag was formally hoisted on December 10.

Professor Langley, one of the most distinguished scientists in the United States, during the summer had worked on the building of an air-ship for which Congress made an appropriation. The first public test was made on December 8, on the Potomac, and resulted in the air-ship being hopelessly wrecked.

The Republican National Committee met in Washington in December and selected Chicago, June 21, as the place and date for holding the next Republican Convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-presidency.

The year closed with one of the most terrible calamities of modern times. On the afternoon of December 30 fire broke out in the Iroquois theatre in Chicago, one of the newest and handsomest play-houses in that city, and in fifteen minutes nearly 600 men, women and children were dead from fire, suffocation and panic.

The total revenue of the United States during the fiscal year 1903 was \$560,396,674, the expenditure \$506,099,007, leaving a surplus of \$54,297,667. Of the revenue \$284,479,582 was derived from Customs and \$230,810,124 from inland revenues.

The Director of the Mint estimated that on January 1, 1903, the United States had a stock of gold amounting to \$1,248,000,000, a stock of silver amounting to \$673,300,000, and uncovered paper amounting to \$456,100,000, a total *per capita* circulation of \$29.79. The national debt as of date November 1 amounted to \$1,299,039,903.89, of which \$905,277,060 was interest-bearing debt; and the balance was debt upon which interest had ceased since maturity or which bears no interest. Statistics, partly unofficial, and probably rather under than over the actual figures, estimate the number of depositors in savings banks at 7,035,228, the total deposits amounting to \$2,935,204,845, or an average to each depositor of \$417.21.

For the fiscal year the total exports of domestic merchandise were valued at \$1,392,231,302, and the total imports, not including specie, at \$1,025,719,237, or an excess of exports over imports of \$394,422,442. As in previous years Great Britain was the best customer of the United States, the exports from the United States to the United Kingdom being valued at \$524,691,638. The next best single customer of the United States is Germany, which took articles valued at \$193,555,495; that amount, however, being exceeded by Canada and the other British possessions. Great Britain was also the largest importer into the United States, its importations for the year being valued at \$191,666,505, and those of Germany at \$119,837,908, the importations of Germany being likewise exceeded by the aggregated importations of Canada and the other British possessions.

The immigration for the year was larger than in any previous

year, the number of aliens entering the United States being 857,046. Of these 230,622 came from Italy, 206,011 from Austria-Hungary, 136,093 from Russia, 46,028 from Sweden, 40,086 from Germany, 35,300 from Ireland, and 26,219 from England.

During the year the effective force of the Navy was increased by twenty-seven vessels: one first-class battleship, one protected cruiser, four harbour defence monitors, thirteen torpedo-boat destroyers, one torpedo boat and seven submarines. The total number of ships on the active list, not including colliers, tugs and other auxiliary vessels, is 184, consisting of ten first-class battleships, one second-class battleship, two armoured cruisers, sixteen protected cruisers, nineteen unprotected cruisers, fourteen harbour defence monitors, sixty-six gunboats, one harbour defence ram, one dynamite gun vessel, fifteen torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty-one torpedo boats and eight submarines. Thirty-nine vessels are in the course of construction, including fourteen first-class battleships, eight armoured cruisers, eight protected cruisers, three gunboats and six torpedo boats. Five of these battleships are to be of 16,000 tons displacement, with an indicated horse-power of 16,500, a sustained sea speed of eighteen knots, with four 12-inch, eight 8-inch and twelve 7-inch breech-loading rifled guns in their main batteries, and twenty 3-inch rapid fire, twelve three-pounder semi-automatic, eight one-pounder automatic, two 3-inch field, and eight machine guns in their secondary batteries. The other nine battleships are to be of 15,000 instead of 16,000 tons, with the same speed, and will throw only a slightly smaller weight of metal from their main batteries, 6-inch rapid fire guns being substituted for the 7-inch breech-loading rifled guns in the vessels of a heavier tonnage.

The total strength of the Army in time of peace is limited to 100,000 effectives; its present strength is 3,831 commissioned officers, 59,886 enlisted men, 554 Porto Ricans for service in Porto Rica and 5,000 native Filipinos. In February Congress abolished the office of commander-in-chief and substituted in lieu thereof a general staff. The general staff consists of one chief of staff, two assistants and forty-two other officers not below the grade of first lieutenant, who are detailed to serve on the staff for four years, at the expiration of which time they return to their respective regiments or corps and are not eligible for re-appointment on the staff for two years. The chief of staff is virtually the commander-in-chief with supreme authority, subject only to the Secretary of War, and supervision over all troops of the line and all staff departments. The general staff is required by law to prepare plans for the national defence and the mobilisation of the Army in time of war, to investigate and report upon all questions affecting the efficiency of the Army and its state of preparation for military operations, and to render professional aid and assistance to the Secretary of War

and "to general officers and other superior commanders, and to act as their agents in informing and co-ordinating the action of all the different officers who are subject to the supervision of the chief of staff."

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Affairs in the foreign possessions of the United States require only brief comment. Although there was little actual fighting in the Philippines and the American army of occupation has been reduced to a trifle over 15,000, the islands are not yet pacified and the natives have not become reconciled to their transfer from Spanish to American sovereignty. There have been several sharp engagements between the Filipinos and the Americans, which, according to official reports, are attacks by *ladrones* or *banditti* rather than military operations. During April and May Captain Pershing headed an expedition against the Moros of the Lake Mindano region. He attacked and captured the fort of the Sultan of Bacolod and had a series of running fights, in which the forts of the Taraca Moros surrendered to him. Several hundred Moros were killed, but the American loss was trifling. In November the natives of the Island of Sulu were unruly, and Major-General Wood after five days' fighting killed more than 300 Moros and firmly established the authority of the United States on the island. With these exceptions there were no important military operations during the year.

In the early part of the year an epidemic of cholera assumed alarming proportions, and rinderpest worked havoc among the cattle and caused much distress. The Government issued supplies and restocked farms, and Congress made a grant of \$3,000,000 for the relief of the sufferers. Despite these misfortunes and their natural effect on trade, the commerce of the islands continues to show improvement, and the foreign trade of the islands during the last fiscal year yielded a favourable balance of \$149,898. Under an Act passed by Congress in February the insular Government coined and issued on a gold basis a new silver currency, of a total value of \$8,941,625 gold. This was put into circulation July 20, and arrangements for maintaining its parity with gold, with the absorption of the Spanish coins and Mexican dollars, are expected to put the islands on a sound financial basis. Under the same Act of Congress, certificates for 10,000,000 silver pesos were printed for issue in return for the deposit of silver peso coins.

The Tariff Act of 1902 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 440) has proved unsatisfactory, the refunded duties on Philippine shipments to the United States having entailed a loss to the Philippine treasury of over \$400,000, and it is evident that a readjustment of the tariff relations between the islands and the United States is imperative, but although there has been much

agitation on the subject, Congress has not as yet taken action. There has also been active discussion of the law passed by Congress in 1902 requiring that after July 1, 1904, commerce between the islands shall be carried on solely in American bottoms, and it is feared that unless the law is repealed the insular commerce will be paralysed, because of the utter insufficiency of vessels of American registry and the impossibility of supplying them. Although urgent representations have been made to Congress to modify the law, no action has been taken.

The natives of the Sulu Archipelago have from the first proved difficult to govern, and it is said that during the entire time of Spanish occupation the authority of Spain was merely nominal, Spain finding it cheaper and easier to subsidise the Sultan than to use force. In the early days of American occupation a subsidy was granted to the Sultan and slavery was permitted to exist. This agreement, however, proving unsatisfactory, a new scheme of government was arranged. General Wood was appointed Governor of the archipelago, and in that capacity issued a proclamation abolishing slavery, which was one of the causes of the Sultan's discontent and made necessary the punitive expedition. In the spring Lieutenant-General Miles, at that time the ranking officer of the Army, returned to Washington after several months spent in observation in the islands and made a report in which he severely animadverted upon the conduct of several military officers stationed there. This gave renewed hope to the "anti-imperialists," who had almost ceased to be heard from because they had no material with which to carry on their campaign, and the country refused to countenance attacks on the good fame of the American Army. While General Miles' charges were serious, they were not supported by proof, and were so evidently inspired by personal motives that they produced little effect. They led, however, to a renewed investigation of the conduct of certain officers charged with having been guilty of cruelty and maltreating the natives, but the evidence did not sustain the allegations.

One of the most important events of the year was a contract concluded between Mr. Taft, the Governor of the islands, and the Roman Catholic Church authorities, by which the Government agreed to purchase for the sum of \$7,250,000 the so-called "Friars' Lands," the landed property of the Church and religious organisations. The friars have always been a disturbing element, and it was feared at one time that their influence would be exerted against the American Government and make it impossible for good relations to exist between the Government and the Church. Efforts to induce the friars to leave the islands were unavailing unless they were paid for their property; and although it was claimed that this property had been appropriated by the Spanish Government from the natives without compensation, occupation had given the religious orders a shadowy title which the American Government did not feel warranted in declaring invalid

by forcible measures. The negotiations were protracted and at times threatened to result in failure because the friars insisted upon a payment of \$15,000,000, but finally they compromised for the smaller sum. The lands will be sold to the native tenants, the method being substantially similar to the Irish Land Act. At the end of December Governor Taft resigned as Governor to accept the War Department portfolio in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, made vacant by the resignation of Secretary Root, and was succeeded by Luke E. Wright, who had previously been Vice-governor.

In Hawaii friction developed between the natives and the Americans, but although it led to some political excitement it produced no serious consequences. The native Members of the Legislature showed a tendency, probably quickly assimilated by contact with their new American governors, toward extravagance and jobbery, which caused an investigation by the grand jury. Much petty stealing was disclosed, and several indictments were returned. A law giving the counties control of their own affairs was passed in April, and was to go into effect on January 1, 1904. By it the previous autocratic powers of the Government are much curtailed. President Roosevelt approved a territorial loan of \$1,229,000 for public improvements. The President having appointed Governor Sanford B. Dole to be United States District Judge for Hawaii, George R. Carter, Secretary of the Territory, was appointed to succeed him as Governor.

Quiet and prosperity marked the year in Porto Rico. In September anarchist labour agitators inspired attacks against the American authorities in San Juan, but they were quickly suppressed, and there has been no recrudescence. Charges that military and other Government officers were engaged in extensive smuggling operations caused some popular commotion and compelled the Washington Government to make an investigation, which resulted in several indictments being returned against the alleged smugglers. These indictments, however, under orders from Washington, were not pressed, although the officers were compelled to pay double the amount of duty on their imports, which caused the natives to indulge in comments about the partiality shown to American officials. The school system continues to spread, and in April the University of Porto Rico was opened. Commerce with the United States steadily increases, the exports from the United States to the island for 1903 being valued at \$11,976,134, as compared with \$10,719,444 for 1902, and the imports into the United States from Porto Rico being \$10,909,147 for 1903, and \$8,297,422 for 1902. Porto Rico promises largely to increase the world's supply of cotton in the near future. The Porto Ricans, as a rule, seem satisfied with American control.

A. MAURICE LOW.

II. CANADA.

In January, 1903, an arrangement was come to by which the whole matter of the Alaska boundary, which ever since Canadian confederation had been an outstanding point of dispute between the Dominion and the United States, was submitted to a Commission to be composed of "six impartial jurists of repute," three to be British and three American. This Commission was not to be considered as a board of arbitration, but as a body having purely legal functions of interpretation, the principal matter with which they were to deal being the interpretation of the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia, dealing with the Alaska frontier. The Commission was composed as follows: British Commissioners—Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Louis Jette, K.C., of Quebec, and A. B. Aylesworth, K.C., of Toronto. American Commissioners—Hon. Henry C. Lodge, Senator of Massachusetts; Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War of the United States Government, and Hon. George Turner, Senator of the State of Washington. Considerable dissatisfaction was felt in Canada at the selection made by the American Government, it being held difficult to believe that the Commissioners appointed by them could be considered in any sense as "impartial jurists." Some correspondence occurred on this point with the Imperial Government, which agreed in feeling surprise as to the American appointments, but no change was made. The Commission met in London, and their decision was arrived at in October. Its effect was, in brief, to exclude the Canadians from all the ocean inlets as far south as the Portland Channel, thus cutting them off from the water approaches to the Yukon and other goldfields, and, in the case of the channel just mentioned, to assign the two outer and smaller islands—Kannagunut and Sitklau—to the United States, but the two inner, and much larger islands, Pearse and Wales, to Canada. This was, no doubt, in the main, a very unfavourable decision for Canada. It was secured by the concurrence of Lord Alverstone in the view of the American members of the tribunal as to the principal matters at issue. Even on the Portland Channel question the Canadians at the time failed to draw any satisfaction from the award. For the two Canadian Commissioners refused to sign it, having regard to the fact that, as they affirmed in a published statement, Lord Alverstone had agreed with them that all four islands ought to go to Canada, and yet eventually determined otherwise without previously informing them of his change of mind. On this subject and in regard to the selection of a line of mountains for the boundary northward from the Portland Channel, the Canadian Commissioners plainly intimated their opinion that Lord Alverstone's action had not been judicial, but diplomatic. They also alleged that strategically the two smaller islands in the Portland Channel would neutralise the value of the larger ones

assigned to Canada. This latter contention was altogether denied on what appeared to be competent authority, and in any case had no direct bearing on the question whether Lord Alverstone had acted judicially. The immediate effect of the decision, however, was to bring about a serious feeling of irritation in the minds of Canadians, who thought that their interests had been sacrificed, by the agency of Lord Alverstone, to a desire on the part of the Imperial Government for a settlement with the United States at whatever cost. This sentiment was, to some extent at any rate, modified by the publication of the careful statement by Lord Alverstone of the reasons which led him to arrive at the conclusions which he adopted, both as to the true course of the Portland Channel, and as to the other questions involved.

The attention of the House of Commons, which was still sitting, was drawn to the matter, and it elicited from the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the following observations: "I have often regretted that we have not in our own hands the treaty-making power, which would enable us to dispose of our own affairs. But in this matter we are dealing with a position that was forced upon us—we have not the treaty-making power. . . . I am sorry . . . that we are not in such an independent position that it is in my power to place before Parliament the whole of the correspondence as it passed between the Canadian Government and the British Government. But we shall have that correspondence, and it will be placed before Parliament at the next session—the whole of it, no matter what protest may come from abroad, we shall have the whole of it, and then this country may know exactly what has taken place, and what share of responsibility must rest upon each of the parties concerned in this matter. But we have no such power, our hands are tied to a large extent owing to the fact of our connection—which has its benefits, but which has also its disadvantages—the fact of our connection with the Mother Country making us not free agents, and obliging us to deal with questions affecting ourselves through the instrumentality of the British Ambassador."

On Mr. Aylesworth's return, a banquet was tendered to him by the Canadian Club at Toronto, and it was expected that some hard things would be said. He made, however, a wise, conciliatory and loyal speech (see p. 218), and the tension of feeling was reduced. Nevertheless, though the great irritation first felt in connection with this particular decision undoubtedly passed away, the whole transaction certainly left an unpleasant impression on the minds of Canadians. It must be remembered that it is the general impression among, at all events, the younger generation of Canadians that it has been the practice of the British Foreign Office to look with some indifference on the Canadian point of view in regard to territorial disputes with the United States, or at all events to be willing to make some sacrifice of Canadian interests for the purpose of conciliating

the American Government. It has been felt also that the character of American diplomacy is not as fully understood by English statesmen as by Canadians. The Maine boundary settlement is still a sore point.

Various indications appeared during the year which pointed to the probability of a further attempt to induce the Colony of Newfoundland to join the confederation with the Dominion, and a willingness was evidenced to make some concessions with that object in view.

The action of the German Government in withdrawing from the Dominion of Canada its rights to the most-favoured-nation clause in their tariff produced profound irritation in Canada, where it was looked upon as an attempt to interfere with reasonable inter-Imperial arrangements. At the beginning of the year the Dominion of Canada took action by imposing a surtax of 10 per cent. on all German goods. The effect of this tax was not, to begin with, very apparent, as contracts for woollens, hosiery, etc., had been made with German exporters long ahead; but it seemed likely to materially reduce importations from Germany in various classes of goods.

One of the leading topics of the year was, of course, the Chamberlain tariff proposals and the various considerations connected with them. There is no doubt, in this connection, that the personality of Mr. Chamberlain himself had a great deal to do with the strong interest elicited in the Canadian business world by his speeches. Business men generally found Mr. Chamberlain's way of looking at things in harmony with their own point of view, even though they might not agree with what he said in detail; and it was said on various occasions, and pretty generally felt, that if he had paid a visit to Canada in the course of his campaign it would have had a very large influence in moving public opinion there in his favour. With regard to the details of his suggestions, however, two statements which he was understood to have made stood out in the public mind as being entirely incorrect. One of these was that Canadian loyalty could be considered in any way dependent for its existence on any tariff preference that might or might not be granted by Great Britain. The other was that any sort of limitation could conceivably be put upon the natural growth of any description of manufacturing industry in Canada. With regard to general opinion on the subject of inter-Imperial politics, it must not be supposed that there were no dissentient voices in Canada. There were a good many, and there remains a considerable section of people who look upon inter-Imperial preference as not only impracticable, but quite undesirable.

At the fifth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, which met in Montreal on August 17, under the presidency of Lord Brassey, the following resolutions were adopted:—

“That this Congress hereby affirms the principle that it is the duty of the self-governing Colonies to participate in the

cost of the defence of the Empire ; but the Colonies claim the privilege of keeping their own initiative as to the nature and mode of help which they may agree to offer in the future to the British Empire."

"Whereas the assurance of a constant and ample supply of food to the citizens of the United Kingdom in both peace and war is a matter of the first importance for the security of the Empire, it is resolved that in the opinion of this Congress the food supply of Great Britain can be most safely relied upon by developing the output of her own territories to such an extent as to make her independent of supplies from foreign sources, and to best achieve this end it is desirable and necessary to divert as far as possible all of her able-bodied surplus population who will make useful citizens to the shores of her dominions beyond the seas."

"That his Majesty's Government should take immediate steps in conjunction with the Governments of the Colonies interested in order to obtain for British Colonies most-favoured-nation treatment from those countries which have granted most-favoured-nation treatment to the United Kingdom, and against which the Colonies are not discriminating in the application of their Customs tariff."

"That, in the opinion of the Congress, the bonds of the British Empire could be materially strengthened and the union of the various parts of his Majesty's dominions greatly consolidated by the adoption of a commercial treaty based upon the principle of mutual benefit, whereby each component part of the Empire would receive a substantial advantage in trade as the result of its national relationship, due consideration being given to the fiscal and industrial needs of the component parts of the Empire ; and this Congress urges upon his Majesty's Government the appointment by them of a special commission, composed of representatives of Great Britain and her Colonies and India, to consider the possibility of thus increasing and strengthening the trade relations between the different parts of the Empire and the trading facilities within the Empire, and with foreign countries."

Much difficulty was experienced in obtaining unanimity on the resolution in regard to inter-Imperial preference, and the phraseology ultimately adopted was rather vague. There was a vigorous Free-Trade party in the Congress, mostly Englishmen, led by Sir William Holland ; and, on the other hand, the Canadian manufacturers were a unit in favour of preference. On the whole, it cannot be said that much was effected by the conference beyond the general advantages of a meeting among representatives from the different parts of the Empire. The tone of the meeting was enthusiastically loyal and even Imperialistic ; but the difficulties involved in a satisfactory system of preference became apparent.

There followed (Sept. 17), at Toronto, the annual Convention

of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The president of the convention, Mr. C. A. Birge, in a strongly Protectionist speech, condemned the idea of reciprocity with the United States, and his remarks in that sense were received with evident favour. A report was received from the Tariff Committee of the Association and adopted, which re-affirmed the tariff resolutions passed at the previous annual meeting at Halifax, as follows: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this association the changed conditions which now obtain in Canada demand the immediate and thorough revision of the tariff upon lines which will more effectually transfer to the workshops of our Dominion the manufacture of many of the goods which we now import from other countries; that in any such revision the interests of all sections of the community, whether of agriculture, mining, fishing or manufacturing, should be fully considered, with a view not only to the preservation but to the future development of all these great natural industries; that while such a tariff should primarily be framed for Canadian interests, it should nevertheless give a substantial preference to the Mother Country, and also to any other part of the British Empire with which reciprocal trade can be arranged, recognising always that under any conditions the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers; . . . that we are strongly opposed to any reciprocity treaty with the United States affecting the manufacturing industries of Canada."

The Dominion Parliament met on March 12. The Budget was brought down to the House by Mr. Fielding, the Minister of Finance, on April 16. The revenue for the fiscal year 1901-2 was \$58,050,790, against \$52,514,701 in 1900-1, showing an increase of \$5,536,088, made up as follows: Increase in Customs, \$3,766,694; Excise, \$878,867; Post Office, \$476,910; Railways, \$705,616; against decrease in Dominion Lands, \$289,342, and in Miscellaneous, \$2,656.

A statement of the expenditure of 1901-2 compared with that of 1900-1 is given on the following page.

The debt on June 30, 1902, was \$271,829,089, as against \$268,480,003 on June 30, 1901. But the estimated revenue for the year 1902-3 was \$65,000,000, against ordinary expenditure \$51,650,000; and of the surplus \$5,650,000 would be available for debt reduction. The aggregate foreign trade for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, was \$467,637,049, showing an increase of \$43,750,000. The exports of domestic produce for years ending June 30, 1902 and 1903 respectively, were as follows:—

| | 1902. | 1903. |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| The mine | \$34,947,574 | \$31,064,861 |
| The fisheries | 14,059,070 | 11,800,184 |
| The forest | 32,119,429 | 36,386,015 |
| Animals and their products | 59,245,433 | 69,817,542 |
| Agriculture | 37,238,185 | 44,624,321 |
| Manufactures | 18,462,970 | 20,624,967 |
| Miscellaneous | 32,599 | 83,784 |
| | <hr/> \$196,105,240 | <hr/> \$214,401,674 |

| Service. | 1900-1. | 1901-2. | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ |
| Consolidated Revenue Fund . | 46,866,367.84 | 50,759,391.97 | 3,893,024.13 | — |
| Capital— | | | | |
| Railways | 3,914,010.50 | 5,102,838.99 | 1,188,828.49 | — |
| Canals | 2,360,569.89 | 2,114,689.88 | — | 245,880.01 |
| Public Works | 1,006,983.39 | 2,190,125.09 | 1,183,141.70 | — |
| Dominion Lands | 269,060.90 | 370,837.97 | 101,777.07 | — |
| Militia | 135,884.79 | 299,697.43 | 163,812.64 | — |
| Canadian Pacific Railway . | 8,978.87 | 448.70 | — | 8,530.17 |
| Total Capital | 7,695,488.34 | 10,078,638.06 | 2,383,149.72 | — |
| Special— | | | | |
| Railways Subsidies | 2,512,328.86 | 2,093,939.00 | — | 418,389.86 |
| South African Contingents and Halifax Garrison | 908,681.42 | 247,741.45 | — | 660,939.97 |
| ¹ Bounties on Iron and Steel . | — | 791,089.38 | — | — |
| Total Special | 3,421,010.28 | 3,132,769.83 | — | 288,240.45 |
| Total Capital and Special . | 11,116,498.62 | 13,211,407.89 | 2,094,909.27 | — |
| Total Expenditure of all kinds | 57,982,866.46 | 63,970,799.86 | 5,987,933.40 | — |

¹ Previously paid out of Customs receipts.

Amongst the bills passed during the session was the Re-distribution Bill, in accordance with Section 51 of the British North America Act for the readjusting of the representation of the Provinces of the Dominion. The changes made were as follows:—

| | Old. | New. |
|----------------------------------|------|------|
| Ontario | 92 | 86 |
| Quebec | 65 | 65 |
| Nova Scotia | 20 | 18 |
| New Brunswick | 14 | 13 |
| Manitoba | 7 | 10 |
| British Columbia | 6 | 7 |
| Prince Edward Island | 5 | 4 |
| North-West Territories | 4 | 10 |
| Yukon | 1 | 1 |

By this Act it will be observed the West obtained an increased representation of ten members.

The most important business of the session was the consideration of the transportation question. Two Acts of importance in this respect were passed: (1) The Railway Act, "An Act to amend and consolidate the law respecting railways." By this measure "the Railway Committee of the Privy Council" was abolished, and in its place was established "a commission to be known as the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada" consisting of three members. This Board was given very extensive regulative and judicial powers under the Act. They have to deal with all questions of freight, tariffs, classification of freight, and the various disputes arising between the railways and shippers. The Hon. A. G. Blair, late Minister of Railways, was appointed Chief Commissioner. (2) An Act incorporating the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. The problems

involved in this latter Act were very fully discussed in the House. The course of the railway as decided upon in general was to be, as far as the western section is concerned, pretty much as described in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902 (p. 449). That section—*viz.*, between Winnipeg and the Pacific coast—is by the Act to be built, owned and operated entirely by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company, the Government undertaking to guarantee their bonds to the extent of 75 per cent. of the total cost of construction, and authorising the issue by them of stock in the company to the extent of \$20,000,000 preferred and \$25,000,000 common. The eastern section is to be built from Winnipeg eastward through the northern part of Ontario and Quebec, almost in a straight line to the city of Quebec, and passing Lake Abitibi on the north some 150 miles south of the southern extremity of James Bay; further from the city of Quebec eastward to the Province of New Brunswick, and southward through about the centre of that province to the town of Moncton. This eastern section of the road is by the Act to be built by the Dominion Government, and, as completed, handed over to the company under the following conditions: a lease for fifty years, during the first seven years of which the company is merely to pay the operating expenses, and for the remaining forty-three years the company to pay the Government 3 per cent. per annum on the ascertained total cost of construction. Some further rates of renewal and other conditions were added. One important condition with regard to the whole charter was that the company should, within thirty days of the date of the passing of the Act, deposit with the Government the sum of \$5,000,000 in cash or approved Government securities. This they proved unable to do, and at the end of the year it remained uncertain what action exactly would be taken.

With regard to this whole project, it seemed that, so far as the western section was concerned, the charter met with more or less general approval. The real crux of the situation lay in the difficulty of deciding with regard to the wisdom of the eastern section. The portion of the railway between the city of Quebec and Moncton was held by the Minister of Railways to be injurious to the Inter-Colonial Railway and inadvisable in various ways, and on this point he resigned. As to the section of the road through Northern Quebec and Ontario, it was held by many Members of the House that the information in regard to the nature of the country chosen was altogether insufficient, and it could hardly be said that the Government actually claimed full knowledge of it. It seemed clear that portions of the railway would run through good level country where easy gradients would be obtained; but a large part of it was really not explored. The main defence of the general plan of the line was based on the desirability of broadening out the area of population of settled Canada. The counter proposition of the Opposition Leader, Mr. Borden, was based on the theory that Government

ownership should be extended, and, further, that an all-rail route for grain must necessarily be more or less of a failure.

The discussion of the railway problem by no means ceased with the close of Parliament (which was prorogued on October 24), and the Government plan as embodied in the Grand Trunk Pacific Charter was subjected to a good deal of criticism, especially with reference to the line from Quebec to Moncton. It was thought by some people, in the first place, that the latter section would never be built, and in the second place that the section from Winnipeg to Quebec would probably not get further east than Abitibi, where it will ultimately connect with the Temiscaming Railway which is in course of construction from Toronto northwards. The Transportation Commission appointed by the Government, with Mr. John Bertram as chairman, will no doubt furnish some valuable information during 1904.

The only striking feature of politics in the Province of Ontario, where the Liberal party at the end of the year still continued in power with a majority of two, was in the nature of a serious scandal. On March 10 Mr. R. R. Gamey, the Member for Manitoulin, upon the floor of the House presented a written statement containing charges against the Hon. J. R. Stratton, Provincial Secretary, of having bribed Mr. Gamey to desert his own party and support the Government. Mr. Gamey claimed that he had accepted the bribe with the intention of utilising the circumstance to expose the corruption of the Government in general and Mr. Stratton in particular. An investigation followed before Chancellor Boyd and Chief Justice Falconbridge of Ontario. After a sensational examination, a decision was given against Mr. Gamey, but the impression made on the public was not favourable to the Government. The Opposition party showed some disposition to adopt Mr. Gamey. The results did not seem to indicate that doing so was a wise policy.

Financially, the year was one of falling prices, of diminishing speculation, and of considerable local embarrassment. The number of shares other than mining stocks dealt in by the Toronto Exchange was 986,635, against 1,682,245 for 1902. In Montreal it was 1,143,175, as against 2,015,898 last year. The speculative purchases of stocks in the year 1902 at high prices lay heavy on the hands of the speculators, and the process of liquidation which went on during the year brought about, on June 2, the failure of one of the largest speculative houses, Messrs. A. E. Ames & Co., with liabilities of about \$11,000,000, followed a few days later by two Loan Companies in St. Thomas, Ontario, whose funds were involved in the proceedings of Messrs. Ames. These failures were, of course, a heavy blow to the community, and if they had occurred in other than a prosperous business year, the results might have been quite disastrous. As it was, the effects were pretty well confined to the embarrassment of a number of individuals, many of whom were

absolutely ruined. The position of things at the end of the year was one of stagnation in speculation and indisposition to handle new securities until the old issues had been distributed into permanent holding. The crisis was handled firmly and skilfully by the banks, who maintained a very strong position throughout the year. They were enabled to do this by the extremely prosperous condition of general business. Money ranged during the year between 5 and 7 per cent., and the banks were at all times able to employ their funds fully and profitably, and suffered practically no loss from the speculative situation. About 150 new banking offices were opened during the year.

In a general way, it must be said that the industrial situation of Canada during the year was healthy and prosperous. The wool and iron and steel industries, however, were certainly affected injuriously by the fall of prices—the wool industry more particularly by the effects of competition under the British preference.

The crops throughout the Dominion were deemed highly satisfactory, although in the North-West the grain yield was considerably less heavy than in the year 1902. The figures for Manitoba and the North-West were about as follows:—

| | | 1902. | 1908. |
|----------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Wheat, bushels | . . . | 64,000,000 | 50,000,000 |
| Oats | „ . . . | 50,000,000 | 40,000,000 |
| Barley | „ . . . | 13,000,000 | 11,000,000 |

In spite of the falling off shown by these figures, however, the condition of the farmers was very prosperous. Immigration into the North-West was estimated at about 120,000, mainly composed of very satisfactory settlers. The disposition of the farmers in the North-West to take to mixed farming showed a marked increase during the year, and by doing so they are materially strengthening their position against the contingency of a possible bad year in grain.

The Consolidated Lake Superior Company, referred to in the *ANNUAL REGISTER* for 1902, failed early in the year—an event which involved the closing down of all the company's industries, and the throwing out of employment of large numbers of people. These were rapidly absorbed by other employers, and as the bulk of the stock was held in the United States, the blow to Canadian interests was not so severe as might have been expected. The salaries of the employes having fallen into arrears, the Government of the Province of Ontario guaranteed to the banks the sum necessary to pay them in full without delay, thus saving a great deal of distress and putting a stop to what threatened to become quite a serious situation in Sault Ste. Marie. The low price of steel hampered the efforts of the Dominion Steel Company to get on to a paying basis.

The annual meeting of the Canadian Pacific Railway showed net earnings of \$15,836,845, and a surplus, after the payment of all fixed charges and dividends, of \$3,973,960. The land

sales for the year amounted to 2,639,617 acres for the price of \$9,695,673—an average of \$3.67 per acre. The autumn dividend was paid at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum.

In British Columbia the lumbering industry showed decided growth. The output of gold in that province was 204,147 ounces, and its value \$4,219,718.49. Gold-mining in the Yukon showed an output for the year of about the value of \$12,000,000, the same as in 1902.

During the year the labour situation has been difficult and irritating. On the whole, however, the relations between employers and employes have rather changed for the better, and the position in Canada has all along been better than it was in the United States.

On April 30 a landslide occurred at Frank, North-West Territory, with terrible results. Eighty-three persons were killed, and an entire village submerged, and a loss of about \$1,000,000 sustained. On May 10 a severe fire broke out in Ottawa in which 200 houses and 10,000,000 feet of lumber were destroyed, with a loss of about \$3,000,000.

The year on the whole may be regarded as another in the long succession of prosperous years with which Canada has been favoured, and at the close of the year the prospects seemed bright for an equally prosperous year in 1904.

III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

[The figures and statistics given below apply, except where otherwise specified, to the twelve months ending on June 30 of the year to which reference is made.]

There was again a marked improvement in the trade and industry of Newfoundland.

The revenue for 1902-3 amounted to \$2,325,085, whilst the expenditure was \$2,236,658, showing a surplus of \$88,426.

The public debt on June 30, 1903, stood at \$19,785,500.

The seal fishery produced 4,375 tons of oil, valued at \$453,684, and 341,395 skins, which realised \$325,137.

From the whaling factories already at work 2,664 tons of oil and 53½ tons of bone were exported, of the respective values of \$256,372 and \$9,590. In addition to this, large quantities of the by-product of the industry in the shape of a valuable fertilising agent were sent out of the Colony.

The staple industry, namely cod fishing, gave the following results: fish, in quintals, 1,429,274, value, \$5,633,072; oil, in tons, 5,651, value, \$445,447; cod-liver oil, in gallons, 44,407, value, \$37,240.

Of lobsters 31,181 cases were exported, realising \$387,466, and 2,885 tierces of salmon produced the sum of \$53,214.

The herring fishery resulted as under: barrels in bulk, 83,877, value, \$133,081; barrels of frozen fish, 27,741, value, \$66,295; barrels of pickled fish, 79,985, value, \$257,151.

Lumber to the extent of 17,893 M. feet was shipped, of the value of \$232,176 ; and the mineral returns are given at : copper, 72,152 tons, value, \$378,041 ; iron, 692,464 tons, value, \$692,825 ; pyrites, 29,136 tons, value, \$167,439 ; slate, 3,573 tons, value, \$57,700.

The development of certain oil properties, to which reference was made in the last issue, was continued with renewed indications that this product may yet be found in paying quantities, and prospecting for gold continued in several parts of the island.

There was a growing demand for forest properties, both for ordinary lumber works, and also for the erection, on a large scale, of pulp mills, for which the timber growth is well suited, and it seemed not unreasonable to expect that during 1904 negotiations already in progress would result in the establishment of works of considerable magnitude in this connection.

In the Legislature the annual "Treaty Act" was again passed, whilst several useful measures were introduced and became law ; notably the Education Act and the consolidation of those relating to Crown lands. The Education Act proceeded on entirely denominational lines, providing for an annual grant for general educational purposes, to be apportioned among the several religious denominations of the Colony according to population, and to be administered by denominational Boards of Education appointed for the several districts by the Governor in Council. The Act also provided for grants in aid of higher education in denominational colleges.

May 24 in each year, the birthday of the late Sovereign, was made by statute a public holiday under the name of Empire Day, and a law regulating life and accident assurance was also placed on the Statute Book.

The Royal Naval Reserve scheme continued to find favour with the young men of the Colony. By the spring of 1903 half of the maximum number of 600 had been enrolled and had done their course of training either on the stationary ship *Calypso* or in the vessels of the North American and West Indian Squadron, whilst by the end of the first six months of 1904 there was reason to believe that the complement would be attained. One hundred men went for the six months' cruise with the fleet in the winter of 1902-3, and excellent reports of their conduct, discipline and usefulness were received from the commanding officers of the ships wherein they served. In November, 1903, the number of reservists taken for this cruise was increased to 120.

In October the Colony received, with much satisfaction, the news that Mr. Lyttelton, who had so ably represented the Government as President of the Arbitration Court in 1902, had been appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies—the first Minister of the Crown directing the affairs of his Majesty's Colonial possessions to have visited Newfoundland.

The popularity of the island as a summer and autumn resort for fishing and sporting purposes is growing rapidly. A marked increase in the number of visitors both from the neighbouring

continent and from England was recorded during the year, and the salmon and trout returns, as well as those relating to caribou shooting, were satisfactory as to the number taking part therein and as to the results obtained.

In view of the above short summary of the economic progress of the island, the confidence with which the public generally and the Government regard the future development of the most ancient of his Majesty's oversea possessions can hardly be misplaced.

IV. MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

*(This and the remaining Sections of this Chapter are by
H. WHATES.)*

Mexico has continued its peaceful and prosperous career under President Porfirio Diaz. British trade, however, is on the down grade. Mr. Leay, H.B.M. Consul at Vera Cruz, in his last report, points out that while the total imports into the Republic have quadrupled in twenty years, and in 1901-2 had reached 13,000,000*l.*, British imports declined from 18 per cent. in the period 1898-1900 to 13 per cent. in 1901-2. What the British have lost has been gained from them principally by the United States. The actual British exports to Mexico in 1900-1 were of the value of 1,984,900*l.*; in 1901-2 they fell to 1,673,079*l.* The fall appears to be due, in no small measure, to our want of enterprise and adaptability. The finances of Mexico are in a prosperous condition, and President Diaz, at the opening of the Chamber in September, told a gratifying story of progress in every department of administration. The imports for 1902 were of the value of 14,550,241*l.*, and exports 16,558,663*l.*

Interest, however, lies less in the present than in what may happen should the President retire, and his existing term of office expires in November, 1904. It was expected that he would take a further term, but that if his state of health should make a rest desirable Señor Limantour would be elected, he being the strongest personality in the country next to Porfirio Diaz. Señor Limantour is the Financial Minister, and the chief administrative event of 1903 is that arrangements have been made for the gradual adoption of a gold basis.

The affairs of *Colombia* in 1903 are interwoven with those of the United States in connection with the Isthmian Canal project and it is sufficient here to record the disastrous mistake Colombia made in rejecting the Canal Treaty with the United States, for the secession of Panama in that case was almost a certainty. Panama revolted on November 3 and proclaimed the isthmus an independent Republic. It was claimed by the Colombians that the revolution was "engineered" by United States interests. The Washington Government sent a strong naval force to protect United States citizens by virtue of the treaty of 1846, by which the United States is pledged to keep the peace of the isthmus. The Colombian troops were entirely

insuccessful and had to abandon Colon, and the United States Government, whose forces held the railways, formally recognised the new Republic, Mr. Hay issuing on November 6 a memorandum stating elaborately the reasons for this step. A treaty was thereupon made with the Republic of Panama by which full rights for either a railway or canal were granted in perpetuity to the United States within the canal zone, the United States in return guaranteeing the independence of the Republic. Colombia protested and threatened, but was powerless to modify the situation. Great Britain recognised the new Republic on December 24.

The position of the United States in regard to Panama is dealt with in Mr. Maurice Low's section (see pp. 420-424).

V. THE GUIANAS AND THE WEST INDIES.

The commercial and social condition of this group of Possessions (or of the British portion of them) remained the same as in the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902, p. 455), but there was a more confident hope of the resuscitation of the sugar industry. *British Guiana* was marking time, and the like observation applies to *Dutch* and *French Guiana*. Each section of this tropical region is auriferous, but capital is lacking for extensive operation of the gold industry. With the object of attracting prospectors the Government of British Guiana issued in 1903 a handbook of information on the gold, diamond and forest industries of the country (Baldwin & Co., Georgetown, B.G.). In 1902-3 the gold export was 104,525 ounces, and 162,892 diamonds have been found in the Mazaruni and 788 in the Potaro Rivers districts, and others have been found elsewhere, showing that the diamond drift covers a wide area.

Barbadoes suffered during 1902-3 from small-pox and drought, and the sugar crop for 1903 was disappointing, the value being estimated at only 337,645*l.*, as against a yearly average for the previous ten years of 615,609*l.* An attempt is being made to revive the cotton industry, and some 12,000 acres were under cultivation in August. Assistance to the extent of 80,000*l.* has been granted to the sugar-planting industry of the Colony from the Imperial Exchequer. The year closed with brighter prospects for the island. In *Trinidad* there was somewhat serious rioting in Port of Spain, and special commissioners (Sir C. Clementi Smith, Sir H. Evan James and Mr. S. C. Macaskie, K.C.) inquired into the affair. The rioting arose out of legislative proceedings in connection with the passing of a waterworks ordinance, against which an inflammatory agitation had been carried on, chiefly by coloured persons—an agitation which the Government had weakly ignored. The report censured the Administration and the agitation alike, supported the firing upon the mob, but condemned acts of brutality (if not murder) by the police when not under the control of responsible officers. It

declared that the Executive Government had failed to take adequate measures to correct the misrepresentations about the water ordinance with a view to allay the public excitement, and that there had been a most deplorable and unjustifiable delay in prosecuting the rioters and those responsible for inciting the riot. Among the recommendations made were that the police should be reorganised, the water works question inquired into by a select committee, and that legislation be introduced prohibiting the gathering of crowds about the Legislative Council Chamber, and dealing with offences committed by the Press, which in Trinidad is largely under the control of men of colour, unqualified for the profession of journalism. Certain persons were dismissed from the service of the Government, to whom Mr. Chamberlain addressed a peremptory despatch based on the findings of the Commission. The condition of Trinidad in 1902-3 was unprecedentedly prosperous. The revenue was 788,404*l.*, the expenditure 737,045*l.* The value of the total exports increased by 26,530*l.*, and of the imports by 336,000*l.* Imports were 2,672,087*l.*, and exports 2,472,181*l.* Trinidad, indeed, promises to become increasingly important and wealthy, for it is the least dependent of any of our West Indian possessions upon a single product—sugar.

Of *Tobago* there is nothing to report. *Grenada* is progressing; *Dominica* shows a recovery in agricultural prosperity, and generally throughout the West Indies advance is being made in extending the system of peasant proprietorship and in educating the negroes to make the best use of their land. The Agricultural Department, under Sir D. Morris, is doing valuable work on the lines of the Report of the Royal Commission of 1898, and, broadly speaking, there is less reason than ever to despair of the economic future of the British West Indies, particularly if the result of the Sugar Convention should enable the Colonies to obtain a higher price for their sugar—a matter still somewhat in doubt. In the meantime the sugar planters have been in receipt of Government help, pending the operation of the Convention, a total grant of 250,000*l.*, voted by the Imperial Parliament in 1903, being apportioned in aid of the sugar-growing industry, according to the needs of the several Colonies engaged therein. *Jamaica* was the scene of a disastrously severe hurricane on August 11, enormous damage being done to the plantations, the towns, and the shipping in the harbours. Kingston felt the full force of the cyclone. Seventy persons lost their lives, and large numbers of peasant fruit-growers had their plantations swept bare and the buildings wrecked. A fund was opened by the West India Committee for the relief of the sufferers, and generous assistance afforded from England and from neighbouring Colonies. It may be worth while to mention that labour conditions in the West Indies are likely to be affected by the construction of the Isthmian Canal under United States auspices. An enormous labour

force will be required, and the British West Indies are certain to be regarded as a recruiting ground, and may, to the extent of the recruiting, find their development retarded. Some of the West Indian Governments are revising their emigration laws with the object of protecting the contract labourer, if not of minimising the expected exodus.

The Republics of *San Domingo* and *Hayti* make no advance either in the arts of government or in commercial prosperity. In Domingo there were two rival Presidents, Morales and Jimenez, with the resultant anarchy; and at the end of the year matters had become so bad, to the peril of the lives of Europeans, that the commanders of the British and American warships—*Pallas* and *Detroit*—had landed a joint marine force at Sosua.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

Venezuela.—The development of the circumstances attending the blockade of Venezuelan ports by English and German warships is referred to both in the English History section (Chapters I. and II.) and under "Germany". For the purposes of continuing the narrative in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902 it will be sufficient to say that the blockade was maintained throughout January, many vessels flying the Venezuelan flag being captured, and Fort San Carlos bombarded—the revolution in the interior continuing meanwhile, without, however, any decisive result, for President Castro remained at the head of the Republic. The blockade was raised on February 13, the negotiations of the Powers with Mr. Bowen, the United States Minister at Caracas, to whom Venezuela had committed her interests, having resulted in a treaty signed on that date. Under this instrument the Venezuelan Government recognised in principle the justice of the claims advanced by the British Government and undertook to pay at once the claims (about 5,500*l.*) arising out of the seizure and plundering of British vessels and outrages on their crews. Other claims, except those of bondholders, and including claims by railway companies, were to be referred to a mixed commission of one Venezuelan and one British member, with a United States umpire in case of disagreement, the decision to be final. The Venezuelan Government admitted liability in cases where the claim was for injury to, or wrongful seizure of, property, and all the commission was to determine was whether the injury or seizure was wrongful, and, if so, what should be the amount of the compensation. Venezuela undertook to alienate 30 per cent. in monthly payments of the Customs revenue of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello; Belgian officers to be placed in charge of the Customs in the event of any default. Provision was made for a new arrangement respecting the internal debt of Venezuela for the satisfaction of the bondholders, and the arrangement was to specify the sources from which the necessary payments were to be made. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce

was renewed, and provision made for the raising of the blockade and the resumption of diplomatic relations. President Castro thereafter "resigned," but his "resignation" was not accepted. The revolution continued, but in July the Government troops captured Ciudad Bolivar after three days' fighting, in which 1,000 men were reported to have been killed. The claims of the Powers against Venezuela were formally presented in September, and stood thus: United States, \$10,900,000; Great Britain, \$2,500,000; France, \$16,040,000; Italy, \$9,300,000; Germany, \$1,417,300; Belgium, \$3,003,000; Spain, \$600,000; Mexico, \$500,000; Holland, \$1,048,451; Sweden, \$200,000. It had been arranged that the question of the priority of Great Britain, Germany and Italy over other claimant Powers should be referred to arbitration at the Hague, and the tribunal met in October, Mr. MacVeagh pleading on behalf of Venezuela that the blockading Powers had committed acts of war on behalf of private financial interests, that there was no precedent for war on such grounds, and that those Powers ought not to be rewarded by preferential treatment in the satisfaction of their claims. The tribunal then adjourned and resumed on November 4, when the representatives of the Powers interested proceeded, in turn, to state their respective points of view, Sir Robert Finlay (Attorney-General) representing Great Britain. He contended that if all the claims ranked equally the payment would take so long that the allotted 30 per cent. of the Customs dues under the treaty with Great Britain would not be a sufficient guarantee to the blockading Powers. The tribunal closed its sittings on November 13, and had not announced its decision at the end of the year.

Brazil.—Under Senhor Rodrigues Alves, who was elected President in 1902, Brazil has been free from disorder, and progress has been made in the rehabilitation of the credit and industries of the Republic. The dispute with *Bolivia* regarding the Acre territory (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902) for long seemed likely to end in bloodshed, but in the hands of Baron de Rio Branco, Foreign Minister of Brazil, a peaceful solution was found, a treaty being signed on the basis of an exchange of territory and monetary compensation to Bolivia. The arbitration as to the frontier between British Guiana and Brazil was not completed at the close of 1903. Dr. Rodrigues Alves opened Congress on May 3, his message being the first since his election. He spoke of healthy political conditions, and congratulated the country on the improved financial position as shown by the stability of the exchange and the higher price of securities in Europe. The policy embodied in the Funding Loan must be strictly adhered to, and Supplementary Estimates, which threw the finances into disorder, must be avoided. The economic situation, due to the overproduction of coffee, was unsatisfactory but not hopeless. Foreign capital and immigration were greatly needed. Congress should regulate the power of issuing loans

of the various States, which loans embarrassed credit and complicated the international relations of the Republic. The message called for the reform of the mining legislation, with the object of encouraging foreign capital, and pointed to the necessity of a revision of the revenue and stamp laws. The Brazilian exports in 1902 were valued at 736,100 contos of reis, and the imports at 467,239 contos, the surplus of exports 268,861 contos, against 410,871 in 1901—a decrease partly due to the higher rate of exchange, and partly to diminished value of the articles sent out. The Treasury position was good, and credit was rising. Two years before the internal bonds were quoted at 965 milreis, and were in May worth 980, while the 4 per Cents. rose from 62 in 1900 to 78 in 1903. The receipts for 1902 (rough figures) reached a total of 43,051 contos gold, and 238,381 paper. Including late receipts the totals would be 43,607 and 255,006 contos respectively, exceeding the estimates by 800 contos. The expenditure was 24,650 contos gold and 251,737 paper, the surplus being 8,957 gold and 3,269 paper. On the basis of the figures collected for the first quarter of 1903 the revenue for that year would be 43,444 contos gold and 250,144 paper, far exceeding the estimates. The total amount of the Republic's paper money was, in May, 675,411 contos. Of the Internal Loan of 1897 60,000 contos had been redeemed. The prices of Brazilian bonds in London were a trifle higher at the end than at the beginning of the year. Mention should be made of the visit to England of the Brazilian warship, *Benjamin Constant*, with a mission charged with the duty of offering King Edward the acknowledgments of the President for the presence of a British naval contingent at Rio in honour of his accession to the Presidency.

Argentina.—The cessation of the peril of war with Chili had enabled Argentina to devote herself to the development of her magnificent agricultural resources and, like Chili, to put money into the Exchequer by the sale of warships intended for use in the conflict so happily averted by the award of King Edward VII. (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1902). President Roca has administered the Republic with skill and prudence, but his term of office expires in 1904, and at the end of the year the election campaign for the choice of a successor was in progress, the chief candidates being Señor Manuel Quintana and Señor Jose Uriburu. The Presidential Message, delivered on the opening of Congress on May 5, spoke of the peaceful external relations and internal development of the country. Capital was coming back to the Argentine, and the credit of the Republic was securely established in the European markets. Industrial, commercial and financial life was regaining its former vigour, and there was a notable revival in every branch of business. The country owed, said the President, a debt of gratitude to his Britannic Majesty in regard to the settlement of the dispute with Chili. Touching upon the Argentine Government's Note to the

United States respecting the Monroe doctrine and the Venezuela affair, the President explained that it was not a request for protection of the Republic, but an exposition of the danger to which American nations were exposed by any establishment of the principle that States could be made responsible not only for loans contracted by their Governments, but also by private persons.

The revenue derived from posts and telegraphs in 1903 was estimated at 6,000,000 pesos paper. The deficit in the Budget of 1902 was estimated at 20,108,431 pesos paper. Exports in 1902 amounted to 179,486,727 pesos gold, exceeding by 11,760,625 the exports of the previous year. The debts of the Republic had been paid with regularity. The 6 and 5 per cent. stocks had been quoted above par. The enormous influx of gold was significant of the wealth of the country. The Conversion Treasury had in hand 23,000,000 pesos in gold. The President recommended that the law fixing the premium on gold at 127·27 per cent. should be maintained. Prosperity in the country would permit of the suppression of the additional tax on imports in 1904. Diminished immigration was attributed to the bad harvests of previous years. But the new land law would permit of vast regions which were now waste being made productive. Fifty million hectares of newly explored territory would be open in 1903. The National Colonies were prosperous. Agriculture had greatly developed, 8,000,000 hectares being now in corn, linseed, maize and other cereals. Agricultural schools had been established and provision made for the minutest inspection of cattle for export. As the result of the re-opening of British ports to foreign cattle a great impetus had been given to the cattle trade of the Argentine. In 1902 the export of frozen meat reached a total of 13,572,000 pesos gold, as against 7,000,000 in 1900. The general imports for the first quarter of 1903 amounted to 33,530,498 pesos gold and the total estimated value for the year was 123,000,000 pesos. The exports for the first three months of 1903 amounted in value to 60,351,199 pesos gold and it was estimated that the value for the whole year would be 250,000,000 pesos, an increase of 70,000,000 over the figure for 1902. The railways (18,000 kilometres in all) had produced a gross revenue of 42,480,000 pesos gold and a net revenue of 20,000,000. It was expected, said the Message, that the first section of the port at Rosario would be opened for traffic at the end of 1904. For purposes of reference the allusion made in the Message to the Monroe doctrine merits some elucidation. In consequence of the Venezuelan imbroglio Argentina asked the United States in March to join in a declaration that a public debt cannot give rise to an armed intervention in South America by a European creditor. Mr. Hay, the United States Foreign Minister, replied: "We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided such punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American Power," but added

that the "Government of the United States would always be glad to see questions of the justice of claims by one State against another growing out of individual wrongs or national obligations, as well as guarantees for the execution of whatever award may be made, left to the decision of an impartial arbitral tribunal." Upon this the Argentine Government issued a statement claiming that it was upholding a principle of international law, by which delay in the payment of a public debt—delay not due to bad faith—cannot and ought not to be made a ground of armed intervention; but the only authority quoted for this alleged principle was a passage from a speech made by Mr. James Bryce to the Eighty Club. Several flattering references were made in Congress to the amity existing between Argentina and Great Britain and to the submission of the Chilean dispute to the arbitration of King Edward.

In *Chili* there is little to record beyond frequent changes of Ministry, but these, though attended by loss of confidence and of commercial stability, did not lead to disturbance of public order during 1908. The sale of the two war vessels to the British Government had no effect upon the prices of Chilean bonds, and Chili was out of financial favour in London.

Of *Peru*, *Paraguay* and *Ecuador* there is nothing of importance to note. In *Uruguay* the two parties—the Colorados and Blancos—have been engaged in a war of mutual extermination, and since March the country has been profoundly disturbed, a revolution of, apparently, a sanguinary character being in progress at the close of the year.

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

THE third year of Federal Government, which witnessed the close of the first Commonwealth Parliament, was not marked by any events of greater interest than changes in the *personnel* of the Ministry—changes which denoted, however, to those who watched the current of Australian policy an increasing tendency towards class domination. The hopes of those who anticipated that with the union of the States would come a larger spirit and a wider ambition into Australian political life continue to be disappointed.

The working of the Federal Constitution disclosed some serious defects in the machinery. If the electoral law as settled in the Federal Act was intended to operate so as to give entire freedom to popular opinion while preserving the liberty of the State, and an equal balance between the constituent States, that design, as proved by the result of the batch of elections at

the close of 1903 to the Federal Parliament, has been signally frustrated. The framers of the Constitution, it may be presumed, had in their minds the desire to make the Upper House or Senate, following the analogy of England and the United States, the more stable, the more conservative, and the more independent of the two Chambers. In the result the Australian Senate has, thus early in its history, become the more democratic, the more closely affected by class influences, and less national in its aims and aspirations.

The changes in the *personnel* of the Federal Cabinet were significant of the weight of the influences just referred to. At first stoutly denying that he contemplated any such step, before the close of the year Sir Edmund Barton accepted a post in the High Federal Court, carrying with him Mr. Richard O'Connor, one of the ablest of his colleagues. Sir Edmund Barton was, by the acknowledgment of all, friends and opponents, a very fitting man to be a Federal Judge. Yet no one supposed that he would prefer the more dignified and honourable employment had it not been also the safer. There were many signs during the year that Sir Edmund Barton, if he ever possessed, did not retain the confidence of the Federal Parliament, in which the Labour party was more and more inclined to assert its power. This was shown distinctly by the fate of the Arbitration Bill, a measure introduced by the Cabinet especially to please the Trades Hall, following the example of New Zealand. In a committee on the Bill in the House of Representatives a clause was carried, against the Government, by a majority of 5, including railway servants among the trades for whose benefit the measure was framed. Mr. Kingston, Minister of Commerce, spoke strongly and voted in favour of the clause—resigning office when the Government refused to accept such a measure—as well as one for extending the principle of compulsory arbitration to mail steamers and coasting vessels. On behalf of the Government it was argued that to invest the railway servants with the powers of a trade union, with liberty to strike for higher wages, was a direct invasion of State rights—each State being owner of its railways and having them for its main if not its only asset.

Upon the resignation of Sir Edmund Barton, Mr. Deakin, one of his colleagues, was made Prime Minister. Mr. Deakin is a leading politician who, both by his speeches and his writings, had earned that distinction. He had been a consistent advocate of Federation from the independent democratic side, and had distinguished himself, on a recent visit to England, by his sympathy with the Imperialist views of Mr. Chamberlain. By an unfriendly critic in a hostile newspaper he was described in no severer terms than “a kindly idealist,” though “remarkably pliant.” Mr. Austin Chapman and Senator Playford succeeded to the posts of Minister of Defence and Vice-President of the Executive Council, left vacant by the resignation

of Sir Edmund Barton and Mr. O'Connor. Sir William Lyne succeeded to Mr. Kingston, whose retirement (on July 25) has been already mentioned, as Minister of Customs; Sir John Forrest became Home Secretary in place of Sir W. Lyne, being succeeded by Senator Drake as Minister of Defence, while Sir Philip Fysh was transferred to the Post Office. Mr. Kingston, it should be said, was regarded as the "sheet-anchor" of the Labour party, and with him there fell away from the Government their influence with the Trades Hall. On the other hand the leading Sydney journal spoke of "a great sigh of relief rising from one end of Australia to another," on Mr. Kingston's retirement.

On other questions affecting Imperial and external interests besides this the Labour party disclosed views which gave trouble to the Government. Admiral Bedford's recommendation to fortify Fremantle, in Western Australia, was resented by the Labour Members as an invasion of their prerogative, and in the debate on the Naval Agreement Bill Mr. Watson, recognised as their leader in Parliament, moved that it be read six months hence as a protest against the British Admiralty controlling the Australian fleet in war time.

The agitation against the employment of coloured labour was largely developed and took many forms during this year. The party which claims to be the popular one, representing the trade unions, insists not only upon a white Australia, but a white sea around Australia. In the new tenders for the mail contract with Europe it is stipulated that no coloured seamen are to be employed. A correspondence on this subject ensued between the Imperial Government, as the other party to the contract, and the Commonwealth authorities. The Imperial Colonial Secretary expressed his great regret at the action taken by the Commonwealth Government, pointing out the inconveniences to the public service involved in the compulsory substitution of white for coloured labourers in the mail ships—especially those which have to pass through the Suez Canal, where the heat renders it impossible to employ white stokers. Sir Edmund Barton, in his reply, while expressing his regret at the conflict with Imperial interests, maintained the position of his Government and gave no hope of a relief or compromise.

There was a conference of State Premiers in Sydney on April 10 to discuss various questions of inter-State importance, including the control of the rivers and the determining them to be water courses for navigation or for irrigation; the right of the Federal Government to levy Customs duties on State imports; differential railway rates, and the Trans-Continental Railway. That such conferences should still be required, on matters pertaining to the general interest and therefore to be undertaken by the Federal Government, was plausibly regarded by a leading Victorian journal as proving that "the Commonwealth has not yet succeeded in incorporating itself into Australian life." The

State continues to be first in the eyes of its citizens, and this tendency is likely to be increased rather than diminished by the working of Federal institutions, on the lines as laid down by the Democracy.

The Federal Parliament was opened by the Governor-General on May 26. The principal measures announced in Lord Tennyson's speech were—a Bill to Constitute the Federal High Court (passed); a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill (since dropped because of the action of the Labour party); a Naval Agreement Bill, embodying the result of the long conferences with the Imperial Government on the naval defences; a Bill for creating the office of High Commissioner for Australia in London, and measures for giving a bonus on the manufacture of iron wares and the growth of native sugar.

The references to Imperial and larger Federal questions in the Governor-General's speech were not received with favour by the popular party. Senator Higga, in the Upper House, went so far as to move a resolution condemning the Governor of Victoria's lecture on Federal Defence, on the ground that it was an argument in favour of the Naval Agreement Bill before it was considered by Parliament.

The discussion in the Federal Parliament on the question of the future seat of Government disclosed considerable differences of opinion between the two Houses. In each Chamber were two principal parties, one inclining to Sydney and the other to Melbourne. In the result, while the House of Representatives, by a small majority, voted in favour of Tumut as the Federal capital, the Senate preferred Bombala. Both townships are by nature and physical advantages qualified, and both are within the territory of New South Wales, though at the prescribed distance from Sydney. The dead-lock between the Houses found no solution. While a considerable section of the public, uninterested in politics, were opposed, on the score of expense, to a "Bush capital," and would prefer the selection of either Sydney or Melbourne, the Labour party, holding the balance of power, was naturally inclined to the scheme which promised the largest expenditure of public money, though cynically avowing that it was "open to the highest bidder." The chances appeared to be in favour of Bombala, a well-placed town on the high land, not far from the Victorian frontier, being chosen as the Australian capital.

The fiscal agitation had its echoes in Australia, though the interest in Mr. Chamberlain's programme was less earnest than might have been expected. A good deal of the confusion and perplexity which accompanied the announcement of the new policy at home found its counterpart in the politics of the Commonwealth. Parties in Australia, however, are divided by lines which do not correspond with those of like denominations in Great Britain. Here, the terms Conservative and Radical have no meaning, and Free Trade and Protection, by the pro-

cess of political evolution, have come to signify movements and forces practically unknown in British politics. The Democrats, calling themselves the Liberal party, are to a man Protectionists, while the Free Traders have to encounter the charge of being Tories and Reactionists. As the parties happened to be divided when Mr. Chamberlain first launched his thunderbolt in the blue sky, there was much bewilderment as to which of the local parties should follow his lead, and how the lines of cleavage would run. Both Sir Edmund Barton and Mr. Deakin, as representing the Government, on the first news of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy, were prompt in replying in terms of cordial approval. The scheme of preferential duties, originally suggested by the representatives of the Colonies themselves, naturally found favour with the majority. But the acceptance of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals was by no means enthusiastic, and much happened before the end of the year to cool the ardour of the Australian States for preferential duties. In the first place no one could be sure that preference was wanted, still less could any one say how it would work. The Protectionists interpreted the scheme in one sense, the Free Traders in another; neither party being moved, either in their approval or dislike of the principle, by the same arguments as those used by Free Traders and Protectionists in England. By the mass of the Australian Protectionists the announcement that a certain change in the policy of insular Free Trade was contemplated in England was welcomed as justifying their own policy in Australia. By the Free Traders Mr. Chamberlain's scheme was violently rejected as furnishing the Protectionists with a new weapon and a new and more plausible plea for Australian protection. By both parties alike the Imperial aspect of the question was overlooked. Anything like an attempt to "think Imperially" was markedly absent in all the local controversies started by Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. They thought locally, colonially, federally perhaps—some few; but on the question of Tariff Reform the idea of how or whether it would tend to bind the Empire was perhaps the last that Protectionists or Free Traders had in their thoughts.

Mr. G. H. Reid, the leader of the Free Trade party in the Commonwealth, who is also the chief of the Opposition, representing what exists of a Conservative and Constitutional party, from the first repudiated Mr. Chamberlain's policy, denouncing Sir Edmund Barton's sympathetic attitude as "a mean, sneaking, disloyal fraud." Mr. Deakin, the new Commonwealth Premier, began by showing some hesitation in accepting Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, but since then—at least up to the date of the elections—spoke more strongly in their favour.

The mind of the Labour party, which holds the balance between Protectionists and Free Traders—the party which the last elections made stronger than ever—it is less easy to gather from the public declarations of its exponents. In principle the

Labour party professes to be neither Protectionist nor Free Trader. It has laid itself out to get votes on either side and pretends to have an open mind on the fiscal question. Its leaders, before the last batch of elections to the Senate, thus formally declared their policy: "The purposes we desire to achieve are more important and far-reaching than any tariff scheme can be." The Trades Hall, representing the inner council of the Trade Unionists, has always carefully refrained from any enunciation of its views on political economy. The great mass of the working men whom they represent are interested in the tariff only as a means of providing a large public revenue, to be expended on public works—the public works being necessary to provide employment and to maintain a high rate of wages. They have no idea of Protection beyond this, nor is it likely that their zeal for native industry will carry them to the extent of putting on such duties as would extinguish the imports and so lessen the revenue which they regard as their wages fund.

The third session of the first Federal Parliament was prorogued on December 24. An election of one-third of the Senate and of the whole House of Representatives took place on December 16 in accordance with the provisions of the Commonwealth Act, with results which were rather startling to the people of Australia. According to the Constitution, each State votes as one electorate for the Upper House. The experiment, novel in the practice of the Colonies, was tried for the first time at this election. For the first time also women voted at a Federal election. The issue turned on no leading question of policy—certainly was not affected by the fiscal agitation. It was one simply between the party of Labour and the other parties. In the result the Labour party gained six seats in the Senate—four at the expense of the Ministry and two at the expense of the Opposition. In the House of Representatives it also won six seats—the strength of the Ministry being reduced by that number. The grand totals represented the state of parties as follows: in the Senate there were 8 (Deakin) Ministerialists, 15 of the Opposition and 15 Labour. In the new House of Representatives the (Deakin) Ministerialists numbered 26 and the Opposition 26, while Labour had 23.

These numbers showed the growing strength of the Labour party, and pointed to a very serious political condition. What was curious was that in the Senate, which was designed to be the more sober and steadfast House, the special representative of order and the last constitutional resource, the Labour party had an actual majority over either of the other two parties. In the popular House it might be taken as equal to either of the rival parties. The elections revealed a condition of things before which the mere fiscal controversy becomes out of place and a little absurd. The case was not one of an ordinary political election ending in the triumph of one of two contending parties. While the Minis-

terialists and the Opposition, separated in principle only by the question of Free Trade or Protection—a question already decided and not likely to be re-opened in this generation—were quarrelling for office, the Labour party, which was pledged to carry out the Socialistic programme to its utmost extent—which had already declared for the nationalisation of all the public sources of wealth, a national State bank, with “Australia for the Australians”—whatever that might mean—had succeeded in winning such a hold over the Federal Parliament as to ensure its accession to power in the near future.

The triumph of the Labour Party was ascribed chiefly to the better discipline and superior strategy of the Trade Unionists, who concentrated their strength, as the “block system” enabled them to do, on the return of their selected candidates. The female vote, exercised for the first time, and likely to be more easily manipulated by the extremists than by any of the moderate parties, doubtless had its share in achieving the Labour victory. But that triumph was chiefly and essentially due to the divisions in the ranks of the other two parties, who, instead of combining against the Labour candidates, fought against one another with strenuous zeal, although, as between them, no great political principle was involved in the elections. To add to the confusion, sometimes there were two or three candidates on the same side—that is, on the side opposed to the party of Labour.

Mr. Deakin's own policy, as affirmed by himself, did not derive any colour from the political triumph of his allies of the Labour party, nor, though many of his candidates were strongly supported at the poll by the Labour party, was there any indication up to the close of the year of how the overpowering vote, especially of the constituents of the Senate, would influence his policy. It seemed possible that the fact, as announced, that the States wanted a further loan of 8,000,000*l.* would prevent the Socialists from too broadly demonstrating their strength. In Mr. Deakin's electoral address he made a strong point of urging the need of population for Australia. “We cannot have a white Australia without whites.” There had been a continuous decline, he confessed, since 1861. Yet the only way conceived by the Labour party of increasing the white population was by restricting the employment of the coloured.

The Commonwealth Budget, which was introduced on July 28, showed that the total receipts for the year ending in June were 12,105,878*l.*—which was more than 500,000*l.* over the estimate. (It is the custom of Australian Treasurers to underestimate the revenue so as to give excuse for increase of duties or new taxes.) Of this total the States would receive back nearly 1,000,000*l.* less than in the year before. There had been a decrease in the Customs of 578,000*l.* A conference of State Treasurers was to be held to take measures for federating the State loans.

The long and continuous series of droughts, the cause of incalculable loss to the pastoral and agricultural industries, finally broke up in April, when there set in a grateful succession of showers all over the continent, ending, in some districts, in serious floods.

New South Wales.—The State Parliament met on June 16. There was much confusion of parties, the Government having no definite policy, but leaning for support and inspiration on the Labour party. The regular Opposition was split up on the fiscal and the reform questions, the majority being Free Traders.

A vote of want of confidence was moved on July 2, and resulted in the Ministry securing a majority of 65 to 42. Of the Labour party 21 voted with the Government, while 5 Ministerialists were in the minority.

The movement in favour of reform and economy was making way among all classes and sections of the community, to the confusion of party distinctions. Retrenchment in the public expenditure, reduction in the number of paid legislators and servants of the State, with a reform of the system by which Parliament was made dependent on the working men it paid out of the public revenue—these were the leading points in the league's programme.

At an election held at Tamworth on April 4 the Government candidate was defeated, while the representative of the Labour party was last in the poll. The fiscal question was not raised. At Willoughby Mr. Wade, a supporter of the Reform League, defeated the Labour candidate by a large majority.

The Government continued to rely on the Labour party for general support, to purchase which it declared against any change in the financial policy, of which the basis was European capital. Mr. O'Sullivan, the Treasurer, declared on the platform that "a great deal of borrowed capital is still wanted."

By a decision of the Supreme Court, given on April 3, the Federal Parliament had exceeded its powers in taxing goods imported by the State Governments. "Such goods were goods of the Crown, and therefore exempt." The question arose out of an attempt of the Federal authorities to levy duty on rails imported for the State railways.

The Federal elections in the State, to fill the vacancies in the Senate and House of Representatives, resulted in victories for the Opposition and the Free Traders.

The Federal Government was solemnly censured by the Sydney Labour Council for relieving the restrictions on the landing of British workmen. There was no special skill, it resolved, which could not be found in the Colony.

Sir John See, the Premier, declared himself an opponent of the "Bush capital." He preferred Sydney for the seat of the Central Government, and failing Sydney, Melbourne.

Some violent scenes, such as are familiar to the local Parliament, were enacted in the Assembly. Mr. John Norton,

editor of a local paper and a noted disturber of the peace, called Mr. Broughton a "rat." Mr. Broughton retorted, upon which Mr. Norton struck him several times in the face.

Three German expert workmen who had arrived on the *Gera* were not permitted to land, pending inquiries as to whether they were under contract. Three Maories, travelling with a circus, were also prevented from landing on May 20.

Victoria.—There were several changes in the constitution of the State Ministry from personal causes. Mr. Reid, Minister of Education, resigned office on his election to the Federal Senate. Mr. McKenzie, Minister of Lands, charged with illegally taking up an area of grazing land for his own purposes, resigned on January 25. A Select Committee, appointed to inquire into the charge, condemned Mr. McKenzie for acting wrongfully, and preferring his own to the public interest.

Mr. Irvine's measures of economy, having for their object the reduction of the members of the Council and Assembly, led to some friction between the two Houses. After a conference between them in March a compromise was agreed to, by which the Council (consisting of unpaid members) was reduced from 48 to 35 members, and the Assembly (paid) from 95 to 68. The first was to include one member specially representing the Civil Service, and the second two members, one for the Civil Service and one for the railway servants. The number of Ministers was reduced to eight, of whom not more than six were to be in the Assembly.

The Women's Suffrage Bill, which excited little popular interest in the State, was abandoned.

The further constitutional reforms were the fixing of the franchise for the Council—free-holders of 10*l.* per annum, and lease-holders, 15*l.* When the Council rejected a Bill from the Assembly, it was agreed that, after a dissolution of the Assembly, both Houses should be dissolved.

The State Parliament was opened by the Governor, Sir George Clarke, on September 8. The Governor's speech announced a measure for the compulsory purchase of landed estates suitable for the creation of agricultural homesteads.

Mr. Gillies, the Speaker, a prominent local politician who had held office in several Ministries, died September 22. Mr. W. D. Bailey was elected Speaker in his place.

At an election for Toorak, contested by three candidates, two of whom were members of the Reform League, Mr. G. Fairbairn was successful though standing in opposition to the Government candidate. Mr. Fairbairn declared himself against the principle of the compulsory sale of private lands.

Mr. Irvine, the Prime Minister, who had expressed an inclination to retire into private life, was induced to withdraw his resignation and to remain in office.

The great railway strike, the putting down of which was Mr. Irvine's great achievement, occurred in May. The ostensible

cause was the refusal of the railway servants to abide by the Government decision that they could not, under the Railway Act of 1890, be affiliated as any ordinary trade union to the Trades Council. The Government took the view that the railways represented the public expenditure of 40,000,000*l.*, which formed the bulk of the State debt and the sole national asset for the satisfaction of the public creditors. If the railway servants were allowed to strike at will, like any ordinary union, not only would the whole trade and business of the State be brought to a standstill, but the credit of the State would be materially injured. On behalf of the strikers it was claimed that they, while "ready and willing to obey all lawful orders," had the same freedom to combine to strike for higher wages as any other trade.

After a brief interval, fraught with much anxiety and inconvenience to the public, the firmness and resolution of the Government, under the direction of Mr. Irvine, reduced the railway servants to submission. A short Act was passed through both Houses in one day, imposing fines and penalties on the public servants who took part in the strike; which ended what threatened to be a very serious crisis.

During the trouble with the State railway men some members of the extreme party in the Federal House of Representatives delivered violent speeches, encouraging the men to look beyond the State to the Commonwealth for the redress of their grievances. The general sense of the people, not only in Victoria but in the neighbouring States, was strongly in favour of the action taken by the Victorian Premier, to whom congratulatory telegrams were sent by all the other State Governments.

Mr. Irvine addressed a meeting of his constituents at Nhill on August 22, in which he declared and defended his policy. He advocated a closer settlement of the land, by compulsory purchase if necessary, the development of mining on scientific principles, and the creation of wages boards with tribunals of appeal—that is, compulsory arbitration in a modified form.

Sir George Clarke, on his appointment to the Committee upon the Re-organisation of the War Office, left Melbourne on November 24.

Mr. Tom Mann was appointed by the Labour party, at a high salary, in April, to re-organise the trade unions in Victoria. Much of the success which attended the Labour party at the elections in December was ascribed to Mr. Mann, especially in his management of the female voters.

South Australia.—There is little to record of South Australian history beyond the growth, or rather the increase of a sentiment (shared by some other of the smaller States) in favour of the State as against the Federal Government. The two leading questions in which the South Australian mind was exercised both concerned and involved a certain friction between State and Commonwealth. These questions were the right of the State to control the river Murray, and the question of the maintenance,

which includes the cost, of the Northern Territory. The river Murray is to South Australia something more than it is to any other State, namely, a waterway, the highway for its commerce and industry. To the neighbouring States the Murray is useful as a source of water supply and for irrigation rather than navigation. In a correspondence between the Victorian and the South Australian Governments, the latter contended that there should be no interference with the water-level of the Murray or with its character as a navigable river. The riparian rights claimed by Victoria and by New South Wales were not—so South Australia alleged—in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

Another prominent subject of agitation in the State was the Northern Territory—an outside and most anomalous appanage of South Australia, as to which there have been several changes of opinion in the local mind. A year or two ago the people resolved that it was a valuable estate, which should not be lightly parted with. But the latest opinion, as embodied in a resolution of the State Parliament, is that the Northern Territory is a costly and unfruitful possession, which South Australia ought not to be expected to administer for the benefit of "White Australia." The State therefore desired to be relieved of the Northern Territory. The population was scanty, and growing scantier. Of the 3,500 inhabitants only 800 were whites. The rest were Japanese, Chinese, Indians and coloured persons—all undesirable people, and all on sufferance. "If the territory"—such is the South Australian contention—"is to be maintained as a white man's country it should be maintained by the Federal Government"—though how either the State or the Commonwealth is to maintain a territory of this vast extent, and entirely tropical, as a white colony, no one was able to say.

At a conference of the Labour Delegates on the eight hours' day question, held at Adelaide in September, the President said that, now that eight hours had been achieved, it was time to strive for six hours.

Queensland.—A Parliamentary crisis, followed by a change of Ministry, was the most exciting though not an unfamiliar incident in the year's history. A motion of want of confidence in the Ministry resulted, on September 8, in 38 members voting for the Government and 36 for the Opposition. With a majority of only two on their side in their financial policy the Philp Ministry felt constrained to resign. Mr. Browne, leader of the Labour party, which practically represented the Opposition in the House, was sent for, but, being unable to form a Cabinet, recommended that the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Morgan, should be entrusted with that duty. The Speaker consenting, a new Ministry was formed out of the three sections in the House—Labour, Independents and supporters of the Philp Cabinet. Mr. A. Morgan became Premier, Chief Secretary and Minister of Railways; Mr. W. F. Browne, Minister of Mines and Works; Mr. W. Kidston, Treasurer; Mr.

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D. T. Denham, Minister of Agriculture and Home Secretary; Mr. J. T. Bell, Minister of Lands; Mr. J. D. Blair, Attorney-General; Mr. D. R. Barlow, in the Upper House, Minister of Education.

The Assembly met after the election of Ministers on September 17, with 30 members on the Government, and 27 on the Opposition, benches. The Treasurer of the out-going Ministry had introduced his Budget on August 11, and it was on his taxation proposals, involving a considerable increase in the income tax and the stamp duty, that the Ministerial crisis occurred. The estimate of revenue was 3,650,000*l.* The new Ministry was pledged to reform and to reduction of expenditure.

The State, which had been the chief sufferer from the great drought which lasted nearly eight years, was visited by a profuse and steady rainfall which did an infinite amount of good in the interior, tending to the revival of the pastoral industry and the relief of the agriculturists.

Western Australia.—The great water-works scheme—the greatest ever carried out in Australia—was formally inaugurated at Coolgardie on January 24. Amidst a concourse of all the leading citizens, with members of the Federal and State Parliaments, the ceremony of turning on the water for the first time was performed. The water-course has a pipe-track of 350 miles. There are sixty-five pumping engines, calculated to deliver 5,000,000 gallons a day. Sir John Forrest, in a speech to the assembled notabilities and miners, declared it to be “the biggest pumping scheme in the world.” The cost is estimated at 3,000,000*l.*

The State was prospering, with a revenue rapidly, and population steadily, increasing. The Treasurer delivered his Budget speech on October 6. The receipts for the year ending June were 3,630,000*l.*—the expenditure, 3,521,000*l.*

It is expected that, as one of the great wants of the Colony has been supplied by the new water scheme, there will be a great increase in the production of gold, which will lead to an increase of population and the opening out of the vast virgin territory in the north and west.

Tasmania.—There was a general election on April 2, with the remarkable and unprecedented result that all the members of the Government lost their seats. The issue was mainly a personal one. The chief plank in the Opposition platform was reform, which, as elsewhere in Australia, meant the reduction of expenditure and especially of the cost of government.

Of 35 new members elected the Opposition claimed 21, the Independents 4 and Labour 4—leaving only 6 to the Ministerialists. An entirely new Government was formed under Mr. W. B. Propsting, the leader of the Opposition, who adopted for his policy the programme of the Victorian Reform League. The new Parliament was opened on May 21.

The centenary of the Colony was observed on September 13.

Another attempt was made to introduce salmon into the Tasmanian rivers—the fish being of the species known as the *Quinnat*, from the Fraser River in British Columbia.

II. NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. Seddon, the Prime Minister, made a remarkable speech (in May) before his constituents on the local finances and the public expenditure. It was time, he said, to “call stop in public works.” If the Colony continued to borrow for public works its credit would fall. It was “impossible to go on spending as they were doing.” As a first measure of economy the Government dropped the Bill for the construction of a railway in the Taranaki Province.

The Parliament was opened on June 30. Among the measures announced were an increase in the Absentee Tax, an Anti-Trust Bill, a Bill for placing retired Colonial troopers on the land, and others in the direction of the recognised pro-Socialistic policy.

The failure of the Conciliation Act was acknowledged, even by the organs of the Government. Compulsory arbitration had only unsettled the relations between labour and capital, without preventing trade disputes or encouraging trade. At a representative meeting of employers held at Wellington in October resolutions were passed strongly condemning the Government policy. It was declared that Ministers had but one ideal, the making of the State the sole employer. The Government was charged with throwing itself into the arms of the Labour party. The trade unions would not submit to any lowering of wages, thus making of arbitration a farce. In the meantime the working men themselves were found inveighing against the Arbitration Act because it did not give them all that they had asked for and expected.

The project of a national gift to Mr. Seddon, as a non-party recognition of his services to the Empire in the South African War, somewhat altered its shape and meaning by the substitution of a sum of money (over 3,000*l.*) for the piece of plate originally proposed.

The session of Parliament was ended in November, being the longest on record. The Preferential Trade Bill, Mr. Seddon's response to Mr. Chamberlain, was carried at one sitting.

Mr. Seddon introduced his Budget on August 10. He estimated the public and private wealth of the Colony at 350,000,000*l.* The public debt amounted to 55,000,000*l.* There was a balance from the revenue of the year of 570,000*l.* A new loan of 1,000,000*l.* was proposed. The Preferential Trade Scheme was to take the form of a rebate on British manufactures on the lines of the Canadian tariff. The projected Referendum on the reform of the Legislative Council was postponed to next year.

Mr. Seddon's Licensing Bill, which had for its leading prin-

ciple "no licence no liquor," was thrown out in the Assembly by a majority of two, through the influence of the Prohibitionists.

Mahuta, the titular Maori King, was appointed a member of the Executive Council, with a seat in the Upper House. The four Maori representatives elected to the Assembly took their seats, for the first time, on the Government side.

Fiji.—The chief incident was an outbreak of religious fanaticism in the district of Namosi, where the natives had passed from Methodism into Romanism. They signified their change of faith by a general burning of Protestant Bibles. Cardinal Moran, of Sydney, denied that his priests were "responsible for the holocaust." The two sects accused one another of "preying upon the natives."

III. POLYNESIA.

There were difficulties in *Papua (British New Guinea)* between the resident local authorities and the Australian Government, to which the territory has been transferred. The magistrates claimed to be Imperial officers, who would lose their status and forfeit their pensions under the Commonwealth. Meanwhile the Bill for the regulation of Papua was dropped in the Australian House of Representatives because the majority insisted in including a clause totally prohibiting the supply of liquor.

In *New Caledonia* the French were making the usual efforts to absorb the New Hebrides. The French Governor had made two visits to the islands, in one of which he addressed the French settlers, and hoped the present year would be the last of the dual control. Meanwhile at Noumea there was a marked activity in the work of diverting the New Hebrides trade from British hands.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1903.

JANUARY.

1. The Coronation Durbar took place at Delhi with great magnificence. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught were present, and the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, delivered an address after the proclamation of the King-Emperor. Forty thousand troops were present under the command of Lord Kitchener, and a band of about 600 veterans of the Mutiny. Almost all the ruling chiefs of India attended and were presented to the Viceroy and Duke of Connaught.

3. The result of the polling for the Newmarket Division in place of Colonel H. L. McCalmont, C.B. (deceased), was declared. Mr. C. D. Rose (L.) received 4,414 votes against 3,907 for Mr. L. Brassey (C.)—a Liberal gain.

— Sir Francis Bertie's appointment as Ambassador in Rome was announced.

— Under Rugby Union rules a match was won at West Hartlepool by the Rest of England against Durham, champion county, by three goals to one try.

— The Durbar celebrations were continued at Delhi by a firework display and an Investiture of the Orders of the Star of India and Indian Empire.

— Issue of the report of the Dublin Land Conference, presided over by Lord Dunraven, unanimously favouring a settlement on the basis of purchase, and sketching a scheme for facilitating such a settlement by the aid of the State.

5. Señor Sagasta, a distinguished Spanish statesman, died at Madrid.

— The Right Hon. St. John Brodrick, Secretary of State for War, was married to Miss Madeleine Stanley, daughter of the late Colonel the Hon. J. C. Stanley and his wife, now Lady Jeune.

6. A banquet was given at Pretoria to Mr. Chamberlain, and was attended by all the leading officials and several prominent Boers. Both Lord Milner and Mr. Chamberlain spoke in answer to the toasts of their health.

8. The Durbar celebrations were continued with a great review of British and native troops, numbering nearly 30,000.

— The coming of age of Lord Dalmeny, eldest son of Lord Rosebery, was celebrated with entertainments for the tenantry on Lord Rosebery's various estates, and addresses and gifts were presented to Lord Dalmeny.

9. The appointment of the Right Rev. Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury was announced.

— A severe snowstorm occurred in Scotland, the snow lying six inches deep in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

10. Under Rugby Union rules Wales beat England at Swansea by three goals and two tries to one goal.

12. The headquarters of the First Army Corps at Aldershot and the Channel Squadron were successfully brought into communication by wireless telegraphy.

14. A bequest of between 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.* to the University of Cambridge has been made by Mr. Frederick Quick, of Eltham—to be devoted to study and research in animal and vegetable biology.

15. Government House, Farnborough, Aldershot, was almost completely destroyed by fire.

16. Lord Rosebery, addressing a Liberal meeting at Plymouth, again urged that the re-modelling of our military administration ought to be entrusted to Lord Kitchener.

17. The appointment of Lieutenant-General Lord Grenfell to the command of the Fourth Army Corps was announced.

— Mr. Quintin Hogg, a well-known philanthropist and founder of the Regent Street Polytechnic, died in his bath at the Polytechnic, from the fumes of a gas stove.

— Mr. Chamberlain was entertained at a banquet at Johannesburg, when Lord Milner and Generals Botha and Delarey were among the guests. He received, as did Lord Milner, a most enthusiastic greeting, and dwelt, in an important speech, on the real identity of the interests of Boer and Briton in the new colonies. He also explained the policy of the Imperial Government regarding the Transvaal war contribution and the guarantee loan.

18. M. de Blowitz, for thirty years Paris correspondent of the *Times*, died in Paris.

20. In succession to Mr. Higginbottom (C.), deceased, Mr. W. Rutherford (C.) was returned for the West Derby Division of Liverpool, receiving 5,455 votes against 3,251 for Mr. R. Holt (L.).

21. Messages of greeting were exchanged by wireless telegraphy between the King and President Roosevelt from Cape Cod and Poldhu, in Cornwall.

23. The trial of "Colonel" Lynch on a charge of high treason was finished in the King's Bench Division of the High Court. He was pronounced guilty and sentence of death was passed upon him.

24. Another violent outburst from Mont Pelée in Martinique took place. A cone 800 ft. high was blown off the mountain. No lives were lost.

— A treaty was signed in Washington by Mr. Hay and Sir Michael Herbert, agreeing to the appointment of a mixed commission of three representatives from each side to determine the Alaska boundary.

26. The infant son of the Prince and Princess of Wales was baptised in his Majesty's private chapel at Windsor Castle. He received the names of George Edward Alexander Edmund.

27. A disastrous fire occurred at Colney Hatch Asylum, in which fifty-one patients lost their lives, in spite of heroic efforts on the part of the attendants to save them.

— The Chapter of Canterbury unanimously elected Dr. Randall Davidson to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

28. The sentence of death passed on "Colonel" Lynch was commuted to penal servitude for life.

29. The Rev. Dr. J. E. Sewell, Warden of New College, Oxford, since 1860, died at New College. He was in his ninety-third year.

30. A collision occurred in the Mediterranean between two ships of the Royal Navy, the cruiser *Pioneer* and the torpedo-boat destroyer *Orwell*. The *Orwell* was cut in two, and two of the crew were lost.

FEBRUARY.

2. The Shah of Persia was formally invested with the Order of the Garter at Teheran.

— Issue of proclamation in Dublin revoking the proclamations of April and June, 1902, in so far as they put the summary jurisdiction clause of the Crimes Act of 1887 in operation in the county boroughs of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, and certain rural districts of various counties.

6. The confirmation of the election of Dr. Randall Davidson to the Archbishopric of Canterbury took place at the Church House. The Archbishop of York presided, and there was no opposition.

— The return of Mr. C. Craig (C.) for South Antrim was announced at Belfast. He received 4,564 votes against 3,615 given for Dr. Keightley, candidate of the Ulster Farmers and Labourers' Union. Political representation unchanged.

7. Under Rugby Union rules an international football match between England and Scotland was won by Scotland by a penalty goal and a try to nothing.

10. Serious floods were reported from the Clyde Valley as the result of recent heavy rain. The damage caused by them is estimated at between 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.*

12. The Archbishop of Canterbury was enthroned in Canterbury Cathedral. At a luncheon given after the ceremony the Archbishop spoke in response to the toast of his health, dwelling on the work of his predecessors, and the necessity for strengthening the moderate elements in the Church.

13. Mr. Balfour visited Liverpool and spoke at a luncheon at the Conservative Club. He answered Lord Rosebery's demands for "efficiency" by pointing out what the Government had done to remodel the Committee of Defence, and defended their policy in Venezuela.

— The protocols of the agreement between the allies and Venezuela were signed in Washington, and orders were despatched on the following day for the raising of the blockade of Venezuelan ports.

14. The biennial Hunterian Oration was delivered in the theatre of the Royal College of Surgeons by Sir H. G. Howse. Lord Roberts was afterwards admitted to the honorary fellowship of the college.

— Under Rugby Union rules an international football match between England and Ireland was won by Ireland by a penalty goal and a try to nothing.

16. The King and Queen visited Woolwich, where the Queen opened a new nursing department at the Herbert Hospital and presented medals to some of the nurses, and the King presented South African war medals to several officers and men.

— Publication of regulations by the Carnegie Trustees for the endowment of post-graduate study and research by Carnegie fellowships, scholarships and grants—only open to graduates or officials of Scottish Universities.

17. The King, accompanied by the Queen, opened Parliament in person.

18. The King and Queen visited the London County Council's model dwellings which have been built on the site of Millbank Prison.

— Mr. Chamberlain received an enthusiastic welcome in Capetown, where on this and succeeding days he delivered a series of important speeches, all directed to promote racial reconciliation.

— Vice-Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, having accepted the command of the Channel Squadron, resigned his seat for Woolwich.

19. The West Malling Cup, a jug of stoneware with neck-band, handle mount, foot and cover of silver-gilt, was sold at Christie's by the vicar and churchwardens of West Malling for 1,450 guineas. It bears the London hall-mark 1581.

20. The appointment of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Neville Lyttelton to the command of all the forces in South Africa was announced.

24. The appointments of the Right Rev. Dr. H. E. Ryle, Bishop of Exeter, to the Bishopric of Winchester; the Right Rev. Dr. E. Jacob Bishop of Newcastle, to the Bishopric of St. Albans; the Right Rev. Dr. A. T. Lloyd, Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, to the Bishopric of

Newcastle; and the Rev. Dr. A. Robertson, Principal of King's College, London, to the Bishopric of Exeter, were announced.

24. The Prince of Wales presided at the annual meeting of the council of King Edward's Hospital Fund. The total receipts in 1902 were 604,803*l.*, and 101,000*l.* was distributed among the hospitals of London.

25. The Shire Horse Show was continued from the day before and the judging completed. Lord Rothschild carried off the female championship, and Messrs. Forshaw the male, the winner in each case retaining the trophy permanently.

— Mr. Chamberlain left Cape Town on his return to England, receiving an extremely cordial "send-off."

26. Mr. T. R. Buchanan (L.) was returned unopposed for East Perthshire, in succession to Sir John Kinloch (L.), resigned.

— A dinner was given by the Liberal Union Club to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Postmaster General, on the occasion of his promotion to Cabinet rank. The Duke of Devonshire presided and proposed Mr. A. Chamberlain's health.

27. A severe southerly gale blew all day. It caused serious damage in the North and West of England and Wales; many wrecks occurred, and loss of life from the falling of buildings and chimney-stalks.

28. Under Rugby Union rules an international football match between Scotland and Ireland was won by Scotland by a try to nothing.

MARCH.

2. Further reports were received of the immense amount of damage inflicted by the gale of February 26-27. In Dublin many houses were unroofed and shop windows blown in, while the Menai Bridge buckled with the force of the wind, and a mail train was blown off the line while crossing the Leven viaduct, near Furness.

— Under Association rules an international football match between England and Wales was won by England by two goals to one.

3. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of Pope Leo XIII. was celebrated in Rome by a special service in St. Peter's, which was attended by over 70,000 persons, including forty-five cardinals and 260 bishops. The Pope has just celebrated his ninety-third birthday.

5. The appointment was announced of Mr. E. R. Henry, Assistant Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, to be Commissioner in place of Col. Sir Edward Bradford, who had resigned.

— Mr. Campbell, K.C., Solicitor General (official Unionist), was returned for Dublin University by 1,492 votes against 1,428 given to Mr. Samuels, K.C. (unofficial Unionist). The vacancy was caused by the retirement of the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky (L.U.).

— The Rev. W. A. Spooner was unanimously elected Warden of New College, Oxford.

6. Mr. Balfour spoke at the centenary meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society at the Manson House, dwelling on the greatly enhanced interest and value of the Bible to us, from a religious point of view, since the growth of the historical and linguistic knowledge on which modern Biblical criticism was based.

7. The Council of the British Association unanimously nominated Mr. Balfour to be president of the Cambridge meeting in 1904.

— The Khedive opened the Ziftch barrage, midway between Cairo and the sea. It is 408 yards long, and has cost 450,000*l*.

9. Under Association rules an international football match between Wales and Scotland was won by Scotland by one goal to nothing.

— Mr. C. R. Devlin (N.) was returned unopposed for Galway, in the room of "Colonel" Lynch, convicted of high treason.

— The Navy Estimates were issued, amounting to 34,457,500*l*.; a net increase of 3,202,000*l*. on those of the current year.

10. The fortieth anniversary of the marriage of the King and Queen was celebrated. A dance was given at Buckingham Palace in honour of the occasion.

11. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York received a deputation of Unionist Members of Parliament who wished to call attention to the lack of discipline among the clergy. The Archbishop of Canterbury replied at some length, expressing sympathy with much that was stated by the deputation, and saying that the few cases of obstinate disobedience to the ruling of the bishops must be firmly dealt with.

— Mr. W. Crooks (Labour) was returned for Woolwich, having received 8,687 votes against 5,458 recorded for Mr. Geoffrey Drage (U.). This is a loss to the Government, the retiring member, Lord Charles Beresford, being a Conservative.

13. A cabinet of old Sèvres china was sold at Christie's for 2,000 guineas. It consisted of a plateau, teapot, sucrier, milk-jug, and cup and saucer.

14. Mr. Chamberlain arrived at Southampton on his return from South Africa and was received both there and in London with much enthusiasm; several Cabinet Ministers, including Mr. Balfour, being present to greet him at Waterloo.

— J. Butler, of the Surrey Walking Club, won an open walking race from Westminster to Brighton, covering the distance, fifty-two and a half miles, in 8 hr. 43 min. 16 sec.

15. The King and Queen received Mr. Chamberlain at Buckingham Palace.

18. Dr. C. F. Hutchinson (L.) was returned for the Rye Division of Sussex, having polled 4,910 votes against 4,376 given to Mr. E. Boyle, K.C. (C.). This is a loss to the Government, the late member, Mr. A. M. Brookfield, who had sat for the constituency since 1885, having been a Conservative.

19. The trial of Severin Klosowski, *alias* George Chapman, for the murder by poisoning of three women whom he had successively

married, was concluded. The prisoner was declared guilty, and sentenced to death.

20. Mr. Chamberlain was presented at the Guildhall with an address of congratulation on his mission to South Africa. He and Mrs. Chamberlain were also entertained at luncheon at the Mansion House, where, in response to the toast of their health, Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on the advantages to be gained from such a journey.

21. In succession to Mr. E. M. Archdale (C.), resigned, Mr. E. Mitchell, candidate of the Land Purchase Association, was returned for North Fermanagh by 2,407 votes against 2,255 recorded for Captain Craig (C.). Mr. Mitchell had declared himself opposed to Home Rule, but he was understood to have received the Nationalist vote.

— Under Rugby Union rules an international football match between England and Scotland was won by Scotland by ten points to six (a dropped goal and two tries to two tries).

23. Lord Lansdowne received a deputation representing several missionary societies who protested against the exportation of native labour from Central to South Africa. He assured the deputation that no general scheme of exportation was contemplated, and that any such movement would be only experimental and carefully restricted.

24. A first edition of Dante's "La Divina Commedia" (1481) was sold at Sotheby's for 1,000*l*.

— M. Curie made a communication to the French Academy of Sciences of his discovery of the property of radium of continuously emitting heat without combustion or chemical change of any kind, and without any change in its molecular structure, and that it maintains itself at a temperature of 2·7° Fahrenheit above its surroundings.

25. The Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Ellicott) received an address of congratulation on his completing the fortieth year of his episcopate from about 1,000 clergy and church officers in his diocese.

27. In succession to Mr. H. C. Leigh-Bennett (C.), deceased, Mr. J. A. Tyler (C.) was returned for the Chertsey Division of Surrey by 5,700 votes against 4,529 given to Mr. H. Longman (L.).

28. Sir George Young was appointed Chief Charity Commissioner in place of Mr. C. H. Alderson, retired.

— News was received of the Antarctic Expedition under Captain Scott, who had reached latitude 82° 17' south, the farthest southward point ever attained.

— Under Association rules an international football match was won by Ireland against Wales by two goals to none.

— In the Inter-University Sports at the Queen's Club Cambridge won eight events against two (the hurdle race and the long jump) won by Oxford.

30. Lord Crewe's collection of the works of William Blake was sold at Sotheby's for 9,776*l*. The "Illustrations of the Book of Job" alone fetched 5,600*l*.

31. The King left Portsmouth Harbour, on board the *Victoria and Albert*, en route for Portugal.

APRIL.

1. Consols reduced from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Stock.

— The University Boat Race was rowed on the usual course from Putney to Mortlake. Cambridge led from the first, and won by six lengths in 19 min. 35 sec.

2. The King arrived in the Tagus on board the *Victoria and Albert*, and was welcomed by King Carlos. Both Sovereigns were enthusiastically received on landing in Lisbon.

3. The appointment was announced of the Rev. A. C. Headlam, late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, to the Principalship of King's College, London, in succession to Dr. Robertson, Bishop-Designate of Exeter.

4. The appointment was announced of the Rev. Dr. Wace to be Dean of Canterbury in succession to the late Dr. Farrar.

6. The Inter-University (Doubles) Racquets Match was won by Oxford by four games to three. Oxford was represented by Mr. A. J. Graham and Mr. G. W. Bartholomew (both of Trinity), and Cambridge by Mr. F. B. Wilson (Trinity) and Mr. A. P. Boone (Jesus).

7. The Inter-University (Singles) Racquets Match was won by Mr. F. B. Wilson for Cambridge by three games to love.

— Mr. Hayes Fisher announced in the House of Commons his resignation of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in consequence of criticisms passed by Mr. Justice Buckley upon a financial undertaking with which he had been connected. His statement was received with marked evidences of sympathy and respect in all quarters of the House, and expression was given to these feelings by Mr. Balfour, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Blake.

8. The King arrived at Gibraltar. At a State banquet in the evening his Majesty announced that he had promoted General Sir George White, V.C., Governor of Gibraltar, to the rank of Field-Marshal.

9. Sir Wilfrid Lawson (L.) was returned for the Camborne Division of Cornwall in succession to Mr. W. S. Caine (L.), deceased. He polled 3,558 votes against 2,869 given for Mr. A. Strauss (U.).

10. The Hon. Arthur D. Elliot, M.P., was appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury in succession to Mr. Hayes Fisher, resigned.

14. The first round in the Public Schools Racquets Championship was played. Matches were won by Wellington against Marlborough, Malvern against Radley, Winchester against Tonbridge, and Charterhouse against Clifton.

15. The second round of the Public Schools Racquets Championship was played. Matches were won by Harrow against Eton, Malvern against Wellington, Charterhouse against Winchester, and Rugby against Cheltenham.

16. The King arrived at Malta and lunched with the Governor.

— Figures were published showing that the West London electric

tramways carried, during the five days April 10th-14th, 1,001,000 passengers; 299,000 travelled on Easter Monday, one car carrying 2,250 on that day.

16. The Nationalist Convention to consider the Irish Land Bill was opened, Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., presiding. A resolution expressing satisfaction at the introduction of the Bill, which, however, required serious amendment, was moved by Mr. W. O'Brien, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Clancy, Kilkee, and carried almost unanimously.

— The semi-final round in the Public Schools Racquets Championship was played, in which Harrow (holders) beat Malvern, and Rugby Charterhouse.

17. A small detached British force in Somaliland was surrounded, and, its ammunition exhausted, was overwhelmed by the followers of the Mullah, after desperate fighting. Two Maxims were lost, and Colonel Plunkett (in command), eight other British officers, forty-eight Sikhs, and 128 King's African Rifles perished.

— Vice-Admiral Lord Charles Beresford took over the command of the Channel Fleet from Vice-Admiral Sir A. K. Wilson.

— The final tie in the Public Schools Racquets Championship was won by Harrow (holders) against Rugby by four games to none.

22. It was announced that the Newfoundland seal fishery had been the best for many years, the total catch being 320,000.

23. The King arrived at Naples, where he was met by a special mission from the King of Italy.

— The Lyceum Theatre was offered for sale at the Mart. The highest bid was 244,000*l.*, and the property was bought in for 260,000*l.*

— The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ritchie) introduced his Budget, reducing the income tax from fifteen-pence in the pound to eleven-pence, and abolishing the corn duty imposed last year.

24. The annual meeting of the Irish Landowners' Convention was held in Dublin under the presidency of the Duke of Abercorn. A resolution was passed accepting the principle of the Land Bill, while regretting that it did not go further.

25. At a sale at Christie's 2,835*l.* was paid for a picture by Paul Potter.

— Mr. Balfour opened the new Sundridge Park golf course and played a foursome on it.

27. The King arrived in Rome, where he was received by King Victor Emmanuel. He was greeted with much enthusiasm by large crowds in the streets, which were lavishly decorated.

— The Prince of Wales laid the first stone of a block of workmen's dwellings to be erected in Regency Street by the Westminster City Corporation, and spoke, expressing hearty sympathy with the work.

28. The death was announced of the Right Hon. R. W. Hanbury, M.P., President of the Board of Agriculture since 1900.

29. The Prince of Wales opened the new building of the Royal School of Art Needlework at South Kensington. Its total cost has been 52,000*l.*

29. The last remaining members of the Carthusian Order were expelled from the Grande Chartreuse. The monks made no attempt at violent resistance.

— The Two Thousand Guineas Stakes at Newmarket won by Sir J. Miller's Rock Sand (J. H. Martin). Eleven ran.

MAY.

1. The King arrived in Paris from Rome. He was received by President Loubet and the Ministers, and drove through great crowds, who greeted him cordially, to the British Embassy.

— Mr. Balfour addressed the annual demonstration of the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League. He dwelt on the particular difficulties of the Army problem in England and on the taxation problem.

2. The Royal Academy gave their annual banquet at Burlington House. Sir E. J. Poynter presided, the Prince of Wales acknowledged the toast of the Royal Family, Admiral Sir John Fisher that of the Navy, Mr. Brodrick that of the Army, the Lord Chancellor that of his Majesty's Ministers, and the Archbishop of Canterbury that of the guests.

— Sir L. Alma-Tadema's "Dedication to Bacchus" was sold for 5,600 guineas at Christie's, and a picture by Rosa Bonheur for 3,100 guineas.

5. The King arrived in London on his return from his tour. He was received at Victoria Station by the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family, and was enthusiastically cheered by crowds in the streets. President Loubet telegraphed to the King to express his pleasure in the success of his Majesty's visit to Paris.

6. A Parliamentary paper was issued giving the estimated total of war charges incurred in South Africa and China up to March 31, 1903, as 217,166,000*l.*, of which 67,684,000*l.* has been met by additional taxation and 149,482,000*l.* by loan.

11. The betrothal was announced of Princess Alice, eldest daughter of Prince Louis of Battenberg, and Prince Andrew, younger son of the King of Greece.

— The issue took place of 30,000,000*l.* Transvaal Guaranteed 3 per cent. Stock at par. The applications amounted to no less than 1,174,000,000*l.*

13. The *Commonwealth*, first-class battleship, was launched at the Fairfield yard on the Clyde. Lady Linlithgow performed the naming ceremony.

14. Mr. J. Kerr (U.) was returned for Preston in place of Mr. Hanbury (U.), deceased, having received 8,639 votes against 6,490 recorded for Mr. Hodge (Labour).

— Clifford's Inn was sold at the Mart for 100,000*l.*

15. Mr. Balfour received a deputation, headed by Mr. Chaplin, M.P., on the subject of the corn duty. In reply he stated his conviction

that the duty could not be maintained except as part of a general system of duties, as to which, before it could be adopted, the country must have an opportunity of expressing an opinion.

15. Mr. Chamberlain, addressing his constituents at Birmingham, indicated his opinion that Imperial interests required preferential fiscal arrangements with the colonies, and the power to retaliate on foreign countries threatening our relations with our colonies, and expressed his desire that a discussion should be opened on this subject.

20. The appointment was announced of Lord Onslow to succeed the late Mr. Hanbury as President of the Board of Agriculture. The Hon. Ailwyn Fellowes, M.P., will represent the Board in the Commons.

— The enlarged Transvaal Legislative Council was opened at Pretoria. Sir A. Lawley, Lieutenant-Governor, delivered an address, in which he summarised the work done and spoke hopefully of the ability of the colony to bear the burden of the expenditure necessary in the future.

21. The King and Queen received a deputation from the Committee of the Queen's Nurses' Endowment Fund, who presented 66,050*l.* collected in England and Wales, and 5,864*l.* collected in Ireland, towards the fund, as a women's memorial to Queen Victoria.

— The Bank rate lowered from 4 (at which it had stood since October 2, 1902) to 3½ per cent., the reserve being 25,181,000*l.*, and its proportion to current liabilities 51½ per cent.

— A full-length portrait by Raeburn of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster was sold at Willis's Rooms for 14,000 guineas.

22. A letter published from Lord Rosebery repudiating the interpretation which had been placed on a speech he had delivered on May 19 at Burnley as favouring Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of an inter-Imperial preferential tariff. The objections to the plan are, in his view, insurmountable.

— The Amateur Golf Championship was won by Mr. R. Maxwell, who defeated Mr. Horace Hutchinson by seven up and five to play.

23. Avery Hill, Eltham, was opened as a public park for London by Lord Monkswell, chairman of the London County Council, which bought the estate for 25,000*l.*

— A portrait of a young lady by Gainsborough was sold at Christie's for 9,000 guineas, Romney's portrait of Mrs. Blair for 9,400 guineas, four romantic subjects by F. Boucher for 22,300 guineas, and a "Venus and Mars" by P. Veronese for 6,000 guineas.

— An automobile race from Paris to Madrid, for which there were 250 entries, was started from Versailles. The race was stopped by the Minister of the Interior owing to the occurrence of several fatal accidents.

27. At the Epsom Summer Meeting the race for the Derby Stakes was won by the favourite, Sir J. Miller's Rock Sand (D. Maher), M. Blanc's Vinicius was second, and Sir D. Cooper's Flotsam third. Seven

28. The *Times* correspondent was expelled from Russia by the Government.

— Debate in the House of Commons on the fiscal question, in which Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hugh Cecil spoke.

— Jamsetjii, the Parsee professional, won the Racquets Championship, beating Gilbert Browne by four games to one.

29. The race for the Oaks Stakes was won by Mr. J. B. Joel's *Our Lassie* (M. Cannon), Major E. Loder's *Hammerkop* was second, and Mr. A. Raphael's *Skyscraper* third. Ten ran.

30. Lord Monkswell formally opened the Marble Hill Park at Twickenham, which has been acquired for the public at a cost of 72,000*l*.

— London and its neighbourhood were visited by severe thunderstorms. Four persons were killed, several injured, and much damage caused by floods.

JUNE.

1. A fire occurred in the house of Mr. R. S. Kindersley, at Eton College, occupied by thirty-one boys. The house was entirely destroyed, and two boys, Lionel George Lawson and James Kenneth Horne, lost their lives, several of the others escaping with great difficulty.

2. The jury at the inquest on the Eton boys who lost their lives by yesterday's fire recommended that the College should be electrically connected with the fire station, and that the bars should be at once removed from all windows.

5. Announcement was made that Sir A. Lawley had remitted the remainder of the sentences of the majority of the ex-burghers convicted during the war of military offences.

7. The King and Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales and several other members of the Royal Family were present in the afternoon at a service in St. Paul's Cathedral, at which a special appeal was made on behalf of the London hospitals. The Bishop of Stepney (Dr. Lang) preached, and there was an immense congregation. The collection amounted to 4,300*l*.

8. In a debate in the House of Commons on the repeal of the corn duty the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ritchie) indicated, amid loud Opposition cheers, that, while agreeing with his colleagues to an investigation of the subject, he could not, as at present advised, give any support to such fiscal arrangements as the Colonial Secretary had suggested. Sir M. Hicks-Beach (ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Mr. A. Elliot (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) expressed similar views.

— Great floods reported from the Mississippi valley and from South Carolina, people having in several towns to be removed in boats from their houses, and hundreds having to take refuge on their roofs until so released.

8. At an international match between English and Scotch golf professionals at Prestwick each country won six singles matches, while of six foursomes Scotland won three, England two, and one was a tie.

9. It is announced that Mr. H. F. Heath, Academic Registrar of the University of London, has been appointed Director of Special Inquiries and Reports at the Board of Education in succession to Mr. M. E. Sadler, resigned.

— It is announced that Captain Lionel de L. Wells, R.N., chief officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade since 1896, has been appointed head agent of the Conservative party, in succession to Mr. R. W. E. Middleton, resigned.

— The Senate of Dublin University, by a large majority, decided to open its degrees to women.

10. On this night King Alexander and Queen Draga of Serbia were butchered with ruthless brutality by a number of officers of the Servian Army.

— In the House of Commons, on the second reading of the Finance Bill, an amendment moved by Mr. Chaplin, objecting to the repeal of the corn duty, was defeated by 424 to 28. In the debate there was much comment on the divisions of opinion in the Government. The Prime Minister urged the need for fiscal inquiry, and acknowledged that as yet he himself had no settled conviction on the subject.

— The Stationers' Company gave a dinner in celebration of the 500th anniversary of their foundation.

11. The King and Queen visited the East End, and formally opened a new wing recently added to the London Hospital, the Queen inaugurating the new Finsen light treatment department for cases of lupus.

— The contest for the open golf championship at Prestwick resulted in the victory of H. Vardon, with a total score of 300, or an average of seventy-five strokes per round.

12. Lord Rosebery spoke at the annual dinner of the Liberal League, justifying its formation, and criticising Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy as likely to disturb the stability of the Empire.

13. Signor Zanardelli, the Italian Premier, notified to the King the resignation of the Ministry, some important members of which had already resigned.

15. The Senate and Skupstchina of Serbia unanimously elected Prince Peter Karageorgevitch to the vacant throne. The Prince has given a pledge that all the events of the last forty years shall be forgotten.

— Severe floods have occurred in the Thames valley, the result of the exceptionally heavy rains of the last three days.

16. H. Bateman and P. E. Marrack, both of Trinity, were bracketed equal for the position of Senior Wrangler in Part I. of the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos.

— The Skupstchina and Ministers of Serbia attended a *Te Deum*

service in the Belgrade Cathedral, for long life to the new King, when the Metropolitan officiated, and was reported to have thanked the Army for what it had done.

18. The Bank rate was lowered from $3\frac{1}{4}$ (at which it was fixed a month ago) to 3 per cent., the reserve being 26,823,000*l.*, and its proportion to current liabilities $53\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

— A terrible explosion occurred at Woolwich Arsenal in one of the sheds used for filling shells with lyddite, by which eighteen men were killed and seventeen seriously injured.

— The Ascot Gold Cup was won by M. J. de Bremond's *Maximum* II., 4 yrs., 9 st. (A. McIntyre). Four ran.

19. Cardinal Vaughan died, after an illness of several months, in his seventy-second year.

— An express train ran for the first time from Euston to Carlisle, 299 miles, without stopping.

22. At the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal medal for the promotion of architecture, given by the King, was presented to Mr. C. F. McKim of New York.

— The following list was issued by the Treasury of pensions, amounting in the aggregate to 1,200*l.* per annum, granted during the year ended March 31 last under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901:—

Miss Rhoda Broughton.—In consideration of her merits as a writer of fiction, 75*l.*

Mrs. Adelaide Fanny Eyre.—In consideration of the services of her late husband, Mr. Edward John Eyre, the Australian explorer and Governor of Jamaica, 100*l.*

William Raymond Fitzgerald, George Francis Fitzgerald, John Jellett Fitzgerald.—During the minority of any one of them, and in recognition of the services rendered to Science and Education by their late father, Professor George Francis Fitzgerald, F.R.S.—in trust to their mother, Mrs. Harriet Fitzgerald—100*l.*

Mr. Worthington George Smith.—In consideration of his services to Archæology and Botanical illustration, and of his inadequate means of support, 50*l.*

Mrs. Zaré Elizabeth Blacker.—In recognition of the services of her late husband, Dr. A. Barry Blacker, M.D., who lost his life through his devotion to Medical research, 120*l.*

Mr. Justin McCarthy.—In recognition of his services to Literature, 250*l.*

Mrs. Margaret Duncan Adamson.—In consideration of the services rendered to Philosophy by her late husband, Professor Robert Adamson, and of her straitened circumstances, 50*l.*

Miss Florence Buchanan.—In consideration of her scientific researches and consequent failure of sight, and of her inadequate means of support, 50*l.*

Miss Beatrice Hatch, Miss Ethel Hatch, Miss Evelyn Hatch.—In consideration of the services of their father, the late Rev. Edwin Hatch, in connection with Ecclesiastical History, and of their straitened circumstances, such pensions to be additional to their existing pensions, 25*l.* each.

Mr. James Sully.—In recognition of his services to Psychology, 105*l.*

Mr. Alexander Carmichael and Mrs. Mary Frances Carmichael (jointly and to the survivor of them).—In recognition of Mr. Carmichael's services to the study of Gaelic Folk-Lore and Literature, 50*l.*

Miss Mary Elizabeth Maxwell Simpson.—In consideration of the eminence as a chemist of her late father, Professor Maxwell Simpson, and of her straitened circumstances, 40*l.*

Mrs. Bertha Meriton Gardiner.—In consideration of the eminence of her late husband, Mr. S. R. Gardiner, as a historian, 75*l.*

Mrs. Jane Earle.—In consideration of the services of her late husband, Professor John Earle, to English Literature and Philology, 60*l*.

23. The court martial on seven officers concerned in what was known as the Cape "ragging" case resulted in their acquittal and the return to them of their swords.

— The trial of Samuel H. Dougal for the murder of Miss Camille Holland at the Moat Farm, Clavering, Sussex, on May 19, 1899, resulted in a verdict of guilty, and the prisoner was sentenced to death. This case had excited exceptional interest. The crime would probably never have been discovered if Dougal had not forged cheques in the name of his victim after her death.

24. Honorary degrees were for the first time conferred by the London University, on its "Presentation Day." Lord Rosebery presided as Chancellor of the University, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, Lord Kelvin and Lord Lister received degrees.

25. The King and Queen received the Khedive of Egypt, who had been paying a private visit to Sir Ernest Cassel.

26. The King's birthday was officially celebrated in London by the trooping of the Colour on the Horse Guards Parade, and official dinners were given by Ministers.

— Complete results were published of the second ballots to the German Reichstag, showing a great increase in the Social Democratic strength. The new Reichstag will include ninety-nine Clericals, eighty-three Social Democrats, forty-seven National Liberals and sixty-seven Conservatives, besides smaller groups.

— Between 100 and 200 persons were killed by an accident on the Bilbao-Zaragoza Railway, where a train ran into the Najerilla River.

— On this and following days horrible massacres of the members of the Babi sect took place at Yezd in Southern Persia.

30. At Wimbledon Mr. H. L. Doherty successfully defended his title to the Lawn Tennis Singles Championship against Mr. F. L. Riseley, whom he defeated by three sets to love.

JULY.

2. The last of a series of motor-car races for a cup given by Mr. James Gordon Bennett took place in Ireland, and resulted in the victory of M. Jenatzy, a German representative.

— Princess Charles of Denmark (Princess Maud) gave birth to a son.

3. At a meeting of the Dublin Corporation, on a motion for presenting a municipal address to the King on his visit to Ireland, there was a disorderly scene, and the meeting was broken up by a crowd.

4. The University Cricket Match ended in victory for Oxford by 268 runs. Score : Oxford, first innings, 259 ; second, 291. Cambridge, first innings, 137 ; second, 145.

— The serious illness of the Pope was announced ; he was said to be suffering from senile pulmonary hepatisation.

6. M. Loubet, President of the French Republic, arrived in London and was received at Victoria Station by the King and other members of the Royal Family. He was warmly welcomed by crowds in the streets. In the evening M. Loubet dined with the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace, when very cordial toasts were exchanged.

— The bulletin issued described the Pope's state as one of increasing weakness. Extreme unction was administered.

7. M. Loubet was entertained at luncheon at the Guildhall, when speeches were made by the Lord Mayor and by the President, emphasising the cordial relations between England and France.

9. The King entertained at dinner the principal officers of the United States Squadron at present at Portsmouth.

— M. Loubet left London on the conclusion of his visit, and sent a message to the King expressing gratitude for his reception and desire for a lasting *rapprochement* between the two countries.

— An allied Colonial Universities' Conference was held at Burlington House to consider various questions of common academic interest.

— At Henley Regatta, in the final heat for the Grand Challenge Cup, Leander beat Third Trinity, Cambridge; for the Stewards' Cup, Third Trinity beat Royal Netherlands; for the Ladies' Plate, Magdalen College, Oxford, beat Eton; Mr. F. S. Kelly beat Mr. J. Beresford for the Diamond Challenge Sculls.

10. The Lord Mayor of London entertained the officers of the United States Squadron at luncheon, at the Mansion House.

11. In the University Tennis (Singles) Match at Lord's Mr. F. T. Wilson (Trinity, Cambridge) beat Mr. A. M. Robertson (University, Oxford) by three sets to two.

— The election was announced of Mr. J. Tweedy, F.R.C.S. Eng., to be President of the College of Surgeons.

— The National Rifle Association's annual meeting at Bisley opened to-day with the match for the Palma International Trophy, shot for with the service rifle of each country competing, at 800, 900 and 1,000 yards. The United States team won with a score of 1,570; Great Britain being second with 1,555. The following were among the other principal scores:—

| Matches. | Distance. | Highest possible score. | Total scores. |
|--|-----------------|-------------------------|--|
| Humphry Challenge Cup } (M.R.) | 800, 900, 1,000 | 900 | { Cambridge - - - 697 Oxford - - - 688 |
| Halford Memorial (M.R.) - | 900, 1,000 | 150 | Lieut.-Col. Millner, 8th King's Royal R. - 134 |
| Wimbledon Cup (M.R.) - | 1,100 | 75 | Major Hon. T. F. Fre- mantle - - - 71 |
| Ashburton Challenge } Shield (S.R.) | 200, 500 | 560 | Tonbridge - - - 500 |
| Spencer Cup (S.R.) - - | 500 | 35 | Cadet Imrie, Blairlodge 35 |
| Elcho Challenge Shield } (M.R.) | 800, 900, 1,000 | 1,800 | { Ireland - - - 1,553 Scotland - - - 1,546 England - - - 1,546 |

| Matches. | Distance. | Highest possible score. | Total scores. |
|--|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| China Challenge Cup (S.R.) | 600 | 500 | Glamorganshire - - 446 |
| Chancellor's Challenge Plate (S.R.) | 200, 500, 600 | 840 | { Cambridge - - 727 |
| Kolapore Imperial Challenge Cup (S.R.) | 200, 500, 600 | 840 | { Oxford - - 707 |
| United Service Challenge Cup (S.R.) | 200, 500, 600 | 840 | Australia - - 771 |
| National Volunteer Challenge Trophy (S.R.) | 200, 500, 600 | 2,100 | Regulars - - 779 |
| | | | { England - - 1,821 |
| | | | { Wales - - 1,805 |
| | | | { Scotland - - 1,804 |
| | | | { Ireland - - 1,755 |

PRIZES.

| Prizes. | Distance. | Highest Possible Score. | Winner. |
|---|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Waldegrave (M.R.) - - | 800, 900 | 100 | Major Oxley, 2nd V.B. |
| Albert (M.R.) - - | 800, 900, 1,000 | 175 | Sussex - - 99 |
| Prince of Wales (S.R.) - | 200, 600 | 100 | Major Hon. T. F. Fre- |
| Alexandra (S.R.) - - | 200, 600 | 70 | mantle, 1st Bucks - 166 |
| Wimbledon Cup (S.R.) - | 600 | 50 | Lieut. Miller, 1st V.B. |
| Duke of Cambridge (S.R.) | 900 | 50 | Derby - - 99 |
| King's (S.R.), 1st stage, Bronze Medal | 200, 500, 600 | 105 | Cpl. McGregor, Canada - 68 |
| Do., 2nd stage, Silver Medal | 600 | 205 | Pte. Gilbert, H.A.C. - 50 |
| Do., 3rd stage, Gold Medal | 800, 900, 1,000 | 355 | Pte. Dawson, Australia - 50 |
| St. George's Challenge Vase (S.R.), 1st stage | 500, 600 | 145 | { Cr.-Sgt. Davies, 3rd Gla- |
| Do., 2nd stage - - | 900 | 350 | { morgan - - 100 |
| Grand Aggregate (S.R.) - | — | 199 | Do. Do. 88 |
| Volunteer Aggregate (S.R.) | — | 199 | Do. Do. 128 |
| | | | { Capt. Johnson, 1st Lon- |
| | | | { don R.V. - - 185 |
| | | | Pte. MacCallum, 4th V.B. |
| | | | A. & S.H. - - 331 |
| | | | Clr.-Sergt. Lewis, 1st V.B. |
| | | | Welsh - - 190 |

11. Eton beat Harrow at Lord's by an innings and 154 runs. Score: Eton, first innings, 425. Harrow, first innings, 115; second, 158.

13. At a special meeting of the Dublin Corporation the motion to present an address of welcome to the King was defeated by a majority of three after a prolonged and stormy debate.

16. A complete set of thirteen Henry VIII. Apostle spoons was sold in London for 4,900*l.*, or 150*l.* per ounce.

— The holder, Mr. A. H. Cloutte (London Rowing Club), of the Wingfield Silver Sculls for the Amateur Championship of the Thames was beaten by more than a quarter of a mile, over the Putney to Mortlake course, by Mr. F. S. Kelly (Leander Club). Winner's time, 23 min. 32 sec.

17. At Sandown the Eclipse Stakes were won by Mr. J. Gubbins's Ard Patrick, 4 yrs., 10 st. 2 lb. (O. Madden). Five ran.

18. Lord Roberts received the freedom of Birmingham and was entertained at a luncheon at which Mr. Chamberlain spoke.

20. Pope Leo XIII. died, aged ninety-three.

21. The King and Queen arrived at Kingstown from Holyhead in his Majesty's yacht. They were received by the Lord Lieutenant (Earl Dudley), and an address was presented from the Kingstown Urban Council, to which the King replied. On entering Dublin and in passing through its streets towards the Viceregal Lodge, where they stayed, their Majesties were received with great enthusiasm by dense crowds.

— The Irish Land Bill read a third time in the House of Commons.

— At Lord's Mr. E. H. Miles, the holder of the Marylebone Gold Prize for Tennis, retained it against Sir Edward Grey by three sets to love.

22. The King and Queen drove in state to Dublin Castle, where they received many addresses, and the King replied with most gracious cordiality. His Majesty held a levée and visited Trinity College, the Queen presenting certificates to distinguished students at Alexandra College.

— A banquet was given at the House of Commons by the Commercial Committee of the House to a group of French Senators and Deputies working for the promotion of international arbitration: speeches made by the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Mr. Balfour, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Chamberlain.

— The third reading of the London Education Bill carried, after the defeat of a hostile amendment, by 228 to 118.

23. The King held a review in the Phoenix Park of troops, under the command of the Duke of Connaught. In the evening the King and Queen held a Court at the Castle.

— The public lying in state of the late Pope began. Great crowds assembled and passed the body.

25. The King and Queen left Dublin for Mount Stewart. The King made a gift of 1,000*l.* for the poor of Dublin, and sent a message to the Lord-Lieutenant expressing his appreciation of the reception he and the Queen had met with in the Irish capital.

— Mr. A. Henderson (Labour) was returned for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham, vacant by the death of Sir Joseph Pease (L.), having polled 3,370 votes against 3,323 recorded for Colonel Vane (U.), and 2,809 for Mr. Beaumont (L.).

— Long Distance Amateur Swimming Championship of England won for the sixth time in succession by J. A. Jarvis, of Leicester, over a course of about five miles and sixty yards, from Kew to Putney. D. Billington, of Bacup, who had three attacks of cramp, was only beaten by 150 yards. Winner's time was a record—1 hr. 3 min. 48½ sec.; but there was a strong ebb-tide.

27. The King and Queen visited Belfast, receiving numerous addresses, performing public functions, and being welcomed everywhere with immense enthusiasm.

— An excursion train running into St. Enoch's Station, Glasgow, at too high a speed, two carriages next the engine were telescoped; fifteen persons were killed and more than thirty injured.

27. At Lord's Peter Latham, conceding the odds of fifteen in a tennis match to Mr. E. H. Miles (see p. 18), beat him by three sets to love—eighteen games to ten.

28. The King and Queen, who had come in their yacht from Belfast Lough, landed at Buncrana, Lough Swilly, and thence visited Londonderry.

— Captain J. de Courcy Hamilton, R.A., appointed by the London County Council Chief Officer of the London Fire Brigade, in the room of Captain Wells, R.N. (see p. 13).

29. Arriving in their yacht in Killary harbour, the King and Queen landed at Bundorragea, and visited several of the cabins of the peasantry.

— Mr. Asquith was the principal speaker at a crowded meeting held in St. James's Hall, London, to condemn the taxation of food.

30. At Goodwood the race for the Goodwood Cup was won by the favourite, Mr. A. James's Rabelais, 3 yrs., 7 st. 1 lb. (Watts). Eight ran.

31. The College of Cardinals entered the building prepared for the holding of the Conclave, after taking the oath of observance of the apostolic constitutions in the election of Pope. The doors were formally locked and the Conclave thus constituted.

AUGUST.

1. The King and Queen spent the day at Cork, where they were very warmly welcomed, and visited the Exhibition, being received by the Lord Mayor and Executive Committee. They sailed for Cowes at night. The King directed an address to be issued to the Irish people, expressing his pleasure in his visit and his hopes for the future of Ireland.

3. The Conclave at the Vatican elected Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, to be Pope in succession to Leo XIII. • He will assume the name of Pius X.

4. Lord Curzon announced in the Viceregal Council at Simla that he had accepted the offer of the Government of an extension of his term of office as Viceroy.

6. Pope Pius X. received the Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Vatican, and spoke in answer to an address, expressing his wishes for the welfare of the several States represented.

7. Reports were received of atrocious cruelty practised on Shen Chien, the Chinese reformer, at his execution.

8. The appointment of Lord Northcote, Governor of Bombay, to be Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia in succession to Lord Tennyson, was announced.

— The annual report of the Postmaster-General states that 4,143,000,900,000 postal packets of all kinds were delivered in the United Kingdom in the year 1902-3, an increase of 5·7 on the deliveries of the year before.

— The trial of the Humbert family for an extensive system of fraud, carried on for many years, was begun in Paris.

9. The coronation of Pope Pius X. took place in St. Peter's. The ceremony, which was attended by great crowds, lasted five hours, and was very elaborate and gorgeous.

10. A disastrous fire occurred in the Paris Underground Electric Railway in which eighty-four persons were killed and many other seriously injured.

11. A destructive cyclone visited Jamaica, causing several deaths doing disastrous damage to the fruit plantations, and leaving several towns in ruins. The loss to the island was estimated at not less than a million sterling.

12. A ukase, promulgated at St. Petersburg, constituted the Amur and Kwangtung territories a special Viceroyalty of the Far East; Vice-Admiral Alexeieff was appointed first Viceroy.

13. Lord George Hamilton introduced the Indian Budget, showing for the year ending April, 1903, a surplus of 3,190,000*l*. He described the increased prosperity of Indian finance, expressed himself confident of its stability, and announced remissions of taxation.

— A court-martial at Monastir condemned to death the gendarme Halim, murderer of M. Rostkowsky, the Russian Consul at Monastir, and also an accomplice, and they were immediately executed.

14. Parliament was prorogued, after some discussion in the House of Commons on the administration of the Education Act and the condition of Macedonia.

15. There appeared in the *Times* a letter signed by fourteen teachers of Economics, including the Professors of Political Economy at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Liverpool, strongly deprecating the adoption of any system of preferential tariffs, as likely to lead to the introduction of Protection, which, they held, would be detrimental to the material prosperity and the political morality of the country, and as calculated to promote irritation rather than unity among the different members of the Empire.

17. Reports from Salonika and other places indicated the continuance and rapid spread of the insurrectionary movement in Western Macedonia.

— The fifth Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire opened at Montreal under the presidency of Lord Brassey. A resolution passed declaring for the principle of contribution to Imperial defence, but that Canada should adopt her own method.

18. Announced that Mr. S. Woods, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, had declined to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Trade Disputes and Trade Combinations, mainly on the ground that the Commission was unfairly constituted and solely representative of capital.

19. The British Minister at Brussels presented a copy of a Note which his Government had addressed to the other Powers signatory of the Berlin Convention, taking exception to the granting of monopolies and the employment of forced labour, as practised in the administration of the Congo State.

20. At Montreal, after three days' debate on the fiscal question, the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire passed a "compromise resolution" declaring on Imperial grounds in favour of "a commercial policy based on the principle of mutual benefit, whereby each component part of the Empire would receive substantial advantage in so far as the result of national relationship, due consideration being given to the fiscal and industrial needs of the component parts of the Empire"; and urging the appointment of a special commission to consider the possibilities of thus strengthening trade relations within the Empire.

21. Complete destruction announced, as having occurred on July 27, the town of Burmi, Northern Nigeria, after severe fighting, in which the ex-Sultan of Sokoto and some 700 followers were killed.

— The Russian Black Sea Squadron having anchored in Inia Bay, the Sultan was understood to have conceded Russia's demands as to Macedonia.

22. Lord Salisbury died at Hatfield House, after several days' illness, aged seventy-three. The King sent a message from Marienbad expressing his regret at the loss of so great a statesman.

— The first race for the America Cup between Sir T. Lipton's *Shamrock III.* and the American yacht *Reliance* was won by *Reliance* by 7 in. 3 sec.

— The trial of the Humbert family was concluded. M. and Mme Humbert were declared guilty of forgery and swindling, and condemned to five years' solitary confinement.

24. The Congregation of the Propaganda recommended to the Pope the Right Rev. F. Bourne, Bishop of Southwark, to fill the vacant See of Westminster.

25. The report of the Royal Commission on the South African War (Lord Elgin, chairman) was published.

— The second race for the America Cup was sailed and won by *Reliance* by 1 min. 19 sec.

27. The appointment of Lord Lamington to be Governor of Bombay, in succession to Lord Northcote, was announced.

— At Preston Park, Brighton, Leonard Hurst ran twenty-five miles in 2 hrs. 33 min. 42 secs., making a world's record.

28. Mr. J. S. Ainsworth (L.) was returned for Argyllshire, in place of Mr. D. N. Nicol (U.) deceased, by 4,326 votes against 2,740 recorded for Mr. C. Stewart (U.); a loss to the Government.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Montague Holbein made a renewed attempt to swim across the English Channel, but was obliged to give it up after being in the water seventeen hours, being still some miles from Calais.

3. Bank rate raised from 3 (see p. 14) to 4 per cent. Reserve, £42,000l., being 49½ per cent. of liabilities.

— The third race for the America Cup was sailed and resulted in an easy victory for *Reliance*.

5. There was an enthusiastic "send-off" demonstration at Bombay on the departure of Lord Northcote for Australia.

7. The gift was announced of 20,000*l.* from Mr. W. W. Astor to the Cancer Research Fund.

8. At the Trade Union Congress at Leicester a resolution strongly condemning Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy was carried with only two dissentients.

9. The British Association opened its annual meeting at Southport. The president, Sir Norman Lockyer, in his opening address urged the need—in order to enable the country to meet the competition of other nations—for larger and more efficient equipment of the existing Universities and a large increase of their number, and suggested that the State should be prepared to spend 24,000,000*l.* on such objects.

— At Doncaster the St. Leger Stakes were won by the favourite, Sir J. Miller's Rock Sand (D. Maher). Five ran. The King was present.

10. An extremely violent south-westerly gale, accompanied by heavy rains, caused many shipping disasters, with considerable loss of life, and did immense damage to the Kentish hop gardens and to the ungathered crops in many districts of England, Wales and Ireland, and also to the orchards in the North of France.

11. At a meeting of the General Committee of the British Association, now in session at Southport, Mr. Balfour was elected President of the 1904 meeting, and it was definitely decided to accept the invitation which had been received to hold the meeting of 1905 in South Africa.

— Under the new Irish Land Act, Mr. W. Browne, a landowner in Co. Wexford, arranged terms of sale to his tenants, giving them a reduction of 25 per cent. on their (first term) judicial rents, and receiving about twenty-three years' purchase and three years' bonus. This was the first agreement to be signed.

12. A letter from Lord Rosebery was published in which he said that, in view of the report of the War Commission, he considered the present system of War Office administration doomed, and that its re-organisation should be entrusted to Lord Kitchener.

14. A Cabinet Council, at which all the Ministers except the Lord Chancellor were present, was held, chiefly for the discussion, as was afterwards made known, of the fiscal question.

— Letters published in the *Times* from the Bishops of Durham, Hereford, Worcester and Gibraltar, urging that the time had come when the British Government ought to take some action to prevent the perpetration of further Turkish outrages in Macedonia. The same paper contained a letter from the Special Correspondent of the *Times* at Monastir, giving appalling accounts of Turkish atrocities.

16. Announced in Liverpool that in addition to taking over the Boston and Mediterranean service, hitherto conducted by the Dominion Line, the White Star Company will, at an early date, take over the service between Liverpool and Boston.

— A pamphlet appeared, issued by Mr. Balfour, called "Insular

Free Trade," consisting chiefly of economic notes, which were circulated to his colleagues in August. It discussed some of the fundamental questions underlying our fiscal policy, and concluded that it was necessary that this country should be able to use against other countries the weapons which they freely used against us.

16. Publication of a Board of Trade Blue-book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry, prepared to throw light on the issues involved in the fiscal inquiry.

— Sir W. Anson, Vice-President of the Board of Education, speaking at Manchester, maintained that the proposals of Sir N. Lockyer's British Association address began at the wrong end, and that, unless there was a more widely diffused desire for education, a large addition to the number of Universities would not strengthen us in the field of international competition.

— A cricket match at the Oval between Middlesex, as the champion county, and the Rest of England, ended in a draw. Score: Middlesex, first innings, 230; second innings (declared closed), 254 for eight wickets. Rest of England: first innings, 184; second innings, 229 for five wickets—thus having five wickets in hand and wanting 72 runs to win.

17. Polling for the St. Andrews Burghs, in the room of Mr. H. T. Anstruther (U.), resigned, resulted in the return of Captain E. C. Ellice (L.), by 1,324 votes against 1,288 for Major Anstruther-Thomson (U.)—a Ministerial loss.

— Mr. Stanley Spencer navigated his airship from the Crystal Palace to a point over the dome of St. Paul's. He was unable to make the return journey, as he intended, but ultimately descended in safety at New Barnet.

18. A great sensation produced by the announcement of the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary), Mr. Ritchie (Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Lord George Hamilton (Secretary for India). Letters between Mr. Chamberlain and the Prime Minister showed that the former had resigned in order to carry out with greater freedom a preferential propaganda, involving food taxes, for which he agreed with Mr. Balfour that public opinion was not at present prepared.

19. At Birmingham a conference of co-operators and trade unionists, attended by 331 delegates, representing 158 societies and 239,891 members, in the Midlands, unanimously pronounced in favour of free trade and against inter-Imperial preferential tariffs.

21. Announced that Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Secretary for Scotland) and the Hon. Arthur D. Elliot, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), had resigned their offices.

— In attempting the ascent of the Scafell Pinnacle, a party of four tourists fell, sustaining terrible injuries, from which they all died at once or within a few hours.

23. The polling at Rochester for the vacancy created by Lord Cranborne's succession to the Salisbury peerage resulted in the return of Mr. C. Tuff (U.) by 2,504 votes, against 1,983 for Sir H. Johnston (L.).

24. Meetings to protest against the Macedonian atrocities were held in Manchester (convened by the Lord Mayor) and in the City Temple (convened by the Metropolitan Free Church Federation). In his *Diocesan Chronicle* for October the Bishop of Rochester expressed his entire concurrence with the views of the Bishops who had written to the *Times* on the subject (see Sept. 14).

— An agreement was come to between the trustees of the Duke of Leinster's property and the tenantry of the Maynooth and Manor Athy estates for their sale to the latter. The acreage is about 44,000, and the price obtained (including a bonus of 148,000*l.*) would amount, it was said, to about 1,381,000*l.*

25. Announced from Melbourne that Sir Edmund Barton had resigned the Premiership of the Australian Commonwealth in order to become one of the Judges of the Federal High Court, and that the Commonwealth Ministry had been reconstructed under the Premiership of Mr. Deakin, who was also Minister for External Affairs.

26. A letter was published from the Prime Minister in which, replying to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had expressed to him the growing anxiety among Churchmen lest any steps should be omitted which might diminish the sufferings of the Macedonian population, Mr. Balfour maintained that the best hopes for Macedonia and for European peace lay in supporting the joint action of Austria and Russia, while offering suggestions to those Powers at suitable opportunities. It was officially announced that Sir N. O'Connor had been instructed to inform the Porte that neither Turkey nor Bulgaria must expect any British support in resisting, in any way, the execution of the reforms already promulgated for Macedonia, which were the minimum required, and ought to be much more promptly and effectively enforced than they had been by the Ottoman authorities. A like intimation had been made to the Bulgarian Government.

28. Lord Milner arrived in London from Carlsbad, where he had been staying for a few weeks.

29. Consols fell to 86½, the lowest price since 1866, when, however, the rate of interest was 3 per cent., instead of, as now, 2½ (see p. 8). The lowest (*ex div.*) price marked, May 11, 1866, was 84.

— A great meeting in St. James's Hall, London, presided over by the Bishop of Worcester, and addressed by Mr. Bryce, Sir E. Fry, Lord Stanmore, and the Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, passed resolutions urging his Majesty's Government that they should press on the other Powers, signatories of the Berlin Treaty, the necessity of ending the direct rule of the Sultan in Macedonia.

— Alderman Sir J. T. Ritchie was elected Lord Mayor of London.

— The house in Commercial Road, Landport, in which Charles Dickens was born was sold by auction, and was bought by the Mayor, on behalf of the Corporation of Portsmouth, for 1,125*l.*

30. Sir Michael Herbert, British Ambassador to the United States, died at Davos, aged forty-six.

30. The Lyceum Theatre Company, at their annual meeting, notwithstanding objection raised in a letter read by Mr. Bram Stoker from Sir Henry Irving, adopted a scheme contemplating the adaptation of the building for variety entertainments.

OCTOBER.

1. There was published the letters, dated September 15, in which Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton conveyed their resignations to the Prime Minister. It appeared that neither of them was aware at the Cabinet Council of September 14 of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation and the consequent elimination of all that related to preferential tariffs from the Government programme.

— The Prime Minister addressed a great meeting in connection with the conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations at Sheffield. While holding that a tax on food was not within the range of practical politics, he desired the country to reverse the fiscal tradition of the last two generations and to resume the power of negotiating on fiscal questions.

— A telegram of September 29 was published in the *Times* from its Sofia correspondent stating that "the march of devastation and rapine proceeds unchecked in the vilayet of Adrianople."

— The Venezuela Arbitration Tribunal held its first sitting at the Hague.

— The first train into Kumasi arrived, the new railway being most successfully inaugurated.

— Earl Howe was gazetted as Lord Chamberlain to Queen Alexandra in the room of Viscount Colville of Culross, deceased.

2. Speaking at a luncheon to Conservative agents at Sheffield, Mr. Balfour announced that to his great regret he had failed to prevail on Lord Milner to become Colonial Secretary, the High Commissioner desiring to deal on the spot with South African problems.

— After two days' discussion, some of it heated, the Conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations at Sheffield adopted *nem. con.* a resolution declaring necessary a reconsideration of our fiscal system and welcoming the policy foreshadowed by Mr. Balfour.

— A delegation of the Honourable Artillery Company arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, and had a most cordial welcome. They were treated during their visit to the States with the greatest hospitality and consideration.

3. At Fallowfield, Manchester, in a twenty-five mile cycling race one competitor swerved, with the result that ten fell heavily and six were so seriously injured that they had to be detained in hospital. The race was declared void.

6. It was announced that Mr. Austen Chamberlain had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Arnold-Forster, War Secretary; Mr. St. John Brodrick, Indian Se-

cretary ; Mr. Graham Murray, Secretary for Scotland, and Lord Stanley, Postmaster-General.

6. Resignation announced of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council. In a letter to the Premier, dated October 2, the Duke explained that in view of his Sheffield speech—especially its declaration as to the necessity of reversing the fiscal tradition—he felt that there was no such agreement between them as would enable him in the House of Lords to be a satisfactory exponent of Mr. Balfour's views or those of the Government. Mr. Balfour in his reply denied that there was any discrepancy, intended or actual, between his Sheffield speech and the views with which the Duke was well acquainted as held by him, and complained of his action.

— Mr. Chamberlain opened his fiscal campaign by addressing a great meeting at Glasgow, where he sketched a rough plan of his proposals as to preferential duties on foreign food, with counterbalancing remissions of duty on tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa. There would also be duties averaging 10 per cent. on foreign manufactures. He eloquently pleaded for support in preventing the disruption of the Empire.

— The formal opening of the first session of the new Victoria University of Manchester took place.

7. Mr. Chamberlain spoke at Greenock, dealing with the subject of fiscal retaliation or reciprocity, the necessity of which policy in the interest of British industry he strenuously maintained.

— With only two dissentients the Baptist Union meeting at Derby passed a resolution rejoicing at the spread of the movement called that of "Passive Resistance" to the payment of rates levied under the Education Act of 1902.

8. The Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Arbuthnott Knox, Bishop Suffragan of Coventry, has been appointed Bishop of Manchester in the room of Dr. Moorhouse, resigned.

— Mr. Asquith, speaking at Cinderford, maintained that fiscal retaliation was a weapon most mischievous to its users, and said that it was a baseless calumny to say that a preferential tariff was required to prevent the break-up of the Empire.

9. Addressing his constituents at Croydon, Mr. Ritchie, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressed his conviction that a preferential tariff system, instead of drawing the bonds of Empire closer, would have the very opposite effect.

— Lord Spencer at an Eighty Club meeting urged the union of all Liberals to defeat the new fiscal policy of the Government, which, he maintained, was essentially Protectionist.

10. Mr. Victor Cavendish, M.P., has been appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and Earl Percy, M.P., Under Foreign Secretary.

— For the vacancy in South Meath, caused by the death of Mr. J. L. Carew (N.), Mr. David Sheehy (United Irish League) was returned by 2,245 votes against 1,031 for Mr. J. H. Parnell (Independent).

— Under Association football rules an international League match was won by an English against an Irish team by two goals to one.

12. The appointments were announced of the Marquess of Salisbury to be Lord Privy Seal ; Captain E. G. Pretyman, M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty ; Mr. A. H. Lee, M.P., Civil Lord of the Admiralty ; Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport, M.P., Financial Secretary to the War Office ; Lord Balcarras, M.P., Junior Lord of the Treasury ; and the Marquess of Hamilton, M.P., Treasurer of the Household.

— The reply was published here of the Congo State Administration to the British Note, which, after a detailed criticism, it pronounced to be "null and void." The reply, however, failed to meet at all completely the principal charges against the Administration of the Congo State, and as to forced labour made extensive admissions, with excuses.

— Sir H. Fowler addressed a great meeting at Glasgow in opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy.

13. At Sheffield a great meeting heard an address from Lord Rosebery, in which he deprecated the preferential tariff policy as almost certain to lead to Imperial dismemberment.

— The Church Congress opened at Bristol. In the Bishop of Bristol's presidential address he referred to the fact that the first Church Congress in England was held 1,300 years ago within the borders of the diocese of Bristol. The meeting then listened to papers on Variations in a National Church, and in the evening papers were read and some discussion took place on various aspects of the working of the Education Act.

14. Lord Onslow, speaking at Edinburgh, said that any man present at the Cabinet Council of September 14, who understood English, must have understood that Mr. Chamberlain was to send in his resignation and pursue his individual policy of preferential tariffs.

— The Cesarewitch Stakes at Newmarket won, in the presence of the King, by Mr. W. Bass's Grey Tick, aged, 6 st. 9 lb. (J. Hunter). Twenty-six ran.

15. The signature was announced of an agreement between the British and French Governments providing that, with certain specified classes of exceptions, questions arising between them of a juridical character, or relating to the interpretation of existing treaties, should, if found incapable of settlement by diplomatic means, be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

— At Bolton Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that it was a wicked slander on the Mother Country and the Colonies to say that the Empire was on the verge of dissolution under the present fiscal policy.

— Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, the new Colonial Secretary, in his electoral campaign for Warwick and Leamington, on this and following days declared that the issue before the country was that of taxing foreign manufactures in order that foreign tariffs against British goods might be abated. Preferential tariffs in favour of the Colonies would not be taken up by the Government until the people had had time to consider the matter.

16. Lord Goschen delivered an important speech at the Passmore Edwards Settlement against the taxation of food.

16. A letter was published from Mr. Ritchie reiterating that Mr. Chamberlain's resignation and the abandonment of preferential duties on foreign food stuffs were not facts known to him at the Cabinet meeting of September 14. He added that his recollection was confirmed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, by Lord George Hamilton and, he believed, by the Duke of Devonshire.

-- The Foreign Office issued correspondence (Turkey, No. 4, 1903) throwing much interesting light on the part played by the British Government in urging the extension and strengthening of the Austro-Russian scheme of reforms for Macedonia.

-- The Earl of Hardwicke and the Earl of Donoughmore have been appointed Under-Secretaries for India and for War respectively.

17. While manœuvring at night off Cape Finisterre, his Majesty's battleship *Prince George* came into collision with his Majesty's battleship *Hannibal*. The former was badly, the latter slightly, damaged. They were towed into Ferrol. No lives were lost.

18. The body of Miss Hickman, the lady doctor whose disappearance from the Royal Free Hospital on August 15 had been the subject of constant discussion, was found by some boys, in an advanced state of decomposition, in a plantation in Richmond Park.

19. Mr. C. S. Dickson, K.C., has been appointed Lord Advocate, and Mr. D. Dundas, K.C., Solicitor-General for Scotland. This completes the Ministry.

20. The award of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal was issued, signed by Lord Alverstone and the United States Commissioners, but not by the Canadian Commissioners. The effect was, on the whole, favourable to the United States contention, in that it cut off Canada from the waters of the inlets giving access towards the Yukon territory; but, in respect of the line of the Portland Channel, it was mainly, though not entirely, favourable to Canada.

21. Speaking at Tynemouth, Mr. Chamberlain declared that if he failed the first time in his attempt to persuade the country of the necessity of his fiscal proposals, and life and health were spared to him, he would go on again.

22. In a speech to his constituents at Ealing Lord George Hamilton made some interesting statements as to Mr. Balfour's having put forward at a Cabinet Council on the last day of the session not only the paper on "Insular Free Trade," but also a document containing propositions which he proposed to put forward on behalf of the Government, embracing preferential tariffs and the taxation of food. He also described the impressions and consequent proceedings of the Free-trade Ministers after the Council of September 14.

-- The Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky died, aged sixty-five.

-- By Imperial decree the Russian language was substituted for the Swedish at the opening of the Finnish diet.

23. Polling at the bye-election for Warwick and Leamington, caused by Mr. Lyttelton's acceptance of the office of Colonial Secretary, resulted in his re-election by 2,689 votes against 2,499 for Mr. R. Berridge (L.).

23. At Staffordshire Quarter Sessions George Ernest Thompson Edalji, a solicitor, was found guilty of maiming cattle at Great Wyrley and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. Great excitement had been caused in the neighbourhood, where there had been several outrages of this kind, all of which were attributed to the prisoner. No motive for their commission appeared.

— At a largely attended meeting of the Unionist Free Food League the Duke of Devonshire was elected president, Lord Goschen, Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Ritchie vice-presidents, and Lord James hon. treasurer, and a manifesto was adopted declaring that, while the League was ready to consider in a friendly and loyal spirit any scheme for retaliatory duties proposed by the Government, it was altogether against Mr. Chamberlain's further proposals.

— In a discussion of the Alaska award in the Canadian House of Commons the Premier, Sir W. Laurier, while refusing to believe that Canada's interests had been sacrificed by Lord Alverstone, intimated that he thought that the Dominion should ask the British Parliament for more extensive powers in negotiations where Canadian interests were at stake.

24. Issued, at Vienna, the Austro-Russian "instructions" to the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople, for the new scheme of foreign surveillance and control in regard to the reforms to be effected in Macedonia.

— Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, on becoming War Secretary, was re-elected for West Belfast by 3,912 votes against 3,671 for Mr. Dempsey (N.); and Lord Stanley, on becoming Postmaster-General, was re-elected without opposition for the Westhoughton Division, Lancs.

25. A remarkable international meeting of protest on behalf of the oppressed peoples of Armenia and Macedonia was held in Paris. It was very numerously attended. Speeches were made by Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians and Belgians, and letters read from German sympathisers.

26. Sir Mortimer Durand, British Ambassador at Madrid, has been appointed Ambassador at Washington in the room of the late Sir Michael Herbert.

— Sagouni, an Armenian, was fatally shot at the door of his lodgings near Peckham Rye by another Armenian, who escaped after committing the crime, which appeared to be connected with a feud between a revolutionary and a moderate organisation for the emancipation of Armenia, Sagouni being one of the moderates.

27. An unsuccessful attempt was made by three men, said to be low-class Armenians, to assassinate Prince Galitzin, the popular Governor-General of the Caucasus, as he was driving with his wife in the environs of Tiflis.

28. The rainfall in the London district since January 1, 1903, has already exceeded the greatest recorded for any completed year during the past half century.

28. Mr. A. H. Lee, on his appointment as a Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and the Marquess of Hamilton, on his appointment as Treasurer of the Household, were re-elected without opposition for the Fareham Division of Hants and for Londonderry City respectively.

— More than 200 delegates of the London International and Commercial Association arrived in Paris as the guests of the French Republican Committee of Commerce and Industry. They were very warmly received and hospitably and agreeably entertained for several days, and very cordial speeches on Anglo-French relations were made.

— In labour disturbances at Bilbao six persons were killed and 100 wounded.

— By a railway accident in the United States Mrs. Booth-Tucker, wife of "Commissioner" Booth-Tucker, and daughter of "General" Booth of the Salvation Army, was fatally injured, and died next day.

29. In the City Temple three large gatherings were held of "passive resisters" to the Education Act from all parts of the country. It was stated that the number of summonses to date were 6,472; of sales, 229; and of local committees and leagues, 440.

— In Paris collisions occurred, with injuries more or less serious, but not fatal, to many on both sides, between gendarmes and working men demonstrating against the "exploitation" alleged to be practised by labour agents.

30. A Reuter's telegram from St. Petersburg announced that Mukden had been reoccupied by Russian troops "in view," according to a semi-official despatch thence, "of the weakness of the Chinese authorities, who do not fulfil their promises, and of the ferment prevailing."

— A letter from the Tsar was communicated by President Loubet to the French Cabinet, expressing the profound sympathy with which his Imperial Majesty viewed the recent agreement with England and the *rapprochement* happily effected with Italy.

31. The Queen Victoria memorial fund stood at over a quarter of a million sterling.

— In Convocation at Oxford, Viscount Goschen was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University, in the place of the late Marquess of Salisbury.

NOVEMBER.

1. Professor Mommsen died at Charlottenburg, aged eighty-five.

2. Vice-Admiral H. L. Pearson has been appointed to succeed Admiral A. H. Markham as Commander-in-Chief at the Nore, and Rear-Admiral J. Durnford to succeed Rear-Admiral Sir A. W. Moore as Commander-in-Chief on the Cape of Good Hope Station.

— A *Times* Berlin despatch published this day stated that by a large majority the General Synod of the German Protestant Church had, after an animated debate, declared duelling to be a sin with which it was the sacred duty of the Church to do away.

— The Bulgarian elections have resulted in the return of 144

Ministerialists to the Sobranye against only forty-five of the various sections of the Opposition.

2. Mr. Aylesworth, one of the Canadian Commissioners who had refused to sign the Alaska award, made a remarkable speech at Toronto, in which he deprecated in the strongest manner the idea that the award could in any way weaken the ties between Canada and the Mother Country.

3. Sir Edwin Egerton, British Minister at Athens, has been selected to fill the post of British Ambassador at Madrid.

— A revolution broke out at Panama, and the Isthmus was declared independent of Colombia.

— From the returns of the municipal elections in England and Wales, outside the Metropolitan area, it appears that the Liberals have gained fifty-four seats; the Conservatives forty; the Labour party sixteen; the Socialists two; Independents five; "Protestant" party four; Nationalists two (at Liverpool) and Co-operators one (at Chatham). The Education question played a considerable part in the elections in many places.

— The King laid the foundation stone at Lord's Green, near Midhurst, of the King Edward VII. Sanatorium for Tuberculosis.

— The results of the London municipal elections show Progressive gains—some large—in seventeen boroughs, and Moderate gains in six.

4. Two Armenians, named Gregorian and Izmirran, were shot dead at Peckham Rye by a man who immediately afterwards committed suicide on seeing that his capture was certain. The victims belonged to an Armenian group called Huntchakists, as did Sagouni (shot in October), and it was suspected, though not proved, that the murderer was the same on both occasions, and was one of a rival and revolutionary section known as Alfarists.

5. The Tammany candidate for the mayoralty of New York, Mr. M'Clellan, has been returned by a majority of over 63,000 against Mr. Seth Low, the candidate of the civic Reformers, who has been mayor for the last two years.

— Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., has announced his intention of resigning his seat in consequence of the attitude of the *Freeman's Journal* in regard to the working of the Land Purchase Act.

— Lord Balcarras has been re-elected for the Chorley Division of Lancashire, on his appointment as Junior Lord of the Treasury, by 6,226 votes against 4,798 for Mr. J. Lawrence (L.).

— The Turkish reply to the Austro-Russian demands with regard to reforms in Macedonia is said to amount to a rejection of the scheme of the two Powers.

6. The New Zealand House of Representatives has passed unanimously through all its stages the Naval Defence Bill, providing for an annual contribution of 40,000*l.* to the British Navy, towards the maintenance of the Australasian squadron.

— The United States Government, whose troops had been, since

the outbreak of the Panama revolution, keeping order along the Isthmian railway, recognised the *de facto* Government of Panama.

7. Lord Rosebery, at Leicester, delivered a strong speech against Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals.

— A committee has been appointed consisting of Lord Esher, Admiral Sir J. Fisher and Colonel Sir G. S. Clarke, at present Governor of Victoria (which post he is said not to be resigning), to advise as to the creation of a board for the administrative business of the War Office, and as to the consequential changes thereby involved.

— The Emperor William underwent a successful operation for the removal of a polypus—pronounced by Professor Orth to be entirely benign—on the vocal chord.

— The civic inauguration of the new Liverpool University took place, the Lord Mayor of Liverpool presenting the charter to the Chancellor, Lord Derby.

9. Replying, at the Guildhall banquet, to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers," Mr. Balfour, after paying a striking tribute to the late Lord Salisbury, devoted his speech to external affairs, adopting a tone of moderate cheerfulness.

— The newly appointed Italian Minister of Finance, Signor Rosano, committed suicide by shooting himself, in presence of a charge in Socialist papers of having procured the release of an alleged Anarchist in consideration of a bribe. He declared his innocence of the charge.

10. The Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople gave the Porte to understand that their enlarged scheme of Macedonian reforms must be accepted in its entirety.

— Mr. F. Elliot, British Diplomatic Agent at Sofia, has been appointed Minister at Athens.

11. A meeting of protest against protection and preferential duties on food-stuffs was held in the Birmingham Town Hall, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Moore-Bayley, President of the Conservative Association of Central Birmingham, and was addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Hugh Cecil. The meeting had been actively promoted by the Free Trade Union, a body largely consisting of Liberals.

— The first cricket match played in Australia by Mr. P. F. Warner's English (M.C.C.) Eleven was at Adelaide against an Eleven of South Australia, and ended in a draw in favour of the English team. Score: The English Eleven, first innings (for eight wickets), 433 (innings declared closed). South Australia, first innings, 172; second (for seven wickets), 343. Stumps were drawn at 3 P.M. to allow the English team to start for Melbourne.

— Lieutenant Bilse was condemned by court-martial to six months' imprisonment and dismissal from the German Army for libelling his superior officers and breach of service regulations in publishing, anonymously, a novel entitled "Aus einer Kleiner Garnison." The Court, however, admitted that the hearing of the case threw an unfavourable light on the social and moral aspects of life in small garrisons, and this opinion was very strongly held by the public.

12. The following is a list of those to whom the Royal Society has this year awarded medals: The Copley medal to Professor Edward Suess for his eminent geological services, and especially for the original researches and conclusions published in his great work, "Das Antlitz der Erde." A Royal medal to Sir David Gill for his researches in Solar and Stellar Parallax, and his energetic direction of the Royal Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. A Royal medal to Mr. Horace T. Brown for his work on the Chemistry of the Carbohydrates and on the assimilation of Carbonic Acid by green plants. The Davy medal to M. Pierre and Madame Curie for their researches on Radium. The Hughes medal to Professor Wilhelm Hittorf for his long-continued experimental researches on the Electric Discharge in Liquids and Gases.

— The New Zealand Naval Agreement Bill passed into law.

— The inquest on Miss Hickman at Richmond ended in a verdict that death was due to suicide by morphia poisoning during temporary insanity.

— In the French Senate M. Combes, the Premier, foreshadowed legislation forbidding the participation of members of the religious orders in any educational work, and also the separation of Church and State.

— A balloon, "Le Jaune," was steered from Moisson (Seine-et-Oise), fifty-five kilometres from Paris, to its destination, the Eiffel Tower, in 1 hr. and 40 min. It belongs to two brothers, Paul and Pierre Lebaudy, and was designed by an engineer named Henri Julliot.

13. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in conclusion of a correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Horton, regretted that the latter, or the Nonconformist leaders for whom he wrote, regarded as outside discussion precisely those points bearing on religious education in elementary schools which the Primate thought ought to have been discussed, and which he had desired to make the subject of a friendly conference.

— At the Dolphin (Conservative) Colston banquet at Bristol Mr. Balfour again advocated the policy of his Sheffield speech, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach expressed his agreement with it.

— In the French Chamber of Deputies a motion for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the alleged complicity of politicians in the Humbert frauds was opposed by the Minister of Justice, but carried by 360 votes to 203.

— The Penrhyn strike was formally declared at an end by the chairman, Mr. Henry Jones, at a meeting of the quarrymen who had not already resumed work.

15. Lord Kitchener, while riding alone near Simla, was dashed by his horse against the side of a small tunnel in the road, and received severe injuries, one of his legs being broken.

16. The English cricket team gained an easy victory over Victoria, at Melbourne. Score: English team, first innings (for eight wickets), 443 (innings declared closed). Victoria, first innings, 162; second, 210.

17. The King and Queen of Italy arrived at Portsmouth on board the British Royal yacht, *Victoria and Albert*, in which they had made the passage from Cherbourg, escorted by a British squadron. They were received at Portsmouth by the Prince of Wales, and local naval and military authorities and corporate officials. They travelled direct to Windsor, where King Edward and Queen Alexandra were at the station to welcome them.

— The London County Council has come to terms with Sir J. Whittaker Ellis for the protection of the view from Richmond Hill.

18. The King and Queen of Italy were entertained at a great State banquet in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle, where toasts were exchanged by King Edward and King Victor Emmanuel in speeches marked by great cordiality of feeling as between their Majesties and the British and Italian nations.

— Mr. George Buchanan, C.V.O., C.B., Secretary to the British Embassy at Berlin, has been appointed British Agent and Consul-General at Sofia.

— Mr. Chamberlain took leave of the Colonial Agents-General at the Colonial Office, where speeches warmly eulogistic of his administration were made by Lord Strathearn, High Commissioner for Canada, and Sir Walter Peace (Natal). Mr. Chamberlain, in a reply of some length, referred to the endeavours he had made towards Imperial consolidation and to his resignation with a view to working more freely for the same end.

— In the King's Bench Division of the High Court Dr. Bayliss, Professor of Physiology at University College, London, obtained a verdict for 2,000*l.* damages against Mr. Stephen Coleridge, Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Vivisection Society, for libel contained in published statements that he had tortured a dog.

— Lord Curzon arrived at Muscat and had a very hearty reception from the Sultan and people.

19. The King and Queen of Italy visited London, being enthusiastically welcomed by great crowds and receiving addresses at different points from various metropolitan municipalities as well as the City Corporation. Their Majesties were entertained at luncheon by the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall.

20. Mr. Chamberlain continued his campaign by addressing a great meeting at Cardiff.

— A Preferential Trade Bill became law after a speedy passage through both houses of the New Zealand Legislature.

— In the French Senate an amendment to the Education Bill was accepted by the Government, and passed by 147 to 136, excluding the members of authorised as well as unauthorised religious orders from the work of instruction.

21. The King and Queen of Italy concluded their visit to England, the Prince of Wales seeing them on board the Royal yacht at Portsmouth, whence they proceeded to Cherbourg.

21. Lord Curzon held a Durbar of Pirate Coast chiefs on board the cruiser *Argonaut* at Sharja and delivered a political address.

— As chairman of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Coal Conciliation Board, Lord Peel granted a demand of the owners for a reduction in miners' wages, from 48½ to 43½ per cent. above the standard rates of December, 1879.

— At Messrs. Harland & Wolff's yard, Belfast, there was launched the White Star SS. *Baltic*, the largest vessel in the world, her length being 725 ft. 9 in.; depth, 49 ft.; breadth, 75 feet, and gross tonnage, nearly 23,000. Her speed will be about 16½ to 17 knots.

23. The text is published of the Canal Treaty between the United States and the new Republic of Panama.

— In the French Chamber of Deputies the Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, on the Budget for Foreign Affairs, stated that before recognising the Republic of Panama the French Government had obtained express assurances that the concession to the French Canal Company should be maintained.

— At Sydney the English cricket team easily defeated New South Wales. Score: New South Wales, first innings, 108; second, 201. England, first innings, 319.

24. At a crowded meeting held in the Queen's Hall under the auspices of the Free Food League the Duke of Devonshire presided, supported by Lord Goschen, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord James of Hereford, Lord Lytton, Lord G. Hamilton, Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. W. F. D. Smith. A resolution was carried expressing readiness to consider any Government proposals for mitigating the effects of any hostile tariffs in special cases, but offering strenuous opposition to the protective taxation of food and to the establishment of any general protective or preferential tariff.

— A man named Robinson entered the Bank of England, obtained an interview with the Secretary, Mr. K. Graham, and attempted to shoot him and other persons who endeavoured to arrest him, but was ultimately overpowered by the use of the fire-hose. He was believed to be insane.

25. The Russian correspondents of the *Times* report the continuance of violent opposition in the Caucasus to the Imperial decree confiscating the property of the Armenian Church.

— Lord Rosebery addressed a crowded meeting at the Surrey Theatre in opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy.

— A large party of Members of the House of Commons with several Peers arrived in Paris on a visit to French Senators and Deputies, and were heartily welcomed.

— The Austrian and Russian Embassies in Constantinople received a communication from the Porte assenting in principle to all the nine points of the amended Reform Scheme for Macedonia, but stipulating that in its application everything calculated to humiliate Turkey should be avoided.

27. At the annual banquet of the United Club, Mr. Balfour spoke at length on military topics, anticipating good results towards improved military organisation from the work of the Committee lately appointed.

— A Bushire telegram of this date reports that in continuance of his tour in the Persian Gulf, Lord Curzon, after calling at Bassidore, proceeded to Lingah, where he entertained the Governor of the Gulf ports to dinner, and in proposing the Shah's health emphasised the close ties between Great Britain and Persia.

— The Bishop of Mauritius (the Right Rev. Walter Ruthven Pym, D.D.) has been appointed to the Bishopric of Bombay.

28. Lord Milner sailed from Southampton for the Cape.

— At the Birmingham Fat Stock Show the King won the champion prize for the best beast in the show with a Hereford steer.

— A portrait by Nattier realised 3,100 guineas at Christie's.

— Lord Curzon arrived at Koweyt, and had very friendly interviews with the Sheikh Mubarak.

30. At the annual meeting of the Royal Society Sir Archibald Geikie was elected Secretary, in the room of Sir Michael Foster, M.P., resigned.

— Speaking at Newport, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in reply to Mr. Balfour's charge that he had starved the Army, recalled that in January, 1896, a few months after the Liberal Government had left office, Mr. Balfour gave them credit for having helped to bring the British Empire into an exceptionally good fighting condition.

— The English cricket team now in Australia won their match at Brisbane against an Eleven of Queensland. Score: Queensland, first innings, 242; second, 91. England, first innings, 215; second (for four wickets), 119.

— The *Aurore* states that the French Minister of Justice, M. Vallé, has decided to submit the Dreyfus case, with facts and documents recently brought to his knowledge, to the Commission of Revision.

DECEMBER.

1. Captain F. S. Inglefield, R.N., has been appointed to succeed Rear-Admiral Durnford as Junior Naval Lord of the Admiralty.

— A "scheme of a national system of education," adopted by the General Committee of the National Free Church Council, is published. It provides for the recognition only of elementary schools of one type, all provided and solely controlled by a public representative education authority, with no denominational teaching in school hours—"but simple Biblical instruction may be given according to a syllabus," subject to a conscience clause; there shall be no religious tests for teachers; and secondary education shall be under like provisions as far as they may be applicable.

2. The Bishops of Durham, Hereford, Liverpool, London, Rochester and Worcester, and the Revs. R. J. Campbell, R. F. Horton, Charles H. Kelly and F. B. Meyer sign an appeal published to-day, asking for "a continuous and public intercession on behalf of the peoples of Mace-

donia," and suggesting December 20 as a day of special prayer for that purpose where another has not been fixed.

2. The Roman Catholic University of Ottawa was destroyed by fire. The loss was estimated at 500,000*l.* Father Fulham, one of the professors, received fatal injuries.

— A special tribunal of judges heard in private an application from Miss Bertha Cave, who had been refused admission to Gray's Inn. The Lord Chancellor, who presided, said that there was no precedent for ladies being called to the English Bar, and the tribunal were unwilling to create one.

3. About 150,000*l.* is expected to be available for the establishment of a Devonshire College of Science, Art and Agriculture, under the will of the late Mr. Seale-Hayne, M.P.

— Señor Villaverde, Prime Minister of Spain, tendered to the King the resignation of the Government.

4. The British Admiralty has bought two battleships, built for the Chilian Government at Elswick and Barrow, for 1,875,000*l.*

— University College, London, has received from a donor who wishes to remain anonymous 50,000*l.*, for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

— The Amateur Billiard Championship was won by Mr. S. S. Christey, who defeated Mr. C. V. Diehl by 686 points in 2,000.

5. The Merionethshire County Council definitively resolved, in defiance of the Education Act, not to levy a rate for the maintenance of non-provided schools until they should be placed entirely under public control, with all religious tests for teachers abolished.

— A new and strongly Conservative Spanish Cabinet has been formed under the Premiership of Señor Maura.

— The protracted Parliamentary crisis in Hungary was ended, M. Francis Kossuth, leader of the Independence party, announcing in the House the intention of that party to abandon obstruction, and the Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, promising to take immediate steps for the preparation of electoral reform, and to assent to a declaratory resolution on the subject of national rights.

7. Lord Curzon arrived at Karachi after concluding his three weeks' tour in the Persian Gulf.

— Lord Selborne, First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking at Edinburgh, said that he regarded preferential tariffs as a road to Imperial unity, and he could not, even on the authority of the Duke of Devonshire, join in ruling out that road.

— The regular session of the United States Congress was opened by a message from President Roosevelt, in the course of which he referred in cordial terms to the settlement of the Alaska boundary question, and vindicated at length the policy pursued by the American Government in regard to Panama.

8. Details were published of the prompt and effective measures recently taken by Colonel Mahon, Deputy Governor-General of the

Soudan, against a new Mahdi, who was surrounded, captured, tried and hanged.

8. Mr. Herbert Spencer died, in his eighty-fourth year.

— The Rev. A. E. Campbell, Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, was elected Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway in the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

9. The Standing Committee of the National Society resolved to call upon the managers of Church schools to insist upon their rights under the Education Act of 1902, and, with a view to the special difficulties created by the attitude of Welsh county councils, decided to issue an urgent appeal for a fund to assist Church schools in the Principality, pending the enforcement of the law.

— The Council of the Chamber of Agriculture adopted, by a very large majority, a resolution moved by Mr. Rider Haggard in favour of reform of our fiscal system and of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, having previously rejected an amendment favouring inquiry by a Royal Commission.

10. Mr. W. C. Fletcher, Headmaster of the Liverpool Institute, has been appointed by the President of the Board of Education to the newly created post of Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools; and Mr. C. A. Buckmaster, Acting Senior Inspector at South Kensington, has been appointed Chief Inspector under the branch of the Board of Education which deals with evening schools, technology and higher education in science and art.

— Lord Wolseley has written a letter expressing strong sympathy, on Imperial grounds, with Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals.

— A fire occurred at Sandringham House through the igniting of a beam in a room immediately above the Queen's bedroom through heat (as was supposed) from the fireplace. Happily the household fire brigade extinguished the fire before much damage was done.

— At the opening of the Japanese Parliament the Lower House unanimously voted a reply to the Speech from the Throne, declaring the Ministerial measures inadequate to the needs of the present crisis in the country's destiny.

— The Swedish Storting awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, of the value of 7,830*l.*, to Mr. W. R. Cremer, M.P., for his work on behalf of international arbitration.

11. The Japanese House of Representatives was dissolved.

— After a delay of nearly six weeks the Russian reply to the Japanese proposals of October 30 reached Tokio. Its nature was kept secret. At first it was believed that a slight *rapprochement* had taken place, but this impression soon disappeared.

— A memorial to Sir Walter Besant was unveiled in St. Paul's Cathedral by Lord Monkswell, Chairman of the London County Council.

12. A letter is published from the Duke of Devonshire, expressing the opinion that an elector who sympathises with the objects of the Free Food League would be well advised to decline to give his support

at any election to a Unionist candidate who expresses his sympathy with the policy of Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League.

12. Lord Rosebery addressed a great free trade demonstration in Edinburgh. At the outset of his speech he replied to Mr. Balfour's allegations that he and his colleagues had deliberately starved the Army, quoting testimonies from the late Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Balfour himself to the contrary effect.

14. The body of Mr. Herbert Spencer was cremated at the Golder's Green Crematorium, after the delivery of an address, in the mortuary chapel there, on his life and work, by Mr. Leonard Courtney.

— In the King's Bench Division the Lord Chief Justice and Justices Lawrance and Kennedy held, in regard to a West Ham "Passive Resistance" case, that a magistrate is not bound to issue a distress warrant for the whole amount of a rate when part payment has been tendered and refused. The Lord Chief Justice wished it to be distinctly understood that nothing in his judgment must be taken as giving countenance to persons refusing to pay rates which became due by law.

15. The Archbishop of Canterbury, replying to Lord Ashcombe, Chairman of the Church Committee, says that the real objective of the Nonconformist attacks against Church schools and the administration of the Education Act is the Church itself. While expressing the willingness of Churchmen to meet legitimate Nonconformist wishes, the Primate defends the Education Act as sound and fair in principle and urges that Church organisations should do their utmost to make it understood.

— Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Goschen, Lord James of Hereford and Mr. Ritchie concur in the Duke of Devonshire's advice to Unionist voters (see December 12).

— The polling for the Dulwich Division of Camberwell, vacant by the death of Sir J. Blundell Maple (U.), resulted in the return of Dr. Rutherford Harris (U.) by 5,819 votes against 4,832 for Mr. C. F. G. Masterman (L.); and that for the Lewisham Division of Surrey, vacant by the death of Mr. John Penn (U.), in the return of Major E. F. Coates (U.) by 7,709 votes against 5,697 for Mr. J. W. Cleland (L.). Both the successful candidates had received strong letters of recommendation from Mr. Chamberlain.

— By an award of Lord James of Hereford the wages of coal miners over the greater part of England have been reduced by 5 per cent.

— The Arbitration Court, under the London Water Act of 1903, delivered its judgment on the claim for 6,583,934*l.* put forward by the East London Water Company. It awarded the company 3,900,000*l.* on the assumption that the undertaking was liable to be valued as subject to certain payments to a sinking fund on account of the Staines reservoir; or, otherwise, 4,300,000*l.*

— The escorted Mission sent to Tibet by the Indian Government has crossed the Jelep Pass into the Chumbi Valley without opposition. The Mission is stated to have been made necessary by the failure of the Tibetan authorities to send properly empowered representatives to

meet Colonel Younghusband, the Commissioner sent to Khambajong in July last to discuss frontier and trade questions arising under the treaty of 1890.

15. At the Queen's Club, Kensington, the Annual University Rugby Football Match resulted in a victory for Oxford by three goals and a try to two goals and a try.

— By courts-martial at Rensburg, Franzky, a former non-commissioned infantry officer in the German army, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and degradation for maltreating soldiers in 1,520 cases; and Lieutenant Schilling, of an infantry regiment, was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment and dismissal from the service for 698 cases of such maltreatment.

16. Mr. Chamberlain resumed his fiscal campaign, addressing great meetings at Leeds, where he announced the intention of the Tariff Reform League to appoint a non-political commission of experts from all parts of the Empire, to frame a model tariff after hearing witnesses from every trade.

17. In place of Professor W. A. S. Hewins, who has resigned in order to take up work in connection with Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal campaign, Mr. H. J. Mackinder, lately Principal of University College, Reading, has been appointed by the Senate of London University Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, on the unanimous recommendation of the governors of the School.

— At Sydney the first of the five test matches to be played by the English cricket team now in Australia resulted in a victory for England by five wickets. Score: Australia, first innings, 285 (Noble, 133); second, 485 (Trumper, 185, not out). England, first innings, 577 (Mr. R. E. Foster, 287—the record individual score in these contests—and Braund, 102); second, 194 for five wickets.

— At the Central Criminal Court George Robinson, twenty-seven, engineer, was convicted of shooting at Mr. K. Grahame, Secretary of the Bank of England, with intent to murder him, but found by the jury to have been insane at the time, and was ordered to be detained pending the King's pleasure.

18. The name of Mr. Charles Booth, who has declared his general sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, appears among those who have consented to serve on the Tariff Commission, of which Mr. W. A. S. Hewins will be Secretary.

— In Somaliland a body of some four hundred mounted troops—British, Indian and native—being part of a reconnaissance force sent out eastwards from Badwein, under Colonel Kenna, attacked 2,000 Dervishes at Jidballi, and, with very slight loss on their part, killed and wounded nearly 200 of the Mullah's adherents. The British force, however, subsequently returned to Badwein in view of the superiority, and probable reinforcement, of the numbers of the enemy.

19. The results reported of the Federal elections in Australia show that in the Senate the Protectionists have obtained 22, and the Free Traders 14 seats, and that in the House of Representatives there are 42

Protectionists against 33 Free Traders. As between the three political parties the members are: Senate—Ministerialists, 8; Opposition, 14; Labour Party, 14. House of Representatives—Ministerialists, 26; Opposition, 27; Labour Party, 22.

19. The Rev. Dr. W. E. Collins, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London, has been appointed Bishop of Gibraltar in the room of Dr. Sandford, deceased.

— It is announced that General Delarey has persuaded all the Boer prisoners at Ahmednagar, except ten, to sign the oath of allegiance to Great Britain.

— At Messrs. Brown's yard, Clydebank, Glasgow, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were present at the launch of the battleship *Hindustan*, the Duchess performing the naming ceremony.

— Lord Milner was welcomed on his return to Johannesburg by a large gathering representative of both British and Boers, in the Wanderers' Hall.

— At a banquet at Hanover in celebration of the centenary of three regiments representing the German Legion, which served in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, the German Emperor stated that that Legion, "in conjunction with Blücher and the Prussians at Waterloo, saved the English army from destruction."

— Under Rugby Union rules a football match between Durham and the Rest of England was won by the Rest by four goals and a try to one goal.

— A Classical Association of England and Wales was constituted at an influentially attended meeting at University College, London, under the chairmanship of the Master of the Rolls (Sir Richard Henn Collins), with the object of averting, if possible, the exclusion of classical studies from the educational system of the country.

21. The Japanese Foreign Minister (according to a Reuter's telegram from Tokio) to-day communicated to the Russian Minister at Tokio a request that Russia would reconsider her reply to the Japanese Note of October on several essential points.

— The arbitration tribunal under the London Water Act awarded to the Grand Junction Water Company, which claimed 4,863,195*l.*, the sum of 3,349,500*l.*, to be increased to 3,552,500*l.* if the tribunal's ruling as to the sinking fund liability should be held to be wrong. The West Middlesex Company, claiming 4,305,245*l.*, was awarded 3,524,000*l.*

— In the King's Bench Division, the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Lawrance—Mr. Justice Kennedy dissenting—allowed an appeal from a decision of the Southampton Quarter Sessions, which (confirming the decision of the licensing justices) had refused to renew a public-house licence on the sole ground that it was not required in the locality.

— Sentences ranging from seven years' penal servitude, as a maximum, down to six months' imprisonment have been passed upon the persons convicted of participation in the disturbances involving a massacre of Jews at Kishineff.

21. The *Osservatore Romano* publishes a *Motu Proprio* of Pope Pius X., renewing the prohibition placed by his predecessor on the participation of Catholics in any kind of political action, and also the requirement that Christian Democrats shall act in obedience to ecclesiastical authority.

22. The War Office has agreed to purchase from the Duke of Buccleuch, at a price to be fixed by arbitration, 25,000 acres of land, to be added to the Scottish military camp at Hawick.

— The Women's Memorial to Queen Victoria, being the endowment of the Jubilee Institute for Nurses, which was founded by her late Majesty, is now completed, the total amount subscribed, in addition to the Women's Jubilee Offering of 72,000*l.* to Queen Victoria, being 84,000*l.*

— At a meeting of the Mansion House Conference on the unemployed it was resolved to ask the Lord Mayor to issue an appeal for funds to provide employment in the country, as a test, on the lines advocated in a letter to the press by the Bishop of Stepney and others.

23. The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation has been reconstituted under an Act passed last session, with new members, and with the Duke of Connaught as President of the Council.

— The polling for the Ludlow Division of Shropshire, vacant by the death of Mr. Jasper More (L.U.), resulted in the return of Mr. Rowland Hunt (U.), a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy, by 4,393 votes against 3,423 for Mr. F. Horne (L.).

24. The Revision Committee to which M. Vallé, the French Minister of Justice, referred the Dreyfus case has unanimously decided that the request for revision is justified.

— Great Britain has recognised the Republic of Panama.

— Mr. Thomas J. Pittar, C.B., has been appointed Chairman of the Board of Customs, in succession to Sir George L. Ryder, K.C.B., who retires on December 29.

25. Appropriately, on Christmas Day there was signed an arbitration convention between France and Italy, practically identical in scope and tenor with that recently signed between France and Great Britain.

— It was announced that some of the publications of the Abbé Loisy, a leading exponent of Liberal Catholicism in France, had been placed upon the Index. Leo XIII. had refused to take this step, though pressed to it by Cardinal Richard, the Archbishop of Paris.

26. Signor Giuseppe Zanardelli, the veteran Italian statesman, who resigned the Premiership in October last, died at Maderno.

— An experienced climber, Mr. A. Goodall, of Keswick, slipped in the descent of Scafell, on an ice-covered slope, and, losing his ice-axe, fell over a precipice and was killed.

— The *Times'* annual review of London pauperism shows a serious increase during the year in the number of persons receiving relief, and especially the indoor paupers, who in the second week of December

reached 73,608—a higher total than any previously recorded. The outdoor paupers at that time numbered 40,970—a total only exceeded by three years since 1882.

28. The Turkish Council of State reported in favour of asking the Italian Government to appoint an officer to reorganise the Macedonian *gendarmérie*. This decision, adopted under strong pressure from the Austrian and Russian Embassies, was the first real step taken towards the application of the latest Austro-Russian reform scheme.

29. A Parliamentary paper just issued showed that to the end of November the Board of Education had received 330 schemes from local authorities for the formation of Education Committees, and had sanctioned all but thirteen, which were in course of consideration or of publication. From only four local education authorities—the county of Cardigan, the boroughs (over 10,000 population) of Durham and Yeovil, and the urban district (over 20,000 population) of Abertillery—had schemes not been received.

— The Right Rev. Dr. Francis Bourne, previously Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, was enthroned as Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, in the new Westminster Cathedral, according to the ancient rite used at the enthronement of Archbishops of Canterbury before the Reformation.

— A large meeting of cotton spinners—manufacturers and operatives—at Manchester passed resolutions condemning international gambling in American cotton, urging that the Government should take steps to prevent such gambling, promising support to the British Cotton-growing Association in their efforts to increase the supply of the raw material, and advocating a general resort to short time in view of the existing emergency.

30. Emergency ordinances are announced as having been promulgated at Tokio, creating a High Council of War under the presidency of the Emperor, and investing the Government with practically unlimited credit for the purposes of military defence.

— Sir Robert Herbert, G.C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies from 1871 to 1892, has accepted the chairmanship of Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Commission, which has also been joined by, among others, Sir George Ryder, who has just retired from the Chairmanship of the Board of Customs.

— After four days' debate, the Legislative Council at Pretoria passed, by 22 votes to 4, a resolution, supported by the Government, in favour of the importation of indentured, coloured, unskilled, (*i.e.*, Chinese) labour for the gold mines.

— An appalling disaster occurred at the Iroquois Theatre, Chicago. During a *matinée* of "Bluebeard, Junior" a fire broke out on the stage; the fire-proof curtain between the stage and the auditorium stuck half-way down. Most of the performers escaped, but of the audience over 600, mainly women and children, perished by burning, by suffocation or by crushing in the panic-stricken rush to the exits.

31. The Federal Ministry of Australia have, on behalf of the people

of the Commonwealth, telegraphed an invitation to Mr. Chamberlain to pay an early visit to Australia, pointing out that such a visit would give an immense impetus to the preferential trade leagues now in course of formation.

31. The Colonial Office announced that Sir F. Lugard, High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, had telegraphed that Mr. C. Amyatt-Burney, District Superintendent of Police, had been killed in the Bassa province by the Pagan Okpoto tribe. The death of Captain P. O'Riordan, Resident of the Third Class, at the hands of the same tribe, had also been reported, but was uncertain. There was nothing in the nature of a general rising.

— The news with regard to the Russo-Japanese controversy pointed to the increasing probability of an early outbreak of war.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN 1903.

LITERATURE.

THE activity of authors, which during the war had been restrained by the prudence of publishers, showed itself during the year in almost every branch. The revival of a demand for theological books was one of the most marked symptoms of 1903, especially as it was accompanied by a very slight increase in the number of works on philosophy and science. The study of political economy, and of economics generally, was naturally greatly stimulated by the events of the year, and by the re-opening of the free trade question, which, it was thought, had been finally settled for this country. At the same time a lessened supply of books upon military subjects may betoken a decline of the war fever which raged for three years. Books on sport, in which much natural history is included, have been growing in favour, as well as those dealing merely with athletic exercise. The ranks of the minor poets have been swollen by the accession of many aspirants, but few of the new comers have succeeded in catching the popular taste, although two or three have commended themselves to a select body of readers. For biography, whether in the shape of memoirs, diaries, or letters, there has been an increased demand, which has been liberally responded to by the possessors of private family papers, and by those who have taken in hand public documents. Autobiographical reminiscences by persons still living have had considerable vogue, but possibly many such "note books" would not have seen the day had not their compilers been still living. To sum up, however, it may be said that the year's quota of the more serious sides of literary composition has been quite on a level with the standard of ordinary years, both as regards quantity and quality; and history, ancient and mediæval, has attracted a goodly band of scholars, who have by patient research discovered fresh sources of information, and thus thrown new lights upon many obscure episodes.

The output of works of fiction apparently increases every year, but it is difficult to suppose that in this case the supply is in any degree dependent on the demand. No fresh names have come into pro-

minence, but several, including those of W. E. Norris, Seton Merriman, and George Gissing, have disappeared, each having left a distinct mark upon contemporary fiction, and one of them, Mr. Seton Merriman, having obtained a very considerable number of followers and imitators. The dominant note of the fiction of the year was a return to "romanticism," and even to romance, of which "The Adventures of Gerard" (Conan Doyle), "Barlash of the Guard" (Seton Merriman), "The Heart of Rome" (Marion Crawford), were prominent examples; and in this direction the impetus given to original research by the demands of writers on history was felt by novelists and writers of tales. Moreover, in indirect connection with this tendency a fashion grew up of presenting imaginary autobiographers or letter-writers under a more or less thin disguise of reality—a curious inversion of a practice common at one period of the nineteenth century of presenting to the public wholly fictitious memoirs and correspondence of real persons. Among the works in which sentiment and the study of character are the main features, Mr. Quiller Couch's "Hetty Wesley," Miss B. Harraden's "Katharine Frensham," Miss F. Forbes-Robertson's "What we Dream," Mr. J. Oxenham's "Barbe of Grand Bayou," and Mrs. Fuller Maitland's "Priors Roothing" were generally popular and appreciated. Historical novels—distinct in method from romances—continued to find favour, and writers like Mr. Joseph Hocking and Miss Dora McChesney fully sustained the reputations they had earned in this branch. Generally speaking it may be said that novels of action—but not necessarily realistic—were more in favour than those dealing with social or political problems.

ART.

Professor Baldwin Brown's two volumes on *The Arts in Early England* (Murray) are a valuable contribution to our knowledge, and deal with a subject which has not hitherto received adequate treatment. "The Life of Saxon England in Relation to the Arts," which the author dwells upon in the first volume, vindicates for the invaders a higher interest in art than has been generally assigned to them. The second volume deals more especially with Saxon architecture, of which some specimens are scattered on the east side of England between Jarrow and Canterbury. It is impossible to say how far the Roman influence survived in Britain; but representing as it did a higher civilisation than that of the new invaders, it could not have been wholly imperceptible. At the same time it was with the Saxons that Britain was gathered into the ecclesiastical system which was for some centuries to be the stimulus of art throughout Western Europe—either directly, in its requirements for Church decoration, or indirectly, as shown in the favour with which chivalry was regarded and fostered. Professor Baldwin Brown insists, however, on the separateness of Saxon ecclesiastical art from that of the Normans—pointing out that whilst in Gaul the cathedrals were chiefly located in Roman towns, in England, where the religious conversion had been mainly due to monastic effort, the seats of bishoprics were often far removed from towns and populous centres.

Lady Dilke's **French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the XVIIIth Century** (Bell) brings to a conclusion a work on French art which must for a long time remain a text-book for students and a book of reference for *virtuosi*. Lady Dilke shows how each successive master developed his own style under the personal influences to which he was exposed, and how whilst passing on the traditions of his art he did so without pedantry, and almost without jealousy of his successor. The exquisite taste of which Frenchmen have for upwards of two centuries given such proof was never better exhibited than in the series of engravers from Crozat onwards, but book collectors who are familiar with the illustrations by Gravelot, Eisen and their contemporaries will probably claim the foremost place for the workers on copperplates. At a later date Janinet and Debucourt gave a certain vogue to colour prints—a taste developed by Copia and Roger in France, and transplanted to England by Bartolozzi. Besides much solid information, the result of careful research, the volume is made pleasant reading by personal traits of the artists themselves.

Mr. Reginald Lister's **Jean Goujon** (Duckworth), besides being an intelligent and sympathetic study of the French sculptor's work, clears up some of the mystery which surrounds his life. Of the date of Goujon's birth nothing can be stated with certainty. His name first becomes known in 1540, when he was employed on the decoration of the St. Maclou Church at Rouen, and it disappears, from France at least, in 1562. Mr. Lister, adopting the result of more recent researches, puts aside the legend that Jean Goujon was one of the victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and leans to the view that he left France and took up his residence at Bologna, where he may have died some short time before 1568. Goujon's talents can still be appreciated, for many specimens of his art—religious and secular—still survive, but his greatest works at Paris for the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and at Anet for the Château of Diana de Poitiers have almost wholly disappeared, and are only known to us through the drawings which Mr. Lister has carefully reproduced.

Second in interest only to Florence among the cities of Tuscany, Siena has hitherto attracted but little attention from writers on history and art. This void has now been adequately filled by Mr. Langton Douglas's **History of Siena** (Murray) and Mr. E. G. Gardner's **Story of Siena and San Gimignano** (Dent)—the latter being one of the useful "Mediæval Towns" series. Both volumes deal exhaustively with the earlier rivalry of Siena and Florence, and the independent existence of the former down to the middle of the sixteenth century. Mr. Gardner treats more specially of its art, which after a long period of stagnation reached its highest development under Peruzzi, Sodoma and Beccafumi, and his volume will be more useful to travellers, whilst Mr. Douglas will appeal more directly to students.

Toledo and Madrid, by Leonard Williams (Cassell), is rather suggestive than descriptive, especially in its references to the development of Spanish art and its debt to Moorish influences. He holds that the pressure exercised by the Church on men's minds in the Middle Ages determined the aims of art in Spain more distinctly than in

other Catholic countries. As an introduction to Spanish life, manners and legendary art, Mr. Williams' work takes a prominent place, but it does not pretend to be a guide-book to the two most typical cities of the Spanish peninsula in the received sense. To ordinary people Toledo is the most attractive, as well as one of the most ancient cities in Spain, but notwithstanding what we can learn from its history, it can scarcely compete with Madrid, which (according to the Official Calendar) was founded a quarter of a century before the "authorised" date of the Creation, but, according to more exacting antiquarians, cannot be traced much farther back than the Norman Conquest of England.

BELLES-LETTRES.

The third volume of Mr. W. J. Courthope's **History of English Poetry** (Macmillan) deals exclusively with the lyric poets of the latter half of the sixteenth century. The period of metrical experiments, in which the Italian influence was for the most part predominant, was coming to a close, and although it lingered on, and is apparent even in Milton, a distinctive English school of poetry had asserted its position. Mr. Courthope says that the defeat of the Spanish Armada was "the turning point of English poetry". But this great event coincided with the appearance of Shakespeare on the scene, and round him were gathered men who set their seal upon Elizabethan poetry. The works of these—so far as they are not dramatic—are passed in review in this volume, and subjected to Mr. Courthope's keen criticism. To his verdict it is possible many will demur, but no one will undervalue the learning which he displays, or find fault with the admirable selections by which he illustrates his criticism.

Mr. J. H. Millar's **History of Scottish Literature** (Fisher Unwin) brings into reasonable compass the story of the development of a foreign language by natural causes. It was only from the sixteenth century that English can be regarded as the national language of Scotland; although John Barbour, the father of Scottish poetry, had written his historic poem two hundred years before it was printed, or became generally known. It was the Reformation movement which gave the first stimulus to Scottish literary activity, and this was quickly followed by, and in part contemporary with, the ballad literature, which for so many generations flourished north of the Tweed in a manner so remarkable that the "Border Minstrelsy" is properly recognised by Mr. Millar as one of the chief factors in Scottish poetry, just as religious polemics developed its prose style.

It would be difficult to say whether Mr. Walter Raleigh's **Wordsworth** (Arnold) marks a fresh revival of interest in the leader of the Lake School, or was written with the object of stimulating such a movement. In either case it must be recognised as a valuable analysis of the influence which Wordsworth exercised upon English poetry. Mr. Raleigh has re-written Wordsworth's life from materials already provided, but he has done so with such system and sympathy as to enable the reader to understand that Wordsworth must have written as he did. "The consecration of the common-place" was under the

conditions inevitable, and Wordsworth as the interpreter of nature, and the poet of the unseen world which lies around us all, but more especially around all dwellers in the country, will find sympathy and grateful recognition from those who recognise the spirit working behind the forces of nature. Mr. Raleigh's criticism is always suggestive and often convincing, especially when he is contrasting Wordsworth's poetry—which bears such obvious marks of Rousseau's influence—with that of his predecessors, who drew their emblems and metaphors from an artificial drop-scene and not from nature herself.

Canon Ainger has written for the "English Men of Letters Series" (Macmillan) a delightful appreciation of the almost forgotten poet **Crabbe**. Notwithstanding a certain turn for epigram displayed in some of Crabbe's earlier poems, he did not ripen with time, and the real interest in his work lies in the fact that he momentarily filled a vacant space in the world of letters. Had he lived a generation or two later, his studies of country life and village rivalries would have appeared as prose stories, and might have brought him renown. If Crabbe is ever to be popularised in the twentieth century he will owe his resurrection to Canon Ainger's delicate eulogies and skilful pleadings.

There is no lack of originality, but possibly a superfluity of paradox, in Mr. G. K. Chesterton's treatment of **Robert Browning** in the same series. His defence of the poet's "verbal obscurity" is that the reader is supposed to have passed through mental processes as intricate as those through which Browning himself was perpetually passing. He holds too that had Browning been more intellectually vain he would have made himself more intelligible to general readers, and he defends him under the charge of taking loose and mean personages as types on the ground that in such characters the "mystical pride" may at any moment blaze forth, speaking words of truth. Mr. Chesterton also finds in "The Ring and the Book" evidence of Browning's own misgivings as to the most important act of his life, and holds that it was intended to be an apology upon which the world was to pronounce its judgment. However little one may be disposed to accept Mr. Chesterton's theories or regard them as paradoxes, he has produced a study of Browning which is eminently suggestive and original.

Another volume of the same series is that by Mr. Austin Dobson on **Fanny Burney**, who as a novelist and a diarist holds a high place in the literary history of a hundred years ago. Her "Evelina" attracted the attention of Dr. Johnson, who became her firm friend and frank critic, but he did not deter Miss Burney from venturing upon a field for which she was wholly unequipped—that of the Drama. But for Mr. Austin Dobson's interesting monograph the names of her comedies—which were never performed—and of her tragedy—which was withdrawn after the first night—would have been forgotten. Although "Cecilia" had a great success, none of Miss Burney's subsequent novels showed the talent displayed in "Evelina." It is by this book, and more still by her "Diary," written by her as Madame d'Arblay, that she takes her place among the "Men of Letters" of the past century.

Mr. Henry James has done a real service to those who take an interest in the career of one of America's most gifted sons. **William**

Wetmore Story (Blackwood & Sons), although more than half his life was passed in Italy, devoted to his art, never lost touch with his fellow-countrymen or with their national sympathies. Educated for the law, Story abandoned it at an early age for art, and in 1849 settled in Rome, where he soon acquired distinction as a sculptor. His studio became the meeting-place, however, rather of men of letters than of artists. He became intimate with Landor, Bulwer-Lytton, the Brownings, Monckton Milnes, and many others, and he left behind him—chiefly in his letters—fresh and interesting details of his commerce with them. His book "*Roba di Roma*" has survived for half a century, and shows him to have been an observant student of the unconsidered trifles which make up so much of the daily life of a people.

In **Hawthorne and his Circle** (Harper Bros.) we have a still more intimate study of a distinguished American, who found in Rome strange attractiveness, notwithstanding the disappointments and troubles by which his life there was marked. Julian Hawthorne, who has undertaken to write his father's life, is singularly well qualified for the task, and those who read this volume will readily endorse the son's estimate of his father that "he was beautiful to be with, to hear, touch and experience." The impressions conveyed by the previous volume on Hawthorne and his wife are fully confirmed, and we find in this volume a bright and sympathetic account of the circle of politicians, artists and literary people with whom Hawthorne was thrown in contact and whom he attracted by his intense enthusiasm. The details of how Hawthorne worked—of his life in his own country as well as in England—abound in interest, for he saw everything and knew everybody worth knowing; and his intimacy with the Brownings was not his least delightful experience.

Mr. James Bryce's **Studies in Contemporary Biography** (Macmillan) have the advantage of dealing with men with whom the writer was personally acquainted and was brought into social, professional or political relations. The study of Mr. Gladstone is marked not only by hearty sympathy, but by evidence that the older statesman must have often expressed himself in a very open way to his younger colleague. The intervening space between the studies of Disraeli and Gladstone—which form the opening and concluding chapters of the volume—are filled with appreciations of the more prominent personages of the day. From among the historians Mr. Bryce selects Professor Freeman and J. R. Green; among divines, Archbishop Tait and Bishop Fraser; from the lawyers, Sir George Jessel and Lord Cairns; from the philosophers, Henry Sidgwick and T. H. Green; from the politicians, Cecil Rhodes and C. S. Parnell; besides several others who in politics or letters have made their mark. In each case Mr. Bryce displays a very generous appreciation of the aims and methods of those from whom he differs in thought or policy; and at the same time a discriminating judgment of those with whom he is most in sympathy. As a record of the personality of the chief actors in the latter decades of the nineteenth century Mr. Bryce's studies will be of the utmost service to future historians.

BIOGRAPHY.

Pre-eminent in this class stands Mr. John Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (Macmillan), a masterpiece in its lucid arrangement and sense of proportion. The three epochs of Gladstone's remarkable life are treated in three separate volumes, and the materials are grouped in such order as to enable the reader to follow the logical methods by which the Conservative developed the Liberal, and the Liberal became a Home Ruler. The real unity of Gladstone's complex character is made more clear by his diary than by his correspondence, whilst his biographer steps aside to enable the reader to form his own judgment. In early life Gladstone was by nature much of a recluse—studious and shy—and his musings with himself as to his future career are deeply interesting. What determined him to enter Parliament is not quite so clear, but there are grounds for supposing that public life and public speaking had at its outset few allurements. He developed rapidly under the responsibilities of office, which he attained after a short waiting, and thence onward his life was strenuous, open and courageous. The diary which extends over a great portion of the three volumes precludes the possibility of the biography being merely a panegyric. Mr. Gladstone was ready to acknowledge his political "errors," when time and events had shown him to have been mistaken; but although Mr. Morley publishes he is almost as silent as Mr. Gladstone himself over the most significant letter in the whole work, that in which Disraeli frankly offers to stand aside in 1858 if Gladstone would join the Conservative party. Impartial readers must feel that Gladstone's reply was inadequate, and possibly that the feeling of having been outdone in generosity by his rival may have tinged their subsequent relations.

Mr. T. H. Warren, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, has acquitted himself with great success in a delicate, self-imposed task. *Christian Victor* (Murray) is a sympathetic biography of Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, who after eighteen months as an undergraduate at Oxford, entered the army and saw active service with his regiment (60th Royal Rifles) in India, Egypt, the Soudan, and finally in South Africa, where he succumbed to fever in October, 1900. He appears in this volume as he was personally known to Mr. Warren and to his brother officers, as a simple-minded young man, full of zeal for his profession, in which he had already earned distinction, a firm friend, and an officer who was popular with his comrades, and held in high regard by his men. The news of his death, which reached London on the day of the return of the City Imperial Volunteers, was kept back for a few hours by the late Queen, his grandmother, who was unwilling that the public welcome to these returning soldiers should be saddened. It was subsequently announced by the Queen herself. "I, alas! myself have to grieve for the loss of a dear and most gallant grandson, who like so many of your companions has served and died for his Queen and country."

Mr. M. MacDonagh's *Life of Daniel O'Connell* (Cassell) adds very little to what has long been known about the man who, although he

failed in his ultimate object, did much to liberate his country from many of its political disabilities. The story of O'Connell's youth is an attractive picture of Irish home life, and in this connection Mr. MacDonagh is seen at his best. The fierce light which beat upon O'Connell's political career, and the open life which he lived, have left few questions to be cleared up. The story of the jealousy existing between the Liberator and the Young Ireland party is painfully recalled by many subsequent and similar splits between the rival schools of patriotism, and neither O'Connell's eloquence nor the force of his genius sufficed to make the national movement unanimous. Mr. MacDonagh endeavours, without success, to hold the balance evenly between the contending groups of politicians.

The Life and Times of George Joachim Goschen (Murray), by his grandson, Viscount Goschen, is the record of the busy and on the whole successful life of a Leipzig publisher during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and extending over the first quarter of the nineteenth. It covered the period of Germany's greatest literary activity, of the military collapse of Frederick the Great's military machine, and the renaissance of Prussian national life. Goschen the printer and publisher was intimately mixed up with the leaders of the German literary movement, who in great measure contributed in arousing national feeling and sustaining it under many difficulties. He was started in business by Körner, the father of the poet; he was the intimate friend of Schiller, and the publisher of his early works, and of Wieland's later ones. He did much to improve German typography. From the family papers, which seem to have been carefully treasured, Lord Goschen has been able to draw a vivid picture of the social and literary life of his grandfather, and of the times in which he lived, and although Goethe appears only occasionally on the scene, there are abundant references to the sayings and doings of the great man, and the part which he played in German national life.

The Life of Father Dolling (Arnold), by Rev. Charles E. Osborne, traces the career of a strenuous man, who, notwithstanding his attitude towards the authorities of the Church of England, was allowed a liberty which he could not have enjoyed elsewhere. His magnetic influence over the poor and the outcast at Landport and in London was remarkable, but his impatience of anything like control prevented his genius from being turned to its full use. We gather from his biographer that Dolling was not happy "until he had escaped from the atmosphere of the theological college and the dull respectabilities of conventional life." He found his true scope in a Portsmouth slum, recognising speedily the wrong done to the people there by the neglect of the clergy. From Portsmouth—after a quarrel with his bishop—he transferred himself to the East End of London, and in a few years his life of usefulness and self-devotion came to a close. He has found a sympathetic biographer in Mr. Osborne, who does not attempt to gloss over the causes of the coldness with which Father Dolling was regarded by his hierarchical superiors.

Personal Recollections of the Duke of Wellington (Murray), although they contain little which throws fresh light upon the Duke's

public career, reveal many points of his personal character which have not been previously noticed. Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, who in 1833 assumed the surname and arms of Egerton, and in 1846 was created Earl of Ellesmere, had many opportunities of seeing Wellington and of hearing much more from the latter's more intimate friends. He served him as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, voted against his chief, and resigned, only to return to office the following year as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He left behind him diaries and letters, which have now been edited with much care and good taste by his daughter, the Dowager-Countess of Strafford. In these are to be found glimpses of Wellington at all stages of his career, from his short stay at Eton to the close of his active political life. Among the personal traits to which this very attractive volume introduces the reader is that of Wellington's fondness for music, and that he gave up playing the violin lest he should become too much absorbed by the study.

The Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton (Murray), by G. C. Moore-Smith, is a concise biography of a distinguished as well as a fortunate soldier, who in 1799, on leaving school at the age of sixteen, was gazetted ensign, and, passing through every stage of a military career, honestly earned his field-marshal's bâton. He saw service in the Helder Expedition, in Egypt and Sicily, devoting himself industriously to his profession. In 1806 he had so far made himself known to his chiefs as to be sent as military secretary to General Fox, who commanded the British forces in the Mediterranean. He accompanied Sir John Moore during his campaign in Spain, and was with him at his death. After Wellington had taken the command in the Peninsula, Colborne distinguished himself on several occasions, especially at Ciudad Rodrigo and Talavera (where he was wounded). At Waterloo he commanded the 52nd Regiment, which successfully withstood and ultimately drove back the Imperial Guard. Before his active life closed he served his country as Governor-General of Canada, as High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and in each position left behind him the reputation of a vigorous administrator of far-sighted views and a kindly heart.

General Sir Henry D. Harness, K.C.B. (Royal Engineers' Institute) is a new and interesting departure in literary enterprise. In various walks of life Sir Henry Harness, acquired distinction and conferred lasting benefits upon his fellow-countrymen. A brief record of his life has therefore been compiled by his brother officers of the Royal Engineers from materials collected by General Collinson, and is now edited by General Webber. Like many prominent Engineer officers, Harness found his chief occupation in civil life. He first brought himself into notice by his reforms in higher military instruction at Woolwich and Chatham; he represented the Government on the first Railway Commission when the dreams of the pioneers in this direction were at the point of realisation. He was then lent to the Royal Mint to superintend extensive changes in the methods of coinage. His return to active service with his corps gave him an opportunity of distinguishing himself at the siege of Lucknow, but on the restoration of peace he returned to England, where his talents were employed by

successive Governments in advising or directing their policy with regard to the cattle plague, the water supply of London, and its defence against foreign invasion.

Major-General Sir Alexander B. Tulloch's **Recollections of Forty Years** (Blackwood) carry him back to the Crimean War and his services in the field down to the Egyptian Expedition. In the interval he had been engaged in India during the Mutiny, in China at the taking of Peking, and was one of the earliest officers employed in the Intelligence Department of the Army. His duties in this character brought him into connection with many queer people, and this portion of his reminiscences and his Australian experiences as Commandant of the Forces in Victoria will commend themselves most to the general reader.

Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B. (Murray), whose papers have been edited with excellent taste by Mr. G. R. Elsmie, passed the whole of his distinguished career in India, where he began his service as a subaltern and closed it as Commander-in-Chief. The vivid account which he gives in his letters and diaries of the events with which he was personally connected during the Mutiny enables one to realise the difficulties of those times, as well as the qualities of the men who came to the front. Conspicuous among those was Major Donald Stewart. He commanded the Bengal Brigade in the Abyssinian War, having Colonel Roberts as staff officer, and on the outbreak of the second Afghan War he was appointed to the command of the army with which he forced his way to Cabul, and performed the scarcely less difficult task of withdrawing it without disaster. Throughout his life he kept note-books in which he recorded not only events but opinions, and the latter deserve the careful study of those interested in the ever-recurring frontier questions of our Indian Empire.

Viscount Wolseley's **Story of a Soldier's Life** (Constable) shows the difficulties which beset an autobiographer, and how they may be surmounted. Although Lord Wolseley's public career must be regarded as closed, he occupies outside the official hierarchy a place of such importance that his comments upon the service in which he earned distinction cannot be lightly regarded. These volumes give us nominally only the first twenty-three years of Lord Wolseley's military career (1852-74), and relate to his service in Burmah, the Crimea, in the Indian Mutiny, in the Chinese War, and subsequently in Canada. In 1871 he returned to England, and was appointed to assist Mr. Cardwell in carrying out his army reforms. His criticisms upon civilian Secretaries for War are somewhat trenchant, and sound strange when coming from an officer whose notions of discipline are expected to be rigid. If the concluding passage of these volumes is to be taken literally, Lord Wolseley will in the succeeding ones throw considerable light, as well as abuse, upon the system which in his opinion prevents "soldiers of experience" from carrying out the reforms in our army which they deem imperative.

J. Guinness Rogers: An Autobiography (J. Clark) gives a far clearer insight into the Nonconformist conscience than a dozen polemical works. Dr. Rogers's parents had been members of the Established

Church, but had turned to the "larger and freer atmosphere of Protestant Nonconformity." They lived at Prescott, in Lancashire, where the Church leaders were by no means ready to extend fellowship to those outside the pale. Their son was sent first to Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards to the Lancashire Independent College, and thence entered the ministry. He threw himself eagerly into the struggles of the times, and was foremost among those who ultimately vindicated for their co-religionists political, social and official recognition, so long denied to Dissenters. He was thus brought into close relations with the leading men of his time, who by their writings or speeches were champions of free thought; and by his loyal and consistent policy Dr. Guinness Rogers was appreciated by Churchmen of all shades, and earned from Mr. Gladstone the tribute of his respect as "one of the truest among true men."

The Autobiography and Letters of Sir A. Henry Layard (Murray), as edited by the Hon. William N. Bruce, are wholly free from those indiscretions which have damaged or adorned the reminiscences of various politicians and diplomatists. The cause is very simple. Layard's parliamentary career, which extended from 1852 to 1869, is dismissed in a single chapter, contributed by Sir Arthur Otway, and of his diplomatic experiences at Madrid and Constantinople we are told nothing. There may be good reason for this reticence, but the result is disappointing, and the more because the portion of his life with which Layard's name will be most associated—the excavations at Nineveh—is only briefly related in a few letters. The diary, which at least at one time Layard seems to have kept with much care, contains much which might without loss have been omitted, but the personal reminiscences of his friends and acquaintances are often fresh and informing. The mere fact that at one time he was studying law in the same office with Disraeli enables him to throw a good deal of fresh light upon the earlier life of the future Prime Minister, whose absolute conviction that he would rise to that position is here related. The most valuable part of the book, however, is the record of Layard's three years' employment at Constantinople under Sir Stratford Canning, and the insight which it shows into the aims and characters of the leading Turkish statesmen in the early forties.

More Letters of Charles Darwin (Murray) is a further instalment of the valuable correspondence which passed between the great naturalist and his contemporaries. In carrying out his life's work Darwin turned to all who could help him by their investigations or observation. His own retired life—especially in later years—made it impossible for him to discuss orally with his friends the problems to which he devoted his studies, but although in a sense dependent upon others he knew well how to sift trustworthy facts from premature conclusions. Not the least interesting side of these letters is that which reveals Darwin curbing the too reckless zeal of some of his followers, and nothing is more prominent throughout his life than the sympathy and gentleness with which he discusses speculations to which he cannot subscribe. These volumes, which are supplementary to the "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin" (1887), are edited by Mr. Francis Darwin and Mr. A.

C. Seward, who have arranged the letters according to their subjects, so that the modification or extension of Darwin's views on each particular branch of his studies is easily traceable.

The Life and Letters of Thomas Thellusson Carter (Longmans) will be highly appreciated by all who are interested in the revival of the Church of England by the High Church party in the latter half of the last century. He was appointed to take charge of the parish of Clewer in 1844, and found it in a disgraceful state of neglect, for which he might have been in some degree prepared by his previous experiences in Berks and Dorset. Mr. Carter's work at Clewer extended over more than half a century, but he resigned the living in 1880, and he left it a model parish. More important, however, was the sisterhood which he founded at Clewer, which was in charge of the well-known House of Mercy there. Of this he was Warden until his death, and it became the model or mother of the majority of the Anglican sisterhoods which have spread over the country in the last fifty years. Archdeacon Hutchings, who edits the letters and writes the life of Canon Carter, is his enthusiastic admirer, and presents in almost too adulatory terms the various phases of his hero's saintly life and self-denying devotion to views which were long reckoned, though they would hardly now be considered, those of extreme Anglicanism.

The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B. (Macmillan) give the record of a happy, earnest and eventful life, of which Mr. C. L. Graves has compressed the various episodes into a single volume. Although Grove's real interest was centred in music, he began life as a civil engineer, and worked on the construction of the Menai Bridge and on the lighthouses of Jamaica and Bermuda. With his appointment to be secretary to the Society of Arts, a new career was opened to him, which led to his connection with the Crystal Palace. Under his guidance the musical performances became a special attraction, and the favour with which his analytical programmes of the concerts were received gave him encouragement to undertake the great literary work of his life, "The Dictionary of Music." In 1884 he became the first head of the Royal College of Music, and he was also for many years the editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*. It is needless to say that so busy a life brought Sir George Grove into contact with interesting people of all callings and professions, and his bright and genial character is reflected in his letters and in the reminiscences which Mr. Graves has put together with equal skill and good taste.

New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle (Lane), edited by Thomas Carlyle and annotated by Alexander Carlyle, contain much delightful reading, but throw no fresh light upon the household of which so much, with doubtful discretion, has been already exposed to the world. It is to be regretted that Mrs. Carlyle's letters, if published at all, should not have been given without further note or comment. She was an incomparable letter-writer, gifted with a rare power of description, who could make the most trivial incidents of domestic life humorous and its little ironies pathetic. She was devoted to her husband, whose nature was incapable of expressing in words or acts the sympathy for which her sensitive mind craved. Her private diary

shows how her bright letters often misrepresented her sombre feelings, but it is from her letters that posterity will gain the best knowledge of the strength of the affection which bound together Carlyle and his wife, and will vindicate both from the spiteful criticisms of which each in turn has been the victim.

The Orrery Papers (Duckworth), carefully selected and ably edited by the Countess of Cork and Orrery, are mainly composed of letters written by John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century. He had the art of "polite letter-writing" in a very marked degree, and he gives some entertaining descriptions of Paris—of which he soon was heartily tired—and of Bath—which he enjoyed—and of his country life, first at Marston and afterwards in Ireland. Lord Orrery apparently had no political or social ambitions; he loved literature, and was in correspondence with the more prominent literary men of his time; but gardening and the other pleasures of country life were his chief occupations, and he does not seem from his letters to have become dull in their pursuit.

The second series of the **Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart** (David Douglas), edited by the Hon. James H. Home, is even fuller of interest than the first series, published two years previously. The writer, who was the daughter of Lord Bute, George III.'s Prime Minister, and granddaughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, inherited her politics from the former, and the art of letter-writing from the latter. She lived until the middle of the last century, and died at the age of ninety-four, having lived all her life in Tory circles, and mixed with the most prominent characters of her time. Her dislike for the Whigs—and especially for Liberalism—is expressed frankly, but with much toleration for such as did not carry their views into actions; but as might be expected from one who was then seventy years of age, her aversion to change is often the outcome of habit rather than of prejudice.

The Creevey Papers (Murray), edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell, afford abundance of miscellaneous information respecting the political and social life of the first half of the last century. What, however, in the nature of gossip—sometimes good-natured, but often the reverse—Mr. Creevey relates does not compare for interest with one's wonderment at the narrator's own career. Starting from nowhere, possessing nothing, he managed at an early date to get into Parliament, where he sat for many years without distinguishing himself, but by this means got into society, and finally was appointed to the permanent Civil Service, and closed his career as Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. He was a copious and, according to his editor, an indiscreet letter-writer—so much so indeed that although the bulk of these papers were addressed to his step-daughter, an unmarried lady, much has been suppressed as too highly flavoured for modern taste. What remains, however, throws an amusing light upon the ways of our grandparents and a lurid light upon the intrigues and motives of politicians of all parties.

Less highly spiced, but possessing a delicate flavour of old world courtesy, are **The Memoirs of Anna Maria Flockering** (Hodder & Stoughton), whom Providence happily endowed with the desire to

write her recollections. The ample opportunities afforded by her life are fully turned to account, and the result is a volume of more than ordinary interest. Mrs. Pickering was the daughter of John Spencer Stanhope, whose father, Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, Yorkshire, was for forty years a Member of the House of Commons and a noteworthy man in London society. Her father married Lady Elizabeth Coke, daughter of the first Earl of Leicester of Holkham. She was thus brought into contact with more than one set and county, and she seems to have met and remembered all the men who were most distinguished in politics, art or fashion during the first half of the last century. Of these she gives us some piquant anecdotes, and lets her readers know what was the current opinion on the various aspirants to popular favour. Her father, who had been "interned" in Spain by Napoleon, also kept a journal, which is published in the present volume, and although his style is not so attractive as his daughter's, the record of his imprisonment will be read with interest.

The history of *Punch* from its earliest infancy is well narrated in the lives and reminiscences of those who were prominently connected with the London "Charivari." **The & Becketts of "Punch"** (Constable & Co.) gives an interesting, though obviously an *ex parte*, version of the circumstances under which *Punch* was ushered into the world. The quarrels and jealousies of writers for a comic periodical, it will be seen from these memoirs, are often as acute as in the severer fields of literature.

Sir Francis Burnand's **Records and Reminiscences** (Methuen) furnish an entertaining volume. The editor of *Punch* occupies a distinct place among journalists, and his relations with the humourists and caricaturists of the day supply him with a more than ordinary stock of amusing stories, while at the same time he is able to throw side-lights upon a number of his contemporaries. The most interesting part of these volumes, however, is Sir F. Burnand's story of his own career, in which the evolution of the humourist from the theological student is told with delightful charm and simplicity.

My Memoirs (Arnold), by H. S. de Blowitz, as might have been anticipated, are marked throughout by the vanity of which the highly-gifted *Times* correspondent gave so many evidences in his daily letters to that journal. M. Blowitz was fully justified in the high opinion he had of himself, for probably no newspaper correspondent ever displayed such striking aptitude for his work, and certainly none ever secured such opportunities or succeeded so largely in impressing upon sovereigns and statesmen the power and usefulness of the daily press. His start in life was due to his chance acquaintance with M. Thiers, shortly before the downfall of Napoleon III. During the Paris Commune he first became connected with the *Times* newspaper, but it was not until nearly four years later that he was definitely appointed its representative in Paris. In addition to his newspaper work he found time to mix himself with other people's private affairs, and if the samples he gives are of the usual standard, they must have been as exciting as his dealings with public men and politics.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL.

Central Asia and Tibet, by Sven Hedin (Hurst & Blackett), is the second instalment of the travels and researches of an intrepid explorer, who at the same time is a notable man of science. Dr. Hedin, although he failed to reach the ultimate object of his journey, the Holy City of Lhasa, has thrown new light upon many vexed questions of Central Asian hydrography. His wanderings over Northern Tibet and the surrounding countries have occupied him for ten years, but the present volumes deal more especially with the Tarim River, which he descended for a thousand miles to its discharge into Lake Lop, which since the days of Marco Polo had only been visited by Colonel Prejevalsky in 1877, and even this visit was subsequently called in question. Dr. Hedin also throws some fresh light upon the old kingdom of Loülan, which separated China from the highway to Europe, but the country now is for the most part a trackless desert which seems an almost insuperable obstacle to any further migration of the Mongols towards the West.

Captain Gordon Casserly's **The Land of the Boxers** (Longmans), notwithstanding its modest tone and appearance, throws much important light upon the blunders and jealousies of the joint occupation of China by the allies. It enabled, however, acute observers to compare the respective qualities of the various armies. Captain Casserly's optimism with regard to our own troops and methods may be justified, but experience has not always found the British War Office so well prepared as he describes the Indian authorities as having been. His most emphatic admiration is for the Japanese, but by far the most striking feature of the book is the author's sympathy for the Chinese, and his belief that a day of awakening for China is still possible if not probable.

Mr. H. L. Duff's **Nyasaland under the Foreign Office** (George Bell & Sons) represents five years' experiences of an official, from 1898, in our least known dependency. Sir Harry Johnston's brief administration infused life and hope into that sparsely inhabited but much disturbed district. Under Sir H. Johnston's government troops were brought from India, by whom order was enforced and slave-raiding stamped out. The result has been a steady increase of European settlers, and a large influx of Asiatics, principally from India; and there is good reason for hoping, unless labour difficulties are created by the exportation of natives to the Transvaal, that Nyasaland will offer a tempting field for adventurous emigrants. Mr. Duff shows himself to be a keen observer of the country and its resources, and he gives much information concerning the native tribes, their customs and their industries, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the fauna and flora of Nyasaland and Central Africa generally.

An Ivory Trader in North Kenya (Longmans) throws many new lights upon the inhabitants of a district of East Equatorial Africa, of whom scant information has hitherto been given to the outside world. Mr. A. Arkell-Hardwick, the author, frankly admits that trade was the incentive which took him to these unexplored regions, but the ad-

venturous life to which he found himself promptly committed has furnished him with materials for a book which will commend itself to all who take an interest in the work of exploration and pioneering. The course of the Waso Nyiro, the principal river, runs through magnificent and healthy country abounding in game of all kinds. The tribes, especially those on the east side of Mount Kenia, are treacherous and warlike, but those on the west were more friendly to the British travellers, who were the first to make a complete circuit of the famous mountain.

With Macdonald in Uganda (Arnold) is in great part a vindication of the part played by Colonel J. R. L. Macdonald in the mutiny of the Soudanese troops under his command, in which Major Thornton and other British officers lost their lives. The author of this volume, Major Herbert Austin, in addition to a full account of the mutiny, throws much valuable light upon the native populations of our great protected territory in Central Eastern Africa. It is evident that the difficulties of living at peace with these races have not yet been fully realised. They differ essentially from other "naked savages" with whom we have had to deal, and the sooner our agents are taught to realise this important fact the sooner, it may be hoped, will they cease to employ methods which, successful elsewhere, would be useless in Uganda.

The catastrophe which in 1902 overwhelmed large tracts of the islands of Martinique and St. Vincent was certain to arouse public interest in the study of volcanoes and to provoke inquiry into their cause. Professor Angelo Heilprin's **Mont Pelée and the Tragedy of Martinique** (Lippincott) deals almost exclusively with the results of the outburst which came under his own notice, but he recalls the sequence of earthquakes preceding the climax of May 8, when 30,000 people were suddenly overwhelmed by the fall of steam-borne ashes and poisonous gases. Dr. Tempest Anderson's **Volcanic Studies in Many Lands** (Murray) is the record of eighteen years' travelling, camera in hand, through various volcanic districts of Europe and America. The cause of the sudden and simultaneous activity of volcanoes, often remote from one another, is a matter of speculation which neither volume clears up, but both writers accept the theory that the infiltration of water into the hotter places beneath the earth's crust is the proximate cause of seismic disturbances which, under specific conditions, take the form of volcanoes.

Mr. Carl Lumholtz' **Unknown Mexico** (Macmillan) is a welcome addition to our scanty store of knowledge, and the more so as Mr. Lumholtz has brought special qualifications to further him in his work. He began as far back as 1887 by exploring the cliff-dwellings of Arizona and New Mexico, and from 1890 to 1898 he was chiefly occupied with the even less known district of New Biscay, which lies between Mexico city and the United States frontier. It contains numerous indigenous tribes, wholly untouched by the Spaniards, and living for centuries an independent life and retaining separate languages and customs. These volumes, which are richly illustrated with photographs, are full of valuable information, and throw a new light upon the extraordinary civilisation of which the origins are still unknown, but of which many

remarkable vestiges remain, and should attract other explorers and ethnologists.

HISTORY.

Professor E. A. Gardner's *Ancient Athens* (Macmillan) gives in a more lucid manner than can be found elsewhere the results of modern explorations. In many cases Professor Gardner admits that the identification of certain sites is not indisputable, but he shows that much has been done to refute earlier theories and assertions. The opportunity which occurred after the accession of King Otho was thrown away, and the ground lying on the north side of the Acropolis, the richest in historical traditions, is closed to the excavator, for it will be impossible now to raise money sufficient to buy out the present owners of the land and houses. In other districts, however, the efforts of the various Hellenic Societies have been doing good work, and the rivalry of Hellenic, German and American archæologists has furnished Professor Gardner with abundant materials from which after careful examination he is able to draw his own inferences. He always writes with caution and treats with deference the conclusions of others, even when differing from them. His volume consequently is of real value, not only to those who are willing to accept his views, but also to those who feel competent to judge for themselves.

Dr. Robinson Souttar's object in compiling *A Short History of Ancient Peoples* (Hodder & Stoughton) has been to offer in a concentrated form the results of modern research. With the advance of archæological study, we are increasingly forced to admit that civilisation dates from a far more remote period than was believed a generation back. Explorations in Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Island of Crete have revealed much, not only of the religious but of the social life of nations, where orderly government was established, a high code of morals recognised, and arts and sciences studied. Ancient history has practically been rewritten in our day, and how far it has opened up the secrets of the past in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Phœnicia and Palestine, Dr. Souttar's admirable compilation clearly shows. He, moreover, deals with the history of both Greece and Rome, and traces the development of these two great civilising influences down to the time of Augustus. As a book of reference for general readers, and as a textbook for teachers and students, Dr. Souttar's epitome of ancient history is alike commendable.

Augustus Cæsar has been made the subject of criticism by Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh (Unwin) and Mr. John B. Firth (Putnam's Sons), both of whom have largely availed themselves of the researches of Professors Mommsen and Gardthausen. Mr. Shuckburgh's aim has been apparently to give a readable account of the reorganisation of the Roman Empire by the first two Cæsars. On Julius fell the duty of settling by arms the claims of the contending factions by which the Republic had been brought to the verge of dissolution; whilst Augustus displayed administrative powers of the highest order in husbanding and developing the resources of the Empire. Mr. Firth's volume,

which forms one of the "Heroes of the Nations" series, necessarily goes over much the same ground, but in it the materials are much more condensed, and less space is given to the personal side of the life of Augustus, to his family and associates, his pursuits and his amusements. Mr. Firth, however, deals carefully with the municipal government of Rome, both before and after the establishment of the Empire, and shows how, notwithstanding the change of form, the older methods of self-government survived.

Mr. Lewis M'Intyre's **Giordano Bruno** (Macmillan) is a careful study of the career of one of the earliest martyrs in the cause of speculative philosophy. In his day the Church was the only career open to studious youths, and at the age of fifteen Bruno entered the Dominican order. Twelve years later he threw off the habit and wandered over Europe lecturing and writing. He spent some years in England, but his teaching found as little favour with Protestants as with Catholics, and he was persecuted by the former and excommunicated by the latter. At Wittenberg he was more cordially received than at Geneva, but he failed to make any lasting impression. At length he was induced by false friends to return to Italy, but at Venice he was denounced to the Inquisition and sent to Rome, where, after lingering nine years in prison, he was burned in 1600 as a heretic on the spot where now a statue is erected to his memory.

Mr. J. J. Fahie's **Galileo: His Life and Work** (Murray) owes much of its value and interest to the monumental work of Professor Favaro, the learned editor of Galileo's writings in course of publication by the Italian Government. Not the least merit of Mr. Fahie's work is that in it he has sifted the facts from the fables which surround the astronomer's life, but he tells very little that is absolutely new. Galileo's life was an eventful one, and the career of a man of science in his day was exposed to many drawbacks and even dangers. Some of the troubles which afflicted him were closely interwoven with his private life, but it is as a martyr to truth and science that Galileo claims our admiration. It is from this point of view that Mr. Fahie's book chiefly commends itself.

The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists (Swan Sonnenschein) is a further instalment of Mr. Belfort Bax's inquiry into the social life of Germany during the Reformation period. The author has touched upon a hitherto unexplored vein of history, and he presents the results of his investigation in a novel, but not unattractive, fashion. The Anabaptists of Münster, who left such unsavoury records of their temporary rule, are not, according to Mr. Bax, to be taken as progenitors, however remote, of the Baptists of later times. John of Leyden and his colleagues were rather "the forerunners of modern socialism," who, in the sixteenth century, attempted to assert social rights which the twentieth century has not yet recognised. Mr. Bax, however, shows pretty clearly the cause of their temporary success. The middle ages had given rise to various forms of socialist bodies—religious and secular—and to this feeling enthusiasts, who held that Luther was half-hearted and Zwingli lukewarm in the new faith, appealed with the usual results. Mr. Bax brings out this logical result with great clearness, and incidentally

throws, from one side, considerable light upon a dark period of German religious life.

The Non-Jurors, Their Lives, Principles and Writings (Smith, Elder & Co.), by the late Dr. C. H. Overton, is an impartial history of an interesting body of men who declined to recognise the government of Queen Anne or the House of Hanover, and resented being called upon to abjure the Stuart dynasty. At the same time the Non-Jurors remained submissive in secular affairs, whilst insisting upon the independence of the Church in spiritual matters. The Non-Jurors as a body lasted down to the close of the eighteenth century, the last non-juring bishop dying in 1806. Few authentic records of their activity survive, and Dr. Overton displayed great ability in piecing together the fragments of history which he collected, with untiring industry, of this curious survival of the champions of passive obedience.

Mr. S. G. Takentyre's **Life of Voltaire** (Smith, Elder & Co.) is a bold attempt to achieve what not even Voltaire's own countrymen have attempted. Various periods of Voltaire's life, many episodes of his restless career, have attracted critics and apologists, and in our own country Carlyle and Mr. John Morley have successfully dealt with different aspects of the great Frenchman and his influence upon his own and succeeding generations. Mr. Takentyre has aimed at condensing within reasonable space the events of Voltaire's life, and at presenting to us the man as he lived in Paris, at Potsdam and at Ferney. His verdict is throughout more favourable than that of the majority of critics, and he makes out a good case for Voltaire's courage, kindness and honesty of purpose. The influence which he wielded in France waned with the success of the Revolutionary movement, to which he had powerfully contributed, and the brilliant writers of the Restoration period were unjust to his literary and other qualities. An impartial survey of his life is, therefore, welcome at a time when Voltaire's rehabilitation seems imminent.

The second instalment of the **Cambridge Modern History** (University Press), which will take its place as Volume VII. of the series, treats of the United States. The opening chapters, by Mr. J. A. Doyle, deal with the various colonies in order of their foundation, and bring down their story to the close of the War of Independence. Mr. M'Master describes the growth of the New Commonwealth, and gives a lucid account of parties and politics—domestic and foreign—of the settlement of the West, and of the compromises between North and South down to 1850. The next period, extending from 1850 to the election of President Lincoln, is dealt with by another American writer, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, who depicts graphically the increasing antagonism between North and South. On Mr. Nicolay, one of President Lincoln's private secretaries, has devolved the task of telling the story of the final struggle, and his contribution to the volume will probably be regarded as the most attractive to the general reader. The period of reconstruction is dealt with by Professor Clarke Smith of the Ohio State University, and the history of the United States is brought down to the present time by Professor J. B. Moore of the Columbia University. There are also chapters on the economic development of the

States by Messrs. Schwab and Emery, both of whom are specially qualified, whilst "The American Intellect" is discussed by Professor Barrett Wendell, of Harvard University. It will therefore be seen that Lord Acton had secured the co-operation of the most competent authorities on the several subjects treated in this volume.

Two further volumes of Sir George Trevelyan's **The American Revolution**, Vols. III. and IV. (Longmans), deal almost exclusively with the events of the year 1776—the most critical period from the military point of view—and marked politically by the Declaration of Independence. These stirring times with their momentous events afford the historian ample scope, and Sir George Trevelyan brings before his readers a number of distinguished characters, whose several parts in the great political drama we are able to follow, and whose personality is strongly marked. Amongst these were Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, John and Samuel Adams, besides many others who played subordinate but not uninteresting parts. The author has relied chiefly on American authorities for his facts, and even for his judgments, and it was as well that the history of the movement which culminated in the independence of the United States should be placed before British readers from a point of view hitherto neglected on our side of the Atlantic. The author at the same time insists strongly on the war with the North American colonies having been the King's and not the people's war, but recent experiences have shown that appeals by rulers to the fighting instincts of the people are generally responded to with eager readiness.

Dr. Woodrow Wilson's monumental **History of the American People** (Harpers) is essentially a work of reference. It is crammed with facts and avoids theories. He traces the European invasion of America from the days of the planting of the colonies, and shows how step by step the British Government was at pains to alienate the goodwill of the settlers. To restrictive tariffs prohibitory laws were added, and by the middle of the eighteenth century there was scarcely an article of commerce which the American colonists were allowed to manufacture for themselves. Dr. Woodrow Wilson writes, as might be expected from a President of Princeton University, in a thoroughly judicial spirit. He feels the responsibility attaching to the utterance of strong party views by a man in his position, and his statements are the more valuable on account of their obvious impartiality and discrimination. This History of the American People will probably be regarded as a text-book for all time.

The Arab Conquest of Egypt, by Alfred J. Butler (Clarendon Press), deals with a period of history which has long been misunderstood and misrepresented. The popular versions by Ockley and Washington Irving have little or no value in the eyes of students; consequently Dr. Alfred Butler's careful investigations of such authentic records as survive are of the highest value. He is, moreover, fully qualified for the task he has undertaken, and with the materials which he has drawn from Coptic, Arabic and Egyptian sources, he is enabled to piece together an intelligible history of the last thirty years of the Roman rule in the Valley of the Nile. The astounding rapidity with which the

Arabs made themselves masters of the country is explained by the disgust with which the Copts regarded the government of Constantinople, and there seems, according to Dr. Butler, no doubt that the invading Arabs were actively aided by the inhabitants. Incidentally Dr. Butler refers to the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and practically acquits the Arabs of this act of Vandalism, for the very sufficient cause that there was no library left at the time of their entry into the capital of Lower Egypt.

Under the title of **Ledger and Sword** (Longmans) Mr. Beckles Willson has for the first time followed the history of the East India Company, from its humble beginnings in Surat and Calcutta until its final absorption by the Crown in 1874. Its career during two and three-quarter centuries (1599-1874) was in every way remarkable, and its history, apart from that of British India, is worth recording. The trade which it developed, the policy which it adopted, gave scope and opportunity to the men it selected to establish its power and extend its influence. In many cases men like Clive, Warren Hastings and Wellesley acted without reference to their masters in Leadenhall Street, and often in opposition to their wishes and intentions, but they built up an Indian Empire for "John Company" which ultimately became too unwieldy or too important to be left in private hands. With the military side of the history of British India Mr. Willson does not concern himself. His object is to tell the story of "the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," and a most striking narrative it is, showing that "the Ledger Aspect," if not so romantic as that of the Sword, is full of interest and marked by exciting episodes. Great credit is due to the author for the care with which he has brought together so much useful and little-known information concerning the greatest enterprise in the history of commerce which the world has known.

Mr. S. C. Hill's **Three Frenchmen in Bengal** (Longmans) is an interesting supplement to the foregoing, although it deals more with the military and political causes which led to the commercial ruin of the French settlements in 1757. Mr. Hill, who is the officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, has had access to numerous documents, French and English, which have not hitherto appeared in print. From these he has been able to give the versions of the chiefs of the three most important French factories, Chandernagore, Dacca and Cossimbazar, and readers are left to form their own judgment as to the actual cause of the collapse of French influence in those districts, and subsequently throughout the Indian peninsula. Misgovernment will be probably pronounced the root of the mischief, and the most able and enlightened administrators were powerless to eradicate it.

It is difficult to say whether Mr. G. W. Forrest's **Cities of India** (Constable) should be taken as a hand-book by historians or as a guide-book by globe-trotters. To both it will be found equally acceptable. Mr. Forrest's intimate knowledge of his subject is guaranteed by his reputation as Director of Records to the Government of India, whilst those to whom his literary work is familiar will willingly accept him as an agreeable guide and cicerone. He takes charge of his reader at the

moment of his arrival in Bombay and then conducts him through the great Empire which British power has built upon the humble beginnings of a store at Surat, telling him what to see and how to see it intelligently. Mr. Forrest's personal memories of the Mutiny, supplemented by those of Lord Roberts and others who have gone over the scenes with him, are not only told with a brilliant pen, but serve to throw light on many points which have long remained obscure. Taken as a whole, the book is one of which the knowledge should be made compulsory to all who visit India for pleasure, or who go thither to take part in its administration.

Captain F. Brinkley, after thirty years' continuous residence in the East, has published the first two volumes of his work, which promises to be the most complete study of the two great Eastern Empires which has appeared in this country. The history of **Japan and China** (T. C. & E. C. Black) will, when complete, consist of twelve volumes, of which two-thirds will deal with Japan alone. In the present volumes he deals chiefly with the ancient and mediæval history, but he also gives his conclusions as to the more recent policy of the country. Want of money, he holds, is the restraining influence upon Japanese expansion, which looks towards China as the field for aggrandisement. More instructive, however, is the survey which Captain Brinkley gives of the evolution of the present constitutional government, which still only thinly veils the oligarchy by which Japan is still governed.

Dr. George Brandes' **Poland** (Heinemann) deals with the history of that country since its final failure in 1863 to throw off Russian rule, which he admits is henceforth unavoidable. The national language is still jealously preserved, but an ever-increasing number of Poles learn Russian as the only means of advancement. With all his sympathy for the Poles, Dr. Brandes is forced to admit that the upper classes are too excitable for the practical purposes of life in the present day; although they display remarkable accomplishments and acquire—possibly artificially—an amazing acquaintance with numerous subjects. Dr. Brandes devotes the second portion of his volume to the Romantic Literature of Poland during the latter part of the last century, especially to her poets, whose names are for the most part unknown in Western Europe. With them at least the national feeling still burns fiercely, but even in their own country it seems to awake no response among the population. Their novelists, on the other hand, are, through the medium of translation, beginning to be read outside their own country and to attract attention.

The Expansion of Russia (Cambridge University Press), by Mr. Francis H. Skrine, is a fair sample of the impartial tone which marks the "Cambridge Historical Series." Incalculable mischief has been done in the past by the malice or ignorance of writers, and almost as much by the exaggerated praise with which it has been the fashion to overload Russian policy in the present. Mr. Skrine's chief object is to discriminate between the progressive and reactionary influences which have swept over Russia since the close of the Napoleonic period. He writes, moreover, as one who has studied the Russian people, and has endeavoured to make his readers understand how the various steps

taken by successive Tsars have affected the nation rather than its foreign relations. As a hand-book to the present economic condition of the Russian Empire Mr. Skrine's statistics will be of real value to the politician, the merchant and the student.

Old Quebec (Macmillan), by Gilbert Parker and Claude Bryan, is an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the Premier Colony, and the story of "the fortress of New France," as told in this volume, reads at times like pages of romance. The value of Stadacona, as it was called by the Indians, was at once recognised by the French settlers, from whom, according to tradition, the present name was given by the exclamation "*Quel bec!*" on the first sight of the rock towering over the waters of the St. Lawrence. The first connection between Europe and that portion of the American continent dates from 1535, when Jacques Cartier sailed up the great river and founded the city of which Champlain was his worthy successor in the governorship; but the rôle of distinguished Frenchmen and Frenchwomen whose names are associated with the story of Canada is long and brilliant. One understands from reading of their services and their sufferings the strength of the French element in the province, and one can only hope that the words of the dying Montcalm will be fully realised to all time, and that the French Canadians "will not perceive that they have changed masters."

The first of Mr. Herbert A. L. Fisher's **Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship** (Clarendon Press) deals exclusively with Germany, and not the least important point raised by the author is the part played by Napoleon at the end of the eighteenth century in the making of Germany seventy years later. The removal of restrictive monopolies, lay and clerical—the abolition of princelets' privileges and feudal restraints—led by a natural sequence of events to the establishment of the confederation of the Rhine. At the same time Prussia and Bavaria obtained compensation elsewhere, and a policy was inaugurated by which the worn out Holy Roman Empire would be replaced by a living German Empire. This was not, of course, Napoleon's aim or wish, but Mr. Fisher shows how that the political, economic and social conditions of Germany of to-day are the logical outcome of Napoleon's enlightened administration of the countries east of the Rhine, which one by one fell into his power. This volume is not only a tribute to Napoleon's penetrating insight into the needs of a nation, but it reveals him in the character of a great regenerator of society. If Napoleon's immediate aims were selfish, he laid the foundations of a better order on which native-born Germans could build. Mr. Fisher's volume will be welcomed by all students as a masterly vindication of Napoleon as an organiser of law and order.

The second volume of Mr. Charles Oman's **The Peninsular War** (Clarendon Press) deals with the events of the nine months intervening between the British retreat from Corunna and the British victory at Talavera. It was the turning-point, not only of the campaign in the south-west corner of Europe, but of Napoleon's dictatorship of the continent. The tactics by which Wellington disconcerted Soult's plans for the subjugation of Portugal are carefully explained by Mr. Oman, and their meaning is made clear to the civilian reader. Wellington's

claims to have been a far-sighted strategist are fully sustained, but at the same time one is forced to admit that he had few, if any, of those qualities by means of which Napoleon excited the personal attachment of his soldiers and inspired them with an interest in his own success. Both leaders were equally obstinate, self-opinionated and overbearing, but the Italo-Frenchman had a power of conciliating his men which was lacking in his Anglo-Irish opponent. The issue of the campaign, however, did not turn upon such differences of character, but upon the stronger grasp of the military situation which Wellington established from the outset. This fact Mr. Oman makes perfectly clear.

Lady Burghclere throws much fresh light upon the strange career of **George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham** (Murray), who is best known to posterity through Dryden's scathing portrait of Zimri. Lady Burghclere, although not unreasonably partial, shows that Buckingham was possessed of talents far above the average, and that Dryden had not exaggerated his amazing versatility. That he was not always frivolous, nor a feather-brained schemer, may be gathered from the fact exhibited by Lady Burghclere, that Buckingham was admitted to Cromwell's family circle. His marriage with Lord Fairfax's plain daughter also appears to have been harmonious, until he fell under the influence of Lady Shrewsbury. It is not the least of the many claims which this volume presents that it effectually disposes of the legend that Lady Shrewsbury was a witness of the duel in which her husband was killed by her lover.

The Popish Plot (Duckworth), by John Pollock, is an attempt to explain, by the aid of numerous documents hitherto unknown, the mystery which surrounds the murder of Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey, in 1678. Mr. Pollock's theory is that the London magistrate having become acquainted with the substantial truth of Titus Oates' revelations concerning the intentions of the Jesuits, the latter decided that his "removal" was necessary for their safety. With this object Sir E. Godfrey was lured into Somerset House, and there strangled, and four days later his body with a sword thrust through the heart was found in a ditch near Primrose Hill. Mr. Pollock's arguments and deductions are supported by a great display of evidence, and by even greater ingenuity. If his theory be correct there would be reason to suppose that Oates' perjury was not wholly indefensible. On the other hand many persons will hesitate to accept the view that the murder was the work of the Jesuits, especially as from Mr. Pollock's own showing Sir E. Godfrey's relations with the members of that society had been most friendly.

Mr. Andrew Lang's volume of historic puzzles, **The Valet's Tragedy and Other Studies** (Longmans), does not pretend to offer solutions of the various episodes to which these studies relate. He throws out hints as to the drift of his own mind with regard to the Man in the Iron Mask, the Mystery of Amy Robsart, and the Murder of Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey. In another vein he touches upon the "Voices" of Jeanne de Arc, on the Fisher and Lyttelton Ghosts, as well as on the claims of M. James de la Cloche to royal paternity, and the story of Lord Bateman as handed down by the ballad-mongers. These

and other papers make up a pleasant volume dealing with the bye-ways of history, and Mr. Lang understands the art of arresting the reader's attention even when he does not convince his judgment.

Warwick Castle and Its Earls (Hutchinson) is a theme which cannot fail to attract the attention of all who are interested in English history. The Countess of Warwick, who has undertaken the task, acquits herself in a way which deserves grateful acknowledgments. She naturally has at hand materials which are out of general reach, but these pertain to later times, and the author goes back to the Saxon and Norman holders of the earldom and of the castle, and traces the fortunes of the latter under the Houses of Beauchamp, Neville and Plantagenet, Dudley, Rich and Greville—names intimately associated with the history of England from the wars of Stephen to the present day. The original documents at the disposal of the author refer almost exclusively to the Greville family, which became possessed of the title in the middle of the eighteenth century. An interesting account is also given of the various changes which the castle itself has undergone since the Norman period, each successive family having apparently wished to improve upon the work of its predecessors. Much of the present building dates only from the restoration by the late earl after the fire in 1871, which destroyed a great portion of the work of the second earl of the Greville family, who had expended large sums earlier in the century in embellishing the castle and adding to its contents.

POETRY.

For a writer in the seventeenth century to have to wait until the twentieth before his work finds a publisher is a rare event in the world of letters; and the discovery of this unknown poet reflects much credit upon Mr. Bertram Dobell, who has now for the first time edited the **Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne** (1636?-1674), but has apparently been forced to publish them at his own risk. Traherne's claim to rank among the minor poets of the Commonwealth rests upon his originality of thought rather than upon his metrical skill. Mr. Dobell classes him with the "small group of religious poets which includes Herbert, Vaughan and Crashaw"; but although Traherne was in Holy Orders he shows little, if any, reflection of the spirit which inspired those writers. It is rather to Cowley that he seems to have turned as a model, and from him may have caught the smoothness of his lines. The "discovery" of Traherne—who was born at Hereford and became Rector of Credenhill—will be of interest to writers of county histories who hitherto have been unable to assign to Herefordshire any more distinguished poet than Phillips, who wrote in praise of "Cider."

Under the title of **The Five Nations** (Methuen) Mr. Rudyard Kipling has republished, with many additions, his fugitive pieces of previous years. Many of these had acquired as much popularity as his earlier songs and tales dealing with the humours of Anglo-Indian life. Of late years, however, Mr. Kipling has cultivated a sort of Christian Imperialism mingled with no small share of militarism. It would not perhaps be true to suggest that Mr. Kipling's verse produced the war

fever through which the country passed during the closing years of the nineteenth century, but he certainly voiced the self-satisfied optimism with which Englishmen surveyed the rest of the world. However, such poems as the "White Man's Burden" and the "Recessional" go far to redeem the present volume from the charge of unchecked jingoism, whilst the poet's descriptions of English scenery will give him a further hold upon his admirers.

If Mr. Kipling in his poetry displays an optimism which at times sounds almost aggressive, Mr. William Watson goes to the opposite extreme. His volume, *For England: Poems Written during Estrangement* (Lane), shows no falling off of literary power and splendid imagery, but it is marked throughout by a tone of pessimism, engendered by the attitude of the British Government during the last three years. His love of England is not a whit less sincere than Mr. Kipling's, but he sees in her recent policy a turning away from the principles by which she claimed priority among nations as the champion of freedom. Mr. Watson is not scared by being styled a pro-Boer, but those who are unable to accept the point of view of the politician will not withhold their admiration of the poet who can make opponents feel that his patriotism is genuine and heartfelt. Mr. Watson's mastery of blank verse is so complete that one scarcely regrets the frequent recourse he has to this medium for his more serious thoughts. At the same time he is less prone to those rhetorical displays in which his optimistic rival too frequently indulges and would have his readers accept as true poetic fire.

Mr. Lawrence Binyon's new volume, *The Death of Adam* (Methuen), raises the author far above the level of the "minor poets" of the day, and places him upon a distinct pedestal. The feelings of our first parent, looking forward to the future of the living races which are to people the world, overshadow any terror of his own at the approach of the first death from natural causes. Mr. Binyon is fully equal to the problem he has set himself, and portrays with remarkable insight and feeling the prophetic vision of the dying patriarch. Philosophy and poetry are harmoniously blended, and the simplicity at which he aims renders his verse and his moral the more impressive. Human love and human grief expressed in befitting language, without exaggeration or purple patches, is the object which few poets aim at and fewer achieve; but Mr. Binyon has both dared and succeeded.

Miss Ethel Clifford is a "new writer" of poetry who puts forward a justifiable claim to notice. The title of her volume, *Songs of Dreams* (Lane), suggests perhaps more imaginative display than the work justifies, for Miss Clifford's real merit lies in the polish of her style. She has on more than one occasion been obviously inspired by Shelley, and occasionally by Keats, but for the most part she has contented herself with rendering with care and delicacy poetic thoughts, instead of allowing her inspirations to play pranks with form and metre.

Mr. R. C. Trevelyan's *Cecilia Gonzaga* (Longmans), which may be described as a literary drama, will scarcely, notwithstanding its many fine thoughts and eloquent passages, add to the reputation which the author gained by his classical poems. It is as tragic in its

dénouement as "Hamlet" itself, but it is not sustained throughout by dramatic incident. The story runs upon the attempt of the father to force upon his daughter a distasteful husband. She has already given her heart to a man of her own choice, and takes refuge in a convent rather than follow her father's bidding. Her lover urges her to fly with him, but both are betrayed by a villain, and with the almost simultaneous death of these three in the father's presence the drama ends, for lack of actors rather than from any inevitable crisis. The beauty of the language and the polish of the verse make the real charm of Mr. Trevelyan's drama, but by temperament he is better fitted for other vehicles of thought and fancy.

SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY.

The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia (Clark) was the subject selected by Dr. A. H. Sayce for his course of the Gifford Lectures. His intimate acquaintance with the religious system of Egypt, based in a measure upon the earlier researches of M. Maspero, enables him to give a lucid and convincing view of the religion of Egypt under the Pharaohs. In the second part of his lectures he devotes his attention to the more recent theory that in Babylonia must be sought in some still more remote times the sources of the religious practices which were found and preserved in Egypt. He holds that, notwithstanding its almost unlimited array of "great gods," there was at all times a stratum of Semitic monotheism which was never wholly destroyed, and that many of these so-called deities had passed from their high estate to that of devils, who might possibly have been regarded as still worthy of propitiation. Dr. Sayce's theory of the identity of Asasi (Merodach) of Babylon with Osiris of Egypt is urged with great force, and many of his suggestions as to the Babylonish acceptance of Semitic symbols, and their appearance in the sacred writings of the Hebrew people, are matters which will interest a large circle of readers by whom Biblical research is valued and pursued.

The Gods of the Egyptians, by E. A. W. Budge (Methuen), is a critical study of one of the most interesting and at the same time most perplexing phases of ancient mythology. The subject has attracted many well-equipped writers, but hitherto the paucity of materials referring to the earlier periods of Egyptian history and the superabundance of those relating to later dynasties have combined to draw away the attention of scholars, and to foster speculation and surmise. Dr. Budge, taking the discoveries of M. de Morgan and Professor Flinders Petrie as his starting point, seeks the home of the gods in the tableland of the Libyan Desert. The mountain forests on one side, the wide-spreading marshes of the Nile Valley on the other, were alike filled with wild animals, which man in his almost defenceless state felt bound to propitiate if he wished to live. Hence arose an animal worship, whence in process of time was evolved a higher religion, which connected spirits or spiritual life with animal and other forms. Dr. Budge then takes his analytical evolution a step further, and argues from the facts, as recorded, that among some

Egyptians cannibalism was practised and apparently recognised in some special way. Hence arose the animal-headed gods which have offered so difficult a problem to archæologists. The worship of Osiris, the god-king who died, was buried and rose again, marks a further stage in the development of a creed which now embraced belief in a future life. It was not to be wondered at in later times, when Christianity was slowly making its way in the East, that Egypt should offer at once a ready field in which the tares of innumerable heresies choked the good seed.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids' **Buddhist India** (Fisher Unwin) is the first attempt that has "been made to describe ancient India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy," which extended over the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. Subsequently Brahminism became the dominant form, and it is chiefly through Brahmin channels that our knowledge has come. Professor Rhys Davids is of opinion that abundant materials exist for pursuing independent research, and he ably defends the Buddhist monks of Ceylon from the imputations of bad faith and ignorance which have been brought against them. He attributes the decline of Buddhism, which has been continuous for many centuries, partly to the perversions of the original faith, and partly to the changes in the intellectual standard of the Indian people, brought about by their invaders from the north-west. According to the recent census the Buddhists only number twenty millions as compared with two hundred millions classified as "Hindus." The present work, which is mainly a supplement to the author's earlier work on the history and literature of Buddhism, is addressed rather to students of Indian history than to ordinary readers.

Mr. Stanley A. Cook is not disposed to allow the relations of **The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi** (Black), as defined by German commentators, to pass without challenge. He admits that recent discoveries point to a high state of civilisation in Babylonia twenty-three centuries before the time of Moses, and he recognises the likelihood of its having been governed by one or more rulers of great ability, who drew up a code of laws adapted to the people and the times. If Babylonian civilisation extended over the Semitic tribes of Arabia and Palestine, nothing is more probable than that such influence would have made itself felt. In this case, as Mr. Cook argues, it is difficult and almost impossible to understand the total absence of Babylonian terminology in the Israelitish law. He holds that interpretation of cuneiform inscription has not reached its final development, and that until that is achieved it is not safe to accept the results of German speculation on the origin of the laws of Moses. Colonel Conder, whose name is honourably associated with explorations at Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine, comes forward with a bold theory with regard to **The First Bible** (Murray). He holds that down to about 600 B.C. the Hebrews, like other Canaanites, used cuneiform writing, preserved on tablets of brick and stone, and that not until Hezekiah's time did "the scribes" transliterate these into Hebrew characters. Colonel Conder, however, admits that this is only his own hypothesis, which, if recognised as trustworthy, would clear up many difficulties, especially in proper

names, and lead Biblical criticism in a different direction to that in which it is generally tending under the guidance of Assyriologists.

Although Mr. Claude Montefiore modestly describes his exposition of **Liberal Judaism** (Macmillan) as an essay, it is in fact a very valuable contribution to the history of contemporary religious belief. The new methods of Biblical criticism have not been without effect upon modern Judaism, and Mr. Montefiore, whilst disclaiming the suggestion that he is the mouthpiece of any section of his co-religionists, indicates a very remarkable change of attitude in the relations of Judaism to Christianity. He recognises the spiritual enfranchisement which the New Testament effected in religious thought; and, whilst holding that the maintenance of Jewish Monotheism renders any direct fusion with any of the Trinitarian creeds of Christianity impossible, he thinks that much of the separateness of the Jewish people, even in such matters as the observance of the Sabbath day, may be lessened by adherence to the spirit rather than to the letter of the older faith.

The extension of Professor Flint's lectures on **Agnosticism** (Blackwood) into a solid volume would suggest that since their original delivery, fifteen years ago, the mental attitude he attacks had grown in extent and importance. He starts with the view that agnosticism is merely a modern equivalent for scepticism, and refuses to recognise it as a halting place for those who cannot conscientiously either accept or reject certain doctrines. The history of scepticism from the earliest times is written with obvious fairness; and although occasionally dogmatic when dealing with the theories of his opponents, Dr. Flint readily recognises their good faith; but it may be doubted whether his want of sympathy with their views does not at times blind him to their weight and value.

Human Personality and Its Survival after Death (Longmans) is a valuable legacy bequeathed by the late Mr. Frederic Myers to the students of a problem which has hitherto been considered insoluble. The Psychical Society, of which Mr. Myers was one of the founders and leaders, had collected a vast amount of information and records of phenomena which he has arranged and discussed with infinite pains. These phenomena, he shows, cannot be explained by physical causes or scientific analysis, and he suggests therefrom the existence of spirit independent of the body and surviving it. The theory, of which Mr. Myers claims to be only the pioneer, is an attractive one to all who give the subject any thought, but Mr. Myers's accumulation of evidence and his careful analysis of the various "experiences" submitted to his notice do not lead to any definite results. Brain waves, hypnotic trances, apparitions and hallucinations are established upon trustworthy evidence, but it is impossible to decide how far the seer is responsible for what is seen, or how far he is only the unconscious medium of "supernormal" influences. Nevertheless the subject is one which cannot fail to attract the attention of an ever-increasing number of students, and Mr. Myers's example in sifting carefully the testimony upon which each phenomenon rests will, it is hoped, be carefully adopted, though few will bring to the study so much candour and earnestness combined as are shown in this remarkable work. As a

contribution to the study of "spiritual" psychology Mr. Myers's book will take a high position.

Dr. J. Milne Bramwell's **Hypnotism** (Grant Richards) is a sober and scientific treatise on the history, practice and theory of a branch of physiology which has suffered much from many sciolists. The term "hypnotism" is essentially unscientific in its literal and original meaning, as "suggestions" are more often conveyed to a person awake than when asleep. Dr. Bramwell sees no difficulty in admitting that a certain number of persons are responsive to suggestion, but he objects to the hypothesis of a "subliminal" consciousness, which obscures the facts which it is the province and duty of theorists to examine scientifically. At the same time he recognises that "suggestion" may be usefully practised in certain forms of disease, and thinks that it may be employed without danger to the patient, and possibly with advantage to the practitioner. Whether hypnotism will ever be recognised as a remedial agent is a point on which Dr. Bramwell declines to commit himself.

The Pathway to Reality, by R. B. Haldane, M.P., K.C. (Murray), is the work of one who has already achieved distinction both at the Bar and in Parliament, and his literary work, as seen by this volume, shows that as a student of philosophy he may claim a high place among contemporary writers. Perhaps the most interesting note which the volume strikes is that which reveals a revival of the authority of Hegel as a philosopher. In his own country Hegel has given place to newer "idols of the market-place." In France, where the Scottish school survived even longer than in its own native land, Hegelianism took no deep root, and in England it only possessed interest for a few restless minds, unsatisfied with the speculations of Spinoza and Berkeley. Of recent years there has doubtless been a revival of interest in Hegel at the English and Scottish universities, and the result of the Gifford Lectures is that the study of philosophy is receiving constant encouragement from competent teachers. The influence of Hegel is equally apparent in Mr. David Bates's **The Law of Likeness** (Longmans), which has the additional merit of being written in simple but fresh language. His object is to prove the oneness of the human and the Divine spirit as the basis of both faith and practice. Its conceptions include all creeds and doctrines. It is the ultimate reality, and man's happiness is to be sought in the conforming of the individual to the universal spirit.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward's **Problems and Persons** (Longmans) is a further essay to explain the shifting attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the discoveries of science. To the ordinary Protestant reader the idea that each age accepts or rejects these presents no difficulties, for he accepts in some form or another the progress of science and the evolution of its teaching. To the Roman Church, however, the authority with which it adopts an attitude makes it difficult to shift to another at the command of secular science. Mr. Ward's solution of the difficulty is that each age gets only such a measure of absolute truth as it can assimilate, and that the function of the Church is to present the essential dogma (which remains in her keeping) to succeeding

generations in language and form best accorded to the spirit of the times.

Dr. Alfred Wallace, although not known as an astronomer, holds so high a place among men of science that any ideas he may think worthy of public discussion will be received with respectful attention. **Man's Place in the Universe** (Chapman & Hall) purports to be a "study of the results of scientific research in relation to the Unity and Plurality of worlds," a subject which has attracted the attention of philosophers since the days of Fontenelle. Dr. Wallace has come to the conclusion that the other planets which enter into our solar system are not inhabited, and he gives as his own personal conviction that the earth alone enjoys the full benefits of the sun in the development of life. He goes also so far as to hold that there is no other solar system beyond that of which the earth holds a nearly central place. His conclusions "depend upon the combination of a large number of special conditions, which must all have persisted simultaneously during enormous periods of time." The reasonings founded on these conditions have not been accepted with unanimity by the majority of contemporary astronomers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The third series of Mr. Charles Booth's monumental work, **Life and Labour of the People of London** (Macmillan), is devoted to the religious and philanthropic influences at work in the metropolis. He gives an impartial account of the various churches and denominations which are striving, often antagonistically, to promote the social development of the millions brought together within the limits of London. He depicts the struggle with vice and poverty to which so many earnest members of all creeds and professions devote their lives, and although the impression left on the reader is one of the hopelessness of the struggle, Mr. Booth is able to point to many signs of improvement which are encouraging. The steady rise of the level of comfort is accompanied by an improvement in education, and by a higher sense of justice, but he gathers from the statistics so carefully selected that the teachers of religion are too frequently unable to keep in touch with the altered conditions of thought, feeling and social development. In dealing with the more secular agencies, which include not only charitable institutions, but the School Board, the police and municipal government, Mr. Booth points out the causes of their frequent failure to inculcate those lessons of manners, thrift and order, of which they might give wholesome lessons to the community at large. To the sociologist, the statistician and the reformer Mr. Booth's labours will possess an immediate and permanent interest of the greatest value.

In a final volume Mr. Charles Booth sums the results of the inquiries to which he has devoted his leisure and his fortune during the past seventeen years. He describes the local influences under which **Life and Labour in London** are left to develop themselves, and points out the forces by which society in a great city is disintegrated—"Life cursed by drink, brutality and vice, and loaded down with ignorance

and poverty, industry choked by its own blind struggles, religion paralysed by its own inconsistencies, and administration wrapped in the swaddling clothes of indecision and mutual distrust." This is the picture which Mr. Booth's great work presents, but he adds further to our debt of gratitude by indicating the cautious reforms which he regards as the outcome of his scientific researches into the misery with which he makes his fellow-citizens acquainted.

The Social Unrest, by J. G. Brooks (Macmillan), although specially addressed to his fellow-citizens of the United States, is full of interest for those who live nearer the centres where he has studied the social question. He discerns in every country of Europe elements of discontent, and he argues earnestly in favour of some equitable adjustment between the claims of labour and capital. Industrial expansion, the accumulation of wealth, and the decline of religious influences are everywhere apparent. The development of trade unions and co-operation, as seen in England, will not, he thinks, suffice to stay the storm unless a combined political organisation, as in Germany, devotes itself to urging forward social reforms. Steps in this direction have been taken by the Socialist leaders in Belgium, but they have too often been hampered by the indiscretion or by the selfishness of the Socialist leaders. He anticipates, however, that the future will see the gradual abandonment of class prejudices which, in Europe especially, embitter the struggle, and hopefully looks to the working classes of the United States to lead the Old World by a pathway of safety to the calm waters of social equality.

Politicians who are watching the trend of democratic government will find abundant materials for reflection in Mr. W. Pember Reeves's **State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand** (Grant Richards). The author, who represents the last-named colony as its Agent-General in England, speaks from intimate acquaintance with the aims of the people and the resources of the countries with which he is concerned. He insists very clearly upon the advantages accruing from the experiments in State socialism adopted both in Australia and New Zealand, as for instance in the working of the railways. The land problem, labour legislation and the question of immigration are treated at great length and with great clearness. By those who are desirous of understanding correctly the problems which occupy the minds of Colonial statesmen and the aims of Colonial electors Mr. Reeves will be welcomed as an intelligent and judicious guide.

Mr. J. S. Willison's **Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party** (Murray) is a well-assorted collection of materials for the use of future students of Canadian history in its more recent developments. The French Canadians, it was said, were narrow in both their political and religious views, whilst the Canadian Liberals wished for annexation to the United States. Sir Wilfrid Laurier came forward to disprove both theories, and to found an Imperialism, Liberal in its political aims and methods, and a system of hierarchical government which could reconcile both Catholics and Protestants on the hitherto insoluble education question. Supported by the Catholic laity of Quebec, the Canadian Premier effected a settlement which was approved by Rome,

notwithstanding the hostility of the Quebec bishops. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has completely identified himself with the evolution of Canadian Imperialism, and this biography of him during his lifetime is fully justified.

Mr. H. J. Roby's **Roman Private Law in the Times of Cicero and of the Antonines** (Cambridge University Press) is addressed almost exclusively to students of riper years, and deals with the legal system of Rome prior to its codification under Justinian. He examines in detail the already developed and active laws under which the Empire was governed during the first three or four centuries. He treats with thoroughness the laws which deal with persons, property and procedure, from which the social condition as well as the political rights of the Roman citizen can be deduced. Mr. Roby's work cannot fail to become a permanent text-book for scholars who devote themselves to the study of the foundations of society which Roman law dug so deep. It is a work of great diligence and of unquestioned accuracy.

Mr. W. S. Holdsworth's **History of English Law** (Methuen), of which the first volume is published, will probably take high rank among the text-books to which students of law and history look for guidance. Mr. Holdsworth, after surveying the English private jurisdiction and communal courts existing before the Conquest, traces the rise and ever-extending purview of the King's courts. He follows the flow and ebb of the powers of local authorities, and the shifting importance attached to sheriffs, coroners and justices of the peace. This volume is rather a history of the English courts of law than of the law itself, and for that reason it will be of greater interest to the ordinary reader.

The Mediæval Stage, by E. K. Chambers (Clarendon Press), is one of the most valuable contributions to the origins of the English Drama which has yet appeared. It displays more than ordinary scholarship and careful research, and constitutes a work of permanent value to future scholars. Starting with the May games and sword dances, which probably preceded even the days of the minstrels, Mr. Chambers puts forward some valuable suggestions as to their still earlier forms. The "miracle plays," produced under ecclesiastical supervision, are a comparatively late development of the taste for dramatic representation, but they undoubtedly opened the way for the "interludes," which were introduced at state banquets and public entertainments. In some of these "interludes" the first germ of the later form of farce is traceable, but the task of showing the growth is left to others. Mr. Chambers has laid a solid foundation on which others may build with safety, and his work will be gratefully recognised as the best starting-point for a history of the drama in this country. The texts of the mediæval plays, the topographical scheme of their representation, and the subjects of the "cyclical miracles" are important additions to our knowledge, and do infinite credit to the author's scholarship and research.

The Problem of the Army (E. Arnold), which Mr. L. S. Amery discusses with great fulness, is based upon a mass of evidence which, as he states, is "as large as, and in some respects more varied than, that given before the Commission on the War in South Africa." It not only confirms, but emphasises the verdict pronounced by that body.

Whilst recognising the value of Lord Cardwell's reorganisation, he holds that whilst it provided adequately for home defence, "our military system must be Imperial, must correspond to those ideas of Imperial unity and Imperial responsibility that have altered the whole character of the British State during the past generation." He is in favour of the retention of a large force in South Africa, not so much as a matter of policy, as because that country offers the best and most economical field for military manoeuvres. A small and highly organised army of regularly trained troops, supplemented by the militia, yeomanry and volunteers for home defence, the abolition of the army corps system, and the establishment of a general staff as the "brain of the Army," are the chief reforms which he advocates.

The Middle Eastern Question (Murray) is treated with special knowledge and great insight by Mr. Valentine Chirol, whose long residence in Central Asia gives his work an authority to which few writers can aspire. Mr. Chirol is fully alive to the projects of Russia throughout the region which still separates its boundaries from those of our Indian Empire, but he holds, in opposition to many writers and statesmen, that Russia's success is due more to her political than to her military methods. He anticipates that the next object of Russian policy will be to establish a dominating influence over Persia, which has already adopted a tariff favouring Russian commerce to the detriment of British interests. The impoverishment of Persia, which has coincided with the rise of Russian ascendancy, is possibly part of the Tsar's policy, and it therefore behoves the British Government to assert itself not only on behalf of its traders, but also of its prestige. Mr. Chirol's dissection of the political problems of Indian defence is a valuable key to the motive of Lord Curzon's visit to the Persian Gulf and the despatch of a force into Tibet.

The demand for books relating to Dante shows no sign of cessation, and the supply would seem to be equal to the demand. Mr. Pradeau's **Key to the Time Allusions in the "Divina Commedia"** (Methuen) follows the line of Dr. E. Moore's "Time References" and other commentators. He holds the view that the actual duration of the drama is limited to seven days, from Dante's entrance into Hell on the day before Good Friday to his entry into the Eighth Heaven on the morning of Thursday in Easter week. The student of Dante is further helped by a movable dial attached to the book showing the Ptolemaic theory of the motion of the heavens round the earth, by means of which Dante's chronology, which was in accordance with that of his time, can be more easily followed and understood. Mr. Marcus Dods' **Forerunners of Dante** (T. & T. Clark) is a useful introduction to the study of the poet's work, as it explains very clearly the ideas current in the middle ages as to future rewards and punishments. Visions of the unseen world had been granted apparently to men from the earliest recorded and legendary times, and what of these might have survived until Dante's times it has been Mr. Dods' object to collect and collate, and he leaves to the student to decide how far Dante's own vision was purely personal to himself. Dr. R. T. Holbrook approaches the "Divina Commedia" from a very different side in his volume on **Dante and the Animal Kingdom** (Mac-

millan), a title which scarcely conveys the whole range of the author's subject. The inclusion of Angels, Devils, Dragons, the Griffin and the Horses of Elijah in the animal kingdom suggests a confusion of thought between the real and the imaginative world. Nevertheless there are many parts of Dr. Holbrook's book which bring to the reader's mind the accuracy of Dante's power of observation and his sympathy with nature.

The fashion set by the Badminton Library has found many imitations, and "Libraries of Sport" have been issued in rapid succession. The world of sport is wide and includes many devotees, so that publishers have few misgivings as to the success of each series. Amongst the more interesting volumes of the year those on **Shooting**, edited by Mr. Horace G. Hutchinson, assisted by Mr. Cornish, Mr. Hargreaves and others, merit a prominent place as the opening volumes of the "Country Life Library of Sport" (Newnes), and more especially as the naturalist no less than the sportsman is recognised in connection with the subject. The "Hunter's Library" (Grant Richards), edited by Mr. F. G. Aflalo, a naturalist of no mean repute, opens with a volume on the popular pastime, as compared with fox-hunting, of **Hare-hunting and Harriers**, by Mr. H. A. Bryden. Running with beagles or harriers is a branch of athletics which has only been partially exploited, but just as football has largely displaced cricket, so hare-hunting may edge out fox-hunting, as the sport of the many instead of the few. In the "Fur and Feather Series" (Longmans) Mr. de Visme Shaw and other competent authorities discuss at length **Snipe and Woodcock**, the culinary point of view not being omitted, and Mr. G. A. B. Dewar devotes a volume of the "Young England Library" (Allen) to **Horses, Guns and Dogs**, full of useful hints and advice to sportsmen of all ages. From the other side of the Atlantic, but published here, the "American Sportsman's Library" (Macmillan) appeals to another category with Mr. L. Sanford's volume on the **Waterfowl Family**, and two others by Mr. Carter Whitney on **The Game Fishes** and others of the United States, which open up much that is new to British fishermen.

The Coronation of Edward the Seventh (Methuen), by Mr. J. E. C. Bodley, as an official account of a great state ceremonial, will have interest chiefly for historians and antiquarians of the future. It is difficult to accept such a work written "by command" as a serious contribution "to European and Imperial history," as is claimed for it by the author or his publisher. There is a good deal, moreover, in the book which relates to the coronation of other sovereigns, and more to the "Evolution of British Loyalty," of which the source, it may be said without fear of contradiction, is to be found in the reign and personal character of the late Queen Victoria, who "made loyalty popular."

LIONEL G. ROBINSON.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

GEOGRAPHY.

News has been received during the year of the British Expedition exploring Antarctica in the *Discovery* under Captain Scott. Captain Colbeck was sent out in the *Morning* for the relief of the expedition, and fortunately arrived in time to save the crew of the *Discovery* from short rations, some of the tinned provisions in the latter vessel having gone bad and become unfit for food. The *Morning* arrived in Mac-Murdo Bay, Victoria Land, on January 23, 1903, and there she found the *Discovery*, but was unable to get within eight miles of her as the vessel was still fast frozen in, and Captain Colbeck thinks it is unlikely that she will be set free when it is time for the expedition to return home. It is therefore of the utmost importance that Captain Scott should be again relieved at the end of another antarctic winter.

It appears from Captain Colbeck's report that the *Discovery* had pushed her way through the pack ice and had reached Cape Adare on January 9, 1902. The ship then proceeded along the ice barrier within a few cables' length of it, making soundings at intervals as she went along. In longitude 165° W., the water became shallow, whilst from the edge of the barrier the snow sloped to a high glaciated land crowned with bare mountain peaks. Retracing her course, excellent winter quarters were found at the southern extremity of an island near Mounts Erebus and Terror, in lat. 78° south and long. 167° east. The ship was frozen in on March 24, and the expedition passed the winter in comfort, in well-sheltered quarters. The lowest temperature was 62° below zero. Sledge journeys were organised in several directions, on one of which Captain Scott travelled for ninety-four days, covering nearly 1,000 miles, having touched latitude $82^{\circ} 17'$ in longitude 163° E., which is the farthest point south yet reached by man.

The voyage along the east coast of Victoria Land showed that an enormous ice-floe from the land pushes its way for many miles seaward in latitude $75^{\circ} 30'$ and in places ice-cliffs 150 feet high were skirted. Judged by the absence of relative vertical motion between the ship and the ice it appears that this great ice-barrier is afloat. Lieutenant Armitage subsequently explored a great glacier of which this barrier is the sea face. Between Mounts Erebus and Terror Island and the mainland there are three smaller islands which were named *White*, *Black* and *Brown* from their colours respectively. The mainland seems to be cut into by the sea with irregular openings, alternating with magnificent ranges of mountains of volcanic origin. At the extreme south the ice-sheet was separated from the land ice by an

immense rift over which it was impossible to pass. The farthest point reached to the west was $157^{\circ} 25'$ E. in latitude $77^{\circ} 21'$ S. The horizon to the west of this point was unbroken and clear.

The principal results so far are the discovery of extensive land at the east of the great ice barrier, which has been named now Edward VII. Land; the discovery that MacMurdo Bay is a strait which separates Mounts Erebus and Terror from the mainland, and the finding here of good winter quarters 500 miles farther south than any ship has previously wintered; in addition a quantity of meteorological, magnetic, geological and biological observations have been accumulated, large tracts of land have been charted as far south as $83^{\circ} 30'$, and a lofty range of mountains with peaks 14,000 feet high have been traced, stretching in a south by east direction.

News has also come of the German Antarctic expedition under Dr. von Drygalski. Four members from the staff on board the *Gauss* were left on Kerguelen Island to take magnetic and meteorological observations for a year. One of the four died, and the others were brought back by the *Stassfurt* and landed at Sydney on April 17. Dr. von Drygalski describes the voyage from Kerguelen Island to a point where Termination Land was supposed to exist and which was considered to be the outpost of a stretch of unknown land. Here, however, the *Gauss* was frozen fast in sea-ice, but in the distance a peak, 12,000 feet high, rose up, bare and bleak, of volcanic material. The peak was named Gaussberg. The *Gauss* was set free on February 8, and finally made for the north on April 8.

Dr. Nordenskjöld and his party, exploring Antarctic waters, have been unfortunate in losing their ship in the ice near Graham's Land, but happily they have been rescued without loss of life.

The results of the magnetic and meteorological observations made in the *Southern Cross* under M. Borchgrevinck have been published by the Royal Society of London. At Cape Adare, in latitude $71^{\circ} 18'$ S. and longitude $170^{\circ} 9'$ E., determinations of declination, horizontal force and inclination were made. There was a mean easterly declination of $55^{\circ} 49'$, a mean horizontal force of 0.04143 c.g.s. units, and a mean inclination of $86^{\circ} 34'$. A diurnal variation of declination of as much as 2° was observed.

The meteorological records include barometric pressure, air temperature, hygrometric state of the atmosphere, direction and force of the wind, cloud, sunshine and rain, and extend from March, 1899, to January, 1900.

Captain Sverdrup has given an account of his voyage to the north of Greenland in the *Fram*. The farthest point north was $81^{\circ} 40'$ in longitude 94° W. Neither to the north nor to the west could any land be seen from here, and Captain Sverdrup thinks it is very improbable that land exists in those directions. Some new islands, however, were discovered to the north of the American Continent; in many parts animal life, such as musk oxen, hares, foxes and wolves, was abundant, and all along remains of Eskimo inhabitants were found. Abundant magnetic and meteorological observations were obtained, and many specimens of geological, botanical and zoological interest were secured.

Lieutenant Peary has returned from Greenland, but only in order to prepare for another expedition to the North Polar regions, and to the Pole itself, if possible.

The story of the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition, which reached a point farther north than even Nansen attained, has been published during the year 1903.

In June the ship *Gjøa*, with Captain Amundsen as commander, sailed from Christiania for the North Magnetic Pole, the expedition being principally charged with the taking of magnetic observations about the region where Sir James Ross discovered the magnetic pole.

M. Zybikoff, a Russian, of the University of St. Petersburg, has been successful in making his way into Lhasa, travelling as a Lama, and has lived there for twelve months. The city, he says, contains 10,000 inhabitants, and is protected from the overflowing of the river Uitchu by a system of canals and dykes. The trade is carried on by women. A Treasury, Mint, residence for officials and a prison are comprised in the ancient castle of Hodson Buddha La.

A journey of 1,000 miles has been accomplished by Mr. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Claude Russell from Pekin, through Jehol, to Tsitsihar. The route, which lay east of the Khingan Mountains, has not before been traversed by Europeans. The country is sparsely populated, but is becoming inhabited to a greater extent by Chinese from the interior.

Dr. Sven Hedin has published a volume descriptive of his magnificent three years' journey in Central Asia. His account of the ancient lake of Lop-nor is of the highest interest, and its secular movements of a periodic character are remarkable. It is calculated that each oscillation of its position from one extreme to the other occupies 1,000 years. Dr. Sven Hedin's discoveries undoubtedly confirm the idea, which has for some time been entertained, that the climate of a large area in Central Asia is becoming drier than centuries ago.

A valuable work has recently been published by Mr. J. E. S. Moore, giving an account of his researches in geology, botany and zoology in Central East Africa. He confirms the conclusions of Mr. Scott Elliot that there is a great mountain range from Abyssinia to the Drakensberg in the south. In places the height of the mountains is 10,000 or 12,000 feet, and some of the peaks rise to 15,000 or 20,000 feet, and are covered with perpetual snow, giving rise to glaciers. In the district lying north of Tanganyika there is a still active volcanic district, a chain of volcanoes running east and west, the highest of which is 14,000 feet.

Mr. Moore has examined the faunas of lakes Shirwa, Nyassa, Kela, Tanganyika, Kiva and the three Nyanzas, and it is only in Tanganyika that salt water mollusca are found. Lake Tanganyika, therefore, presents features of peculiar interest to the geographer, geologist and naturalist.

In North Africa the discovery of fossils has led to the conclusion that a large part of the continent there must have been covered by the sea in comparatively recent times, and, consequently, views of the geological history of Africa are being modified.

GEOLOGY.

In this subject there has been no investigation of commanding importance, as in chemistry and physics, but it should be observed that the remarkable properties of radium have, or may prove to have, a geological bearing. Thus, if the element were much more abundant in past times than at present—a conclusion to which its spontaneous disintegration points in the most direct manner—the calculations as to the Earth's age, which have hitherto been accepted, are invalidated, since the temperature gradient throughout the crust may have had an entirely different value from that assumed. Again, the presence of even a small proportion of radium in the sun would entirely alter the rate at which our luminary is cooling, and with it the supposed duration of life on the globe. It may yet turn out that the 100,000,000 years, which represents roughly the meeting ground of physicists and geologists, will be considerably enlarged, to the advantage of the palæontologists, who claim that the estimate is too low.

There were no displays of volcanic activity in 1903 at all comparable with those of the preceding year, though both Mont Pelée and La Soufrière have given signs of activity. At the former locality a lava plug has made its appearance in the new cone, evidently forced up from underneath, and owing its peculiar form to the molten mass solidifying more quickly than usual. When first observed the plug or obelisk was nearly 1,000 feet high and 300 to 350 feet thick at the base; on one side, where it is slightly curved in the direction of St. Pierre, it is cavernous and slaggy, but on the remote side smooth, compact, and even polished. It will, in all probability, succumb sooner or later to atmospheric denudation or to changes of level causing it to fall over.

An analysis of La Soufrière dust which fell on May 7 and 8, 1902, at Barbados, shows that it contained more than half its weight, or 53.98 per cent., of silica, 19.21 per cent. of alumina, 8.85 of lime, 7.63 of ferrous and ferric oxides, etc.

A fall of dust took place along our southern coasts from February 21 to 23 and was shown to have come from North Africa and not across the Atlantic Ocean.

A discovery of some importance has been made with regard to Pliocene mammals in this country by Professor Boyd Dawkins. Two years ago an ossiferous cavern was opened at Doveholes, near Buxton, and a recent examination of the remains there found has shown that they belong to *Machairodus crenatidens* (a rare genus), *mastodon arvernensis*, *rhinoceros etruscus*, *equus stenopus*, and other kinds, all of which occur in river deposits of well-defined Pliocene age in Auvergne and the Val d'Arno. Significant also is the absence from this cave of Pleistocene mammals, such as the cave bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and existing Palæarctic species.

A dwarf hippopotamus, hardly larger than a pig, has been unearthed in Cyprus by Miss Dorothy Bate, as well as a dwarf elephant, allied to that of Malta.

The mammoth found in 1902 on the banks of the river Beresowka, in Siberia, has been brought to St. Petersburg. The fact that the

Atlantic and equatorial regions, but on the east coast only one-half come from equatorial regions and the rest from polar quarters.

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ASTRONOMY.

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tongue was well preserved and that grass was in the mouth showed that the animal had met its death and been preserved under unusual conditions.

Professor Sollas, in a paper read before the Geological Society, called attention to the remarkable alignment of many volcanoes, volcanic islands, coast lines, and even mountain chains. The Aleutian Islands, for example, lie so nearly in a circular arc as to suggest that we have in them the traces of a spherical dome or blister which has broken down along circular and radial fractures, the latter being represented by the coast lines of Kamschatka. The East Indian group, the western shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and even the Alpine-Himalayan chain illustrate the same tendency. Taking a survey of these and similar groups and reasoning from the positions of the centres thus derived, Professor Sollas concludes that the earth has a slightly pear-shaped form, the axis of symmetry passing from the middle of Africa to the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Possibly the great land area, as Mr. J. H. Jeans previously suggested, may correspond with the broad end and the ocean with the narrow end of the figure, though this point can best be settled by geodesists.

Lord Avebury, reverting to some almost forgotten experiments by Sir James Hall on the forms taken by folds of cloth under lateral pressure, has employed an apparatus devised by Mr. Horace Darwin, in which the pressure can be applied simultaneously in two directions at right angles. Under these circumstances the correspondence between terrestrial folds and those of the model becomes much more close, being in fact suggestive of what may have happened in particular cases. This does not exclude the notion that pressures from beneath may also have operated, indeed the existence of both causes might almost have been postulated *a priori*.

Among the important publications of the year must be mentioned the completion of Dr. E. Mojsisovics' great monograph on "Die Cephalopoden der Hallstätten Kalke"; Mr. T. Mellard Reade's "Evolution of Earth Structure, with a Theory of Geomorphic Changes," and Vol. I. of Mr. H. B. Guppy's "Observations of a Naturalist in the Pacific."

METEOROLOGY.

Some years ago Brückner published a book in which he conclusively proved that the rainfall of the whole world was periodic and that wet periods occurred every thirty-five years with intervening dry periods. Thus the years grouped about 1815, 1843 and 1878 were years in which the average rainfall of the group was decidedly greater than the average grouped about the years 1830, 1860 and 1893. The fact that the periodicity is coincident at stations over the whole globe points to an extra-terrestrial cause for this effect, and Brückner believed it was to be found in the state of the sun, but at the time he had no evidence of this. Dr. W. J. S. Lockyer has discovered and discussed a corresponding thirty-five years' period in the appearance of the sun's surface and has thus established an important connection between solar activity and terrestrial meteorology. The discovery is this, that the periods of maximum number of spots on the sun's disc are themselves subordinate to a longer

period of thirty-five years; not only does the summation of spotted area differ from one minimum to the next systematically, but there is a variation in the rate of rise and fall which repeats itself in thirty-five years. There is here some definite foundation for hazarding a prediction of the general character of the rainfall of the future, and arguing from these results we may anticipate on the whole an increasing fall of rain during the next nine or ten years and after that a period when the rainfall will be less than the average. These conclusions will no doubt be of value to agriculturists in this country and particularly in India.

Mr. Chas. Nordmann has traced in tropical regions a connection between mean annual temperature and the sun spots. The relation is that a large number of sun spots diminishes the annual temperature and *vice versa*.

Mr. Alexander MacDowall has on the other hand been taking out figures relating to cold winters, representing them severally as the summation of frost days, and smoothing his curves by taking five-year group averages. He then plots the figures on a diagram, and discovers the interesting fact that cold weather unmistakably repeats itself after an interval of about thirty-three years, which is nearly the period of a Brückner cycle, and almost exactly three times the sun-spot cycle.

Dr. J. Hann has discussed observations on the daily rotation of the mean wind direction, and applying mathematical analysis to the collected data has found that the wind rotates regularly with the sun, being easterly in the morning, southerly at noon, westerly and north-westerly in the afternoon, and northerly at night. A large semi-diurnal period also exists in the northerly and southerly component which equals that of the whole day period in magnitude. The daily range of mean wind force has also a daily periodicity. M. Axel Egnell shows that the mass of air displaced at all heights up to 39,000 feet is constant, and hence the mean velocity of the wind is inversely as the density of the air.

The theory of cyclones has been the subject of an investigation by Professor Bigelow, in which use is made of the information supplied by the tracing of isobars constructed from data at the sea-level, at an altitude of 3,500 feet, and at 10,000 feet. He affirms that a cyclone is not formed by the disengagement of latent heat on condensation of moisture, but is caused by the intermingling of currents of air of different temperatures; that the direction of advance of a cyclone is controlled by the disposition of the 10,000 feet isobars, the velocity of the progression being also regulated by these isobars; and that areas of precipitation occur where the 3,500 feet and 10,000 feet isobars cross each other at right angles. There are cases where the existence of a cyclone has been first detected in the higher regions of the atmosphere before it has been felt at the sea-level.

According to data derived from the Meteorological Office, there is an average of 29.6 gales yearly on the British westerly coasts, 82 per cent. of which occur in the winter half of the year. There is an average of only 15.6 gales on the east coast, 84 per cent. occurring in the winter time. On the west coast the gales are chiefly from the

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the other way, the sun's temperature must be 21·5 times the earth's absolute temperature, or 5927° C. The upper limit for the moon's temperature is 139° C., a temperature much higher than it probably possesses, so that there must be a large flow of heat inwards. Mars must have a temperature between - 20° C. and about - 3° C.

Father Cortie has discussed the connection between sunspots and magnetic storms, and he is disposed to think that the relation is not a simple one of cause and effect, but rather that these are two effects arising from a common cause.

Sir Norman Lockyer and Dr. W. J. S. Lockyer have collaborated with Mr. William Ellis in an investigation of great interest. Some doubt has been thrown on the close connection between sunspots and magnetic terrestrial disturbances in spite of the well-known general correspondence between periods of sunspot maxima and minima, and the frequency and magnitude of magnetic disturbances. They find as the result of their investigation that the general magnetic phenomena synchronise with the occurrence of prominences about the solar equator, while the great magnetic disturbances known as magnetic "storms" occur at times when prominences appear at the polar regions of the sun. These times of polar prominences are periodic and bear a definite relation to the sun-spot curve, but do not agree with it exactly in phase.

Dr. Bauer has collected the evidence for the argument that the terrestrial magnetic effect of an eclipse of the sun is, like the common diurnal magnetic variation, due to atmospheric causes. He finds the argument supported by the fact that the magnetic variation is opposite in the two magnetic hemispheres, and opposite for the morning and afternoon hours, so that an eclipse of the sun operates on the magnetic needle indirectly by reason of the atmospheric disturbance it produces.

An important spot appeared on the sun's disc on April 2, and several other spots have continued to make their appearance, confirming the prediction that the minimum period of solar spots is passed, and that the sun is again entering on a period of activity.

The Stonyhurst Observatory report states that the sun has been observed on 217 days during the year 1902, and the spotted area of the sun shows a growing solar activity. If a eighth of the sun's visible disc be represented by unity, then the spotted areas for the years 1900, 1901 and 1902 were 0·55, 0·29 and 0·33, the minimum evidently being the year 1901. The first of a series of spot *groups* appeared on the east limb on March 21, 1903, and a succession of such groups has appeared since.

Professor Mitchell has been successful in detecting in the chromospheric spectrum evidence that neon and argon are present in the sun. The evidence for the existence of krypton and xenon is as yet inconclusive.

The partial eclipse of the moon on April 11 was characterised by the blackness of the eclipsed surface. M. Montaneraud obtained some photographs showing the contour of the eclipsed moon, but no details of the surface. In the eclipses of December, 1898, and December, 1899, the eclipsed surface was plainly visible, and of a ruddy colour.

Professor Barnard has made some interesting observations on the south polar cap of Mars. The cap appears to diminish for some time after the summer solstice, which implies that the highest temperature was not reached until several weeks after the maximum of solar heat. This observation has an important bearing on the discussion of a Martian atmosphere similar to our own. It has also been noticed that there is a persistent white streak which remains in the same position time after time, and it is conjectured that this is eternal unmelted snow on a lofty range of mountains. The rapidity of the disappearance of the cap, however, indicates that the snow in the polar regions, if it be snow, is not very deep.

The canals on Mars have been a standing difficulty for a long time, since some observers of approved competency have failed to see them where they were apparent to others. The suggestion was thrown out that the canals were a subjective phenomenon, and this really appears to be the case, for Mr. Maunder and Mr. Evans have made some experiments which clearly show that under certain circumstances a map of Mars shaded and stippled does appear intersected by fine lines like the canals. Several observers of such a map, who were unbiassed persons, when asked to draw what they saw in many cases covered their drawings with canal-like lines.

In the course of the year as many as twenty new asteroids have been discovered, so that now no less than 506 are known. The rate of motion of Jupiter's great red spot is still increasing, the new rotation period being 3 s. less than in 1899. The longitude of the spot shows a systematic alteration which is periodic in character.

Professor Barnard has had the good fortune to discover a new feature on Saturn, namely, a conspicuous white spot, and Mr. Denning has also seen and studied two bright spots across the central meridian of this planet. Its rotation period has been the subject of fresh determinations by Mr. Denning from observations of the white spot, and he obtains 10 h. 39 m. 20 s. as the time of rotation. Herr Les Brenner states that his observations on this spot lead to the time 10 h. 38 m. as the rotation period and this is confirmed by other German observers. The various belts and zones on Saturn have different rotation periods similar to the different periods of Jupiter's belts and zones.

Mr. G. J. Burns has examined the proper motion of 2,641 stars and shows that there is evidence that the stars increase in number as they decrease in size, that they thin out as their distances from the solar system increase and that double stars generally have large proper motions.

On March 25, 1908, Professor H. H. Turner of Oxford announced that a *nova*, or new variable, had been observed on a photographic plate of March 16. The new object was situated in the constellation Gemini, near to the border of Auriga, and the discovery has been confirmed since by others. The spectrum of the new star has been studied and the hydrogen lines $H\alpha$ and $H\beta$ have been found, the former being especially bright. The magnitude of the new star is about 7.

Professor Pickering instituted a search for this object on the photographic plates taken at his observatory between March 3, 1890, and

February 28, 1903, but no trace could be found of it, but on a plate of date March 6, 1903, there was an object of magnitude 5, and on several succeeding nights the photographic plates show that the magnitude was decreasing until on March 25 it was only 8. Its spectrum showed the bright lines 3889 to 4862.

The nature of the fluctuations of this *nova* has been studied too by Professor Pickering. The following table will illustrate the nature and amount of these fluctuations as seen at Harvard:—

| Date. | | | | | | Magnitude. |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| April 24 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.37 |
| " 25 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.67 |
| " 27 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.71 |
| " 28 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.81 |
| " 29 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.61 |
| " 30 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.76 |
| May 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9.26 |

The Algol variable discovered by Madame Ceraski is of exceptionally short period and great variability. The period is 1 d. 8 h. 34.7 m. and the range of variability 2.4 magnitudes, the rate of variability being such that half an hour before minimum the brightness decreases at the rate of 2 to 3 magnitudes per hour.

On January 15, 1903, a new comet was discovered by Giacobini at Nice. It was faint when first seen, but rapidly grew brighter. On April 16 another comet was discovered by Mr. John Grigg at Windsor, New South Wales, but it rapidly grew fainter soon after its discovery. The daily movement in R.A. was $1^{\circ} 26'$, and in declination $0^{\circ} 27'$. Still another comet was discovered on June 21 by M. Borelly at Marseilles. It became conspicuous early in August, but later on in the month it approached too near the sun to be seen. Professor Aitken, of the Lick Observatory, announced the return of Brook's Comet on August 18, and its position then was R.A. 21 h. 2 m. 56.3 s.: declination, $-27^{\circ} 4' 19''$. The comet has a period of 7.096 years, and was discovered by Brooks in 1889.

G. Müller and P. Kempf have observed a star of an unusually short period. The star, BD + 56° 1400 ($\alpha = 9$ h. 36 m. 44 s. $\delta = +56^{\circ} 24.6'$ [1900]), has a period of only 4 h. 0 m. 12.8 s., the calculation of this period being based on 180 observations. The brightness varies from 8.6 to 7.9. It is possible that there are here two closely situated bodies of equal size and brightness which are rapidly revolving round one another.

Dr. Chandler has exhaustively examined the values obtained for the constant of aberration, and, rejecting the data he considers untrustworthy, he concludes that the accepted results give the value $20.521''$, with a probable error of ± 0.005 . "This makes the solar parallax 8.78."

An interesting discovery has been made by Professor Hilprecht, at the excavations at Nippur, of a library supposed to contain 150,000 tablets, many of which refer to ancient astronomical records about the year 2300 B.C. When translated these records will be of great value in arriving at a knowledge of the state of astronomy at that epoch.

PHYSICS.

Radio-active properties are of such absorbing interest that the majority of physical experimenters have turned their attention to this newest branch of science. The result is that a large number of strikingly important papers have been published on this subject.

Radio-activity, which is so prominently associated with the elements uranium, thorium and radium, is likely to prove a general property of matter. Such is the import of a paper by the Hon. R. J. Strutt. Air under ordinary conditions is found to be slightly conductive for electricity, and it was supposed that it spontaneously underwent ionisation. But Strutt shows that the amount of conductivity is determined by the walls of the containing vessel, which he believes give off ionising rays. However, it is not improbable that this ionising power may be due to some minute radio-active impurity pervading all substances. Professor Rutherford, by independent experiments, finds that wood, brick, the walls of buildings, and the earth itself are radio-active.

Professor Rutherford and Mr. Soddy have experimented with the radio-activity of thorium, and they think that the activity of this element is really due to an emanation possessing distinct chemical properties. The activity of this emanation when freed from thorium dies away in about four days. Thorium freed from its emanation and the activity excited by it possesses a radio-activity then of only 25 per cent. of its original value.

Judging from the similar behaviour of radium, it does not appear that the emanations from these elements have their origin in any kind of chemical action, for M. Curie shows that the decay of radio-activity, induced by radium, takes place, according to the same exponential law, between such wide limits of temperature as -180°C. and 450°C. , and is nearly independent of the substance upon which the radio-activity has been induced. No known chemical action has this independent behaviour. Again M. Curie's remarkable discovery that radium emits heat spontaneously of such an amount that it is calculated that 1 gram of pure radium would evolve enough heat to raise 100 grams of water 1°C. per hour does not uphold the view that a chemical action of the ordinary kind is taking place, the evolution of heat here being excessive. Unless radium is capable of making use of some external source of energy of unknown kind, the only solution of the mystery is that the atom is constantly disintegrating.

The emanations from the radio-active elements, like thorium and radium, are doubtless a stage in the disintegration of the atom. These emanations are of the nature of gases, with molecular weights of the order of 100, and they can be condensed at low temperatures. The emanation from radium condenses at -150°C. , that from thorium between -120°C. and -150°C. If this emanation be drawn off from the element the radio-activity of the element is reduced to a minimum limit, but in a few days the element produces fresh emanation, and recovers radio-activity at the same rate as the emanation, isolated from the element, loses activity. The inference from this experiment is that radio-activity is an accompaniment of and proportional to the rate of disintegration of the element. The fact that helium is so often found

in the minerals from which radium is extracted led Professor Ramsay and Mr. Soddy to another remarkable discovery. Having drawn off the emanation from radium and isolated it, they found that it yielded the spectrum of helium after being kept a few days, but that later on the helium spectrum disappeared. If this sensational discovery is confirmed, then these experimenters have been the first to witness the transmutation of one element into another. Helium, then, is a final product of the disintegration of radium.

Three kinds of radiations have been detected from radium, consisting, respectively, of positively charged particles about twice the mass of the hydrogen atom, negatively charged particles about $\frac{1}{1836}$ th of the mass of the hydrogen atom, and ethereal impulses. These are distinguished as α , β and γ rays. The velocity of the α rays is 2.5×10^9 centimetres per second, and the ratio of the electric charge to the mass is 6×10^8 ; the velocity of the β rays, according to M. Becquerel, is 16.0×10^9 , and the ratio of charge to mass 10×10^6 . The α rays are feebly penetrative, the β rays much more so, whilst the γ rays are intensely penetrative.

Further particulars of researches on this remarkable element from the chemist's point of view are given below in the section on Chemistry.

Professor J. J. Thomson published some years ago a remarkable paper on the apparent increase of inertia which would be conferred on a spherical conductor charged with electricity if it moved along with a high velocity. In the light of recent discoveries on cathode rays, radium β rays, etc., the paper has assumed an importance which it had not at the time of publication. Sir Oliver Lodge has now applied Professor Thomson's principles, and has calculated that the apparent increase of mass of a charged particle, like a cathode ray, by reason of its velocity of movement, is 1.12 times its stationary mass if the velocity is 50 per cent. that of light, 1.37 times at 75 per cent., 1.8 times at 90 per cent., 3.28 times at 99 per cent., and for velocities between 99 and 100 per cent. that of light the increase of mass progresses at an enormous rate and finally becomes infinite. Now Kaufmann has recently been able to test these results experimentally on radium β rays. He finds that with these rays, which do not all travel with the same velocity, the more quickly moving ones do show an apparent increase of mass; thus for a change of velocity from 2.36×10^{10} to 2.83×10^{10} cms. per second (speeds about 80 and 95 per cent. of the velocity of light) there is an apparent increase of mass in the ratio of 0.63 to 1.31. The question then arises whether all inertia may not be the inertia of electric charges moving with enormous velocity, and thus the mass of a body is an effect arising from the rapidity of orbital motion of the electrons of which it is composed. This startling suggestion leads to the view that matter is not a separate entity but is of the nature of electricity, probably a modification of the universal ethereal medium. And if matter is a state or condition of the ether, is matter eternal and indestructible as formerly asserted?

Much of the positive results on rays, radio-activity, and the electronic theory of mass, as well as the speculations based upon them, depends upon the theory that an electric charge in motion generates a magnetic

field in its neighbourhood. It will be remembered that M. Crémieu disputed the legitimacy of this theory on the ground that his experiments proved the negative. On the other hand Mr. Pender, in America, cited experiments of his own supporting the theory. To remove the discrepancy between the results of these competent observers it was suggested that they should collaborate, and acting on this suggestion Mr. Pender joined M. Crémieu in Paris, and they carried out their experiments there side by side. The result was that a flaw, not easy to account for, in M. Crémieu's experiments was removed, and both experimenters finally were agreed that a moving charge does create a magnetic field. This theory may now rank as undeniably demonstrated by exact experiments and justifies the large deductions which have been made from it in recent years in radio-activity and other branches of physics.

M. Blondlot has been able to show that Röntgen rays have a duration of less than 5×10^{-8} s. and that their velocity in air is of the same order as Hertzian or electric waves. He has also examined the velocity of Röntgen rays in paraffin wax, beechwood, vaseline oil, and essence of turpentine, and in all cases the velocity is the same as that of electric waves in air, that is to say, of light in air.

Another important discovery by the same experimenter shows that the reason why others have failed to obtain polarisation of Röntgen rays is because they are already polarised on emission from the vacuum tube. Quartz and sugar turn the plane of polarisation in the same sense as light, and magnetic rotation also probably exists for Röntgen rays as for light. M. Blondlot has furthermore discovered a new kind of radiation from a Crookes' focus tube covered over with a thin sheet of aluminium so as to intercept all light rays. This new radiation passes through alum, wood, paper, etc., is probably polarised rectilinearly on emission, and is capable of being circularly and elliptically polarised, but produces neither photographic nor fluorescent effects.

Dr. W. M. Watts has drawn attention to a relationship between the spectra of some of the elements and the squares of their atomic weights. It appears that the differences between the oscillation frequencies of corresponding lines in a group is proportional to the differences of the squares of the atomic weights.

Houllévigues deposits thin films of metals on glass by the cathodic rays. A transparent film of iron placed normally to lines of magnetic force afforded an illustration of magneto-optic rotation. The electric resistance of a bismuth film was not altered by a transverse magnetic field.

An ingenious explanation of the slipperiness of ice was advanced some time ago by Professor Joly and Professor O. Reynolds, and lately Mr. Skinner has come to the same conclusion as the former two, namely, that the pressure on the ice such as that produced by the weight of a man on skates is sufficient to lower the melting point of ice and consequently a layer of water is formed beneath the skate and it glides on a liquid surface, and there is no rubbing friction of solid against solid.

The report of the work done in the National Physical Laboratory has been issued and in addition to 600 tests carried out during the year

a number of useful researches have been undertaken. Among the latter is a very careful determination of the resistivity of pure mercury, and it is found that a column of mercury 1 square millimetre in cross section and 106.29 centimetres long at the temperature of melting ice has exactly a resistance of 1 ohm.

CHEMISTRY.

The attention of chemists as of physicists has been chiefly focussed on radium during the past year. The numerous additions to our knowledge of this wonderful element are shortly as follows: Radium compounds, for example, the bromide, chloride or nitrate, give off three kinds of rays already referred to in the last section. When one of these compounds is placed in a tube provided with a bulb which is exhausted by a mercury pump, a gas is slowly evolved which possesses radioactive properties, and is self-luminous, but when the portion of the tube containing the radium is sealed off these effects disappear in the course of some hours. This emanation yields a spark spectrum containing the same lines as helium, and since the effect is due to the metal, and not to the negative radicle in the compound, the conclusion that radium is slowly changing into helium is inevitable. This observation, which, if definitely established, disposes for ever of the doctrine that the chemical elements are immutable, receives confirmatory evidence from the fact that negatively charged particles are constantly discharged from atomic structures. At the Royal Society's soirée on May 10 Sir W. Crookes exhibited a new instrument which he called the spinthariscopes, in which the discharge of particles from a fragment of radium bromide was shown by their action on a screen of zinc sulphide. Each particle, as it strikes the screen, causes a faint flash of light, which can be distinctly seen through a lens. The stream cannot be blown aside by a current of air, nor does it cease when the radium compound is cooled to the temperature of liquid air. When the screen is cooled, however, it ceases to phosphoresce under the bombardment of the particles. Radium compounds are self-luminous, and when kept in a glass tube colour it brown or violet, the transparency being restored on heating. They also tinge and render phosphorescent certain chemical compounds, for example, the chlorides of the alkali metals, and they can bring about chemical changes such as the blackening of silver salts by mere proximity. A solution in water gives off hydrogen and oxygen slowly but continuously. Upon the human skin the effect of the radiation is to cause a reddening which may, if allowed to continue, develop into a wound difficult to heal. Small animals, such as mice, when exposed to the influence of the rays, lose their hair, become blind, and finally die of paralysis; indeed, the effect on animal tissues is most destructive. The new growth, however, is healthy, and there is reason to suppose that radium rays may prove a valuable therapeutic agent in cases of diseased growths, and possibly also of cancer. On the closed human eye the effect is to produce a suffusion of light through the crystalline lens. When the retina itself is diseased, however, no sensation is excited.

In addition to giving off light and electricity, radium compounds

possess the unique property of preserving themselves at a temperature about 1.5° C. above their surroundings. When cooled in liquid hydrogen the difference is even greater, showing that the internal activity of the molecules is considerable even at that low temperature. The source of this energy does not appear to be external, but if internal it emphasises the fact that radium is an element of a singular and fascinating peculiarity. The loss of material by radiation is quite insignificant, and would only be measurable by a balance after periods of time such as are comprehended in geology.

The number 225, obtained by M. and Mme Curie some time ago for the atomic weight of radium, has not been seriously impugned, and its place as a member of the alkaline earth group is still unchallenged. Quite recently radium has been found to occur in the deposit left by the waters of Bath, though not in sufficient quantity to make the extraction profitable.

Sir William Ramsay and Mr. F. Soddy have found that the inert monatomic gases of the atmosphere, helium, neon, argon, krypton and xenon, have no radio-activity of their own. They also show that the emanation of radium is of the nature of an inert gas chemically, but that it has a power of discharging a charged electroscope, has self-luminosity, and confers radio-activity on the walls of the containing vessel, which soon disappears if the contact has been only for a short time, but persists for a longer time if the period of contact has been more prolonged.

Professor Ramsay has found the proportion of krypton in the air to be 1 part by weight in 7,000,000, and of xenon 1 part in 40,000,000.

Fluorine has been found to liquefy at -187° C., and has in that condition no action on amorphous carbon or crystalline silicon, nor upon boron or mercury, although, as is well known, it has powerful chemical affinities in the gaseous state for these elements. In its liquid state, however, it does combine explosively with hydrogen. At -233° C. it turns to a white solid mass, which is still able to combine with liquid hydrogen.

The curious fact that a partial separation of gases can be brought about by centrifugal forces has been made known through the Mezza separator, a small instrument in which gaseous mixtures can be whirled round at the rate of 300 revolutions per minute and upwards. Even atmospheric air in about half an hour undergoes a slight change, the proportion of oxygen in the peripheral portions being greater than usual, but with mixtures where the gases are not nearly of the same density the separation is more complete.

A number of atomic weight determinations have been made during the year, among them being calcium, 40.126, selenium, 79.21, tellurium, 127.74, lanthanum, 139.90, ytterbium, 173.07, uranium, 238.53, all calculated on the basis of oxygen = 16.

A metallurgical process which may turn out to be of importance consists in treating the ores, when composed of sulphides, with chlorine, and precipitating the metals by means of zinc. An electrolytic process finally sets free both the zinc and the chlorine.

A method of fixing atmospheric nitrogen differing from that usually

practised (namely, its union with oxygen under the influence of the electric discharge) has been described, depending on the union of calcium carbide and nitrogen to form calcium cyanamide, which yields ammonia on being heated with water. The cyanamide itself can also be used as a plant food.

There is reason to believe that natural fats and oils are composed of a glyceryl radicle combined with two or more fatty acids instead of being mixtures of glycerides alone. This branch of research is beset with difficulties owing to the similarity in chemical composition between many varieties of fats, the physical properties of which are distinct.

Camphor is now made artificially, and in the United States its production is a commercial process.

The use of tubes of "quartz-glass" has considerably extended the chemist's resources as regards fusion and evaporation on a laboratory scale. Dr. F. Krafft has shown that in a high vacuum cadmium boils at 420° C., and zinc at 545° C. Lead can be rapidly distilled with a furnace temperature of 1180° and antimony at 775° to 780° . Silver evaporates quickly at 1200° , but does not boil at 1340° , while gold is much more refractory, only yielding a minute quantity of distillate at 1375° .

As a result of the arsenic scare in 1902 the detection of this element by chemical processes has been pushed to its farthest limits. The Commission appointed to inquire into the matter devised a form of apparatus in which an electrolytic method was conjoined with Marsh's test, whereby excessively minute quantities can be made to give a mirror. Mr. W. Thomson claims that by making certain small alterations in the design it is possible to detect one part of arsenic trioxide in 280,000,000 of liquid.

Much information is being gathered as to the relation of colour to chemical constitution. Dr. Armstrong's view that colour is an indication of "quinonoid" structure, that is of the existence in a compound of at least three centres having some influence on the passage of light through the molecule, is contested by W. Ackroyd, who finds that to iodides and to inorganic compounds generally the statement does not apply. In this connection it may be mentioned that A. Lachman considers the brown colour of many solutions of iodine, for example in alcohol, ether, potassium iodide and so forth, to be due to additive products of the form "molecule-solvent + I_2 ," the violet colour being obtained when the iodine dissolves as such in liquids like chloroform, carbon disulphide, benzene, and generally in hydrocarbons, their chlorides, and bromides and certain nitro-compounds.

A great number of minor discoveries and observations have been made, too numerous to be recorded in this place, but contributing in their various degrees to build up this extensive branch of natural knowledge.

ELECTROTECHNICS.

One of the greatest novelties recently introduced is the Cooper-Hewitt lamp. It consists of a vacuum tube about a yard long and an inch in diameter, the lower end of which has some mercury in it, the

mercury acting as one electrode, while at the upper end a platinum wire, fused through the glass, serves as the other electrode. A pressure of 200 or 220 volts as supplied from the electric light mains is insufficient to *start* a current through the lamp, but if a small pilot spark from an induction coil be passed along the tube, then the voltage of the mains is sufficient to maintain a current through the mercury vapour, which glows out with a splendid luminosity. Unfortunately the colour of the light is of a greenish hue, due to the fact that the spectrum of mercury is confined to a few green lines, and this peculiar, almost monochromatic, light makes it impossible to distinguish ordinary colours. Human flesh and blood appear under this light of a ghastly corpse-like tint. For this reason the light as yet is not a commercial success, but it may be found possible to remedy its defects. Nevertheless, the lamp is highly economical, as it only consumes half a watt per spherical candle-power as contrasted with four watts for the same light with ordinary incandescent lamps. In spite of its defects as a source of light the lamp may become commercially useful in consequence of the unique property it possesses of allowing a current to pass through it in one direction only, and consequently it may be used as a rectifier of an alternating current. There is a constant loss of fourteen volts between the terminals of the lamp, but as it may be worked at a pressure of 1,000 volts there is a loss of energy of only 1·4 per cent. under the most favourable conditions, which is much less than any other mode of rectification can offer.

In wireless telegraphy progress has been chiefly confined to improvements in the construction of apparatus, in attempts at perfecting syntony, and in the prevention of interference between different operators. Sir Oliver Lodge has patented his method of using a disc rotating in mercury as a self-restoring coherer, and has also invented a coherer consisting of a metallic point dipping into a layer of oil on a pool of mercury. When the Hertzian waves fall upon this coherer the insulating oil breaks down, and the point and mercury cohere, and a local circuit is then brought into action, which, by electro-magnetic mechanism, raises the point out of the mercury and restores the coherer to its former sensitive state for the reception of other Hertzian waves.

Dr. J. A. Fleming and the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company have patented apparatus, in which condensers play an important part, for the production of continued oscillations across the spark gap in connection with a transformer and an alternator.

In submarine telegraphy extensions are continually taking place, and the completion within the last two years of a pair of trans-Pacific cables now allows a message to be transmitted round the world. It is estimated that there are at the present time at least 222,000 miles of cable under the sea throughout the globe.

The application of electricity to traction, both on tramways and on railways, is one of the most striking developments of modern times. In Great Britain the continuous current system is chiefly in favour, pressures up to 700 volts on railways being used, but where power has to be transmitted to considerable distances a three-phase system up to

6,500 volts is generally to be found. As instances of the extensive progress made in electric haulage of traffic the inauguration of a through Liverpool to Bolton tramway service, over forty miles in length, may be cited. The Metropolitan District Railway is nearly completely converted to electric traction, and sections of the Great Northern and City Railways are progressing apace in the same way. The Mersey Tunnel Railway conversion is completed, and trial trains worked by electricity have been run on the Tyneside branch of the North-Eastern Railway and the Liverpool to Southport section of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. There is a consensus of opinion in favour of each car of electric trains being supplied with motors rather than concentrating the motive power in a single locomotive car.

Attention is constantly being directed to the utilisation of the power running to waste in large waterfalls. Of the 7,000,000 horse-power available at Niagara about 1,000,000 will soon be in active use, and in consequence of its cheap distribution by electricity works of all kinds are springing up round about. Vast as this total supply of power may seem, it is small compared to the power awaiting utilisation at the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi. It is estimated that here 35,000,000 horse-power is running to waste, and schemes are on foot for tapping this source of energy and distributing it electrically.

The Edison nickel-iron storage cell, with alkaline electrolyte, is coming to the front. It combines apparently the qualities of indestructibility, cleanliness, capacity, and the power of receiving its charge to within 75 per cent. of the maximum in a remarkably short time. Tests have shown that fourteen watt hours can be obtained from 1 lb. weight of cell, the average electromotive force being 1.25 volt, and that the effect of changes of temperature is less on this cell than upon lead cells. It is built up compactly and strongly and seems well suited for use with automobiles. Even short circuiting has little, if any, harmful effect on the cell, and it may stand discharged for long periods without injury, but in comparison with the lead storage cell its efficiency is not so high.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

One of the most important discoveries made during the past year has been that of the nature and cause of the terrible African "sleeping-sickness," which has of late become very prevalent in Uganda. No cure is at present known for the disease, which invariably terminates fatally, but now that the method of infection is known it is to be hoped that preventive measures may ere long eradicate this pest. Dr. Castellani obtained evidence to show that a parasitic protozoan belonging to the genus *Trypanosoma* is present in the cerebro-spinal fluid of patients suffering from sleeping-sickness. This observation has been confirmed by Lieutenant-Colonel D. Bruce and Dr. Nabarro, who found the parasite present in every case of sleeping-sickness examined by them at Entebbé; whilst Dr. Wiggins arrived at practically identical results at Kabirondo. Messrs. Bruce and Nabarro have further made a most important suggestion in connection with the disease, *viz.*, that infection is carried by a species of Tsetse-fly (*Glossina palpalis*).

This seems to be proved by the result of certain experiments recently carried out by them.

Equally important is the remarkable work recently done by Messrs. Farmer, Moore and Walker, "On the Resemblances exhibited between the Cells of Malignant Growths and those of Normal Reproductive Tissues." From a large number of malignant growths they were able to trace a series of changes in the invading cells of the malignant tissue, which are remarkably similar to those found in the maturation of the sexual cells. Of these perhaps the most remarkable is that when the chromosomes are formed from the nucleus they are present in only half the number of those occurring in the somatic dividing nuclei of the organism, and that their division on the "spindle" is transverse and not longitudinal. This work was suggested by Farmer's researches on apogamy referred to below.

Beard has suggested in regard to tumours that they are more or less reduced sterile organisms which originate in the abnormal development of a vagrant primary germ-cell. They never, so he supposes, arise from cells which can be regarded as cells belonging to the individual which supports them, but are rather of the nature of degenerate "twin" organisms.

With regard to these valuable suggestions, *viz.*, that as to the nature of the method of infection in sleeping-sickness, and those of Messrs. Farmer and Beard on the nature of malignant growths, it is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of the contributions made in them to medical science by biologists working at first from a purely theoretic standpoint.

Messrs. Keeble and Gamble have made a careful study of the physiology and life-history of the curious organism known as *Convoluta paradoxa*, whose occurrence in colonies composed of numerous individuals cause green patches here and there on the sandy coasts of Brittany. It was found that these patches underwent seasonal changes in dimension, owing to the increase in size of the colonies under the influence of phases of reproductive activity, and also that each patch showed diurnal variations owing to the movements up or down into the sand of the individuals composing the colony, in connection with the tides. They find that the presence in the body of the worm of large numbers of endophytic algal cells which are responsible for the green colour of the worm in no way interferes with its powers of nutrition, and that it feeds voraciously.

Very interesting finds of remains of Tertiary mammals have been made in a deposit at Fayyum in Egypt. One of the fossils obtained there, which has been given the name of *Arsinoetherium*, represents the least specialised type of the Proboscidea, or Elephant-family, as yet discovered. It shows some affinities with the extinct North American Coryphodonts.

The remains of an extinct pigmy elephant have been found in Cyprus, very similar to fossil forms already known to have existed in Malta, whilst a tooth of *Elephas ganesa*, which has been found in the Malay Peninsula, is the first indication of the existence there of the "Sivalik fauna."

Amongst living animals perhaps no species of exceptional interest has been recorded during the past year, although the number of species described as new to science shows no appreciable diminution compared with previous years.

A large Ascidian, which captures and feeds on Crustacea of a large size relatively to itself, has been described by Dr. Bourne. It was dredged by Willey off the coast of New Britain.

Professor Herdman has commenced the publication of the results of his inspection of the pearl fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar and the coasts of Ceylon. Perhaps the most noteworthy communication contained in the first part is the account by Messrs. Scott and Thompson of the Copepoda. Some seventy-six new species are characterised.

Another new report on the collections made by Messrs. Robinson and Annandale in the Siamese Malay States has commenced issue. It includes much matter of anthropological as well as of zoological interest.

Of works dealing with Systematic Zoology the following should be remarked. The volume of the Oxford "Treatise of Zoology," on Protozoa, which contains a most valuable account of the Sporozoa, a group of Protozoa of parasitic habit, which includes such forms as *Trypanosoma* and the parasite of malaria. The accounts of the Foraminifera and Ciliate Infusoria contained in this volume are of great interest. A monograph by Kobelt on the Cyclophoridae—a difficult and extensive family of land operculate molluscs, rich in bizarre forms—is of the greatest interest to students of zoo-geography, who will feel grateful to Dr. Kobelt for the care and skill with which he has treated them.

The death of Professor Zittel, a very eminent, palæontologist, must be recorded. Mr. Budgett, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had travelled extensively in South America and Tropical Africa, has unhappily succumbed to black-water fever shortly after his return from the Niger, where he had been working on the development of dipnoan fishes.

The new botanical laboratories at Cambridge have been completed and are now in use.

Messrs. Willis and Burkill have published the results of their studies on the relationship of insects to the flowering plants of the Clova Mountains in Scotland, which possess perhaps the richest Alpine flora in the British Islands. An interesting comparison is made with the relations of the insect fauna to the flora on the Alps, etc.

Vine's work on the Proteolytic Enzymes found in certain plants is continued.

As a result of the examination of a large number of seedlings of various Monocotyledonous genera, Sargent has come to the conclusion that the Monocotyledons are derived from Dicotyledons through the fusion of the cotyledons of the latter.

The most important morphological discovery made in the past year has been made by Messrs. Scott and Oliver, who have determined that the fruit of the fossil plant *Lyginodendron* was a true seed. *Lyginodendron* has hitherto been regarded as an ally of the ferns, hence this discovery tends to bridge over the gap which exists between the Cycads

and the ferns, that is, between flowering plants and vascular cryptogams.

It has been known for some time that each nucleus in the sporophyte generation of fern-plants contains twice as many chromosomes as does each nucleus of the gametophyte (prothallus). Farmer has now brought evidence to show that in the phenomenon known as apogamy the nuclear changes are brought about by the migration of a nucleus of the gametophyte into an adjacent cell and by its subsequent fusion with it, so that the nucleus resulting from the fusion contains the number of chromosomes normal to the sporophyte generation to which it gives rise. This leads to the inference that we have here an irregular kind of fertilisation.

Marshall-Ward has succeeded in disproving Ericson's view as to the manner in which grasses are infected by the fungus parasite *Puccinea*. Ericson supposed that the seeds of the grass so infected were invaded by a special tissue of the fungus, which he called the mycoplasm. Marshall-Ward finds, however, that the grass-seedlings require to be reinfected every year in order that the parasite may develop. He has also experimented on the effects of mineral starvation of the host on the parasitic fungus, and finds in the case of *Bromus* at any rate that the tendency to infection is not lessened, and that the power of infection possessed by the parasite is in no way diminished by such starvation.

J. REGINALD ASHWORTH.

ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE year was remarkable for the number of controversies on artistic subjects that took place between authorities of divergent views. The first, and the most important, was one concerning the Wellington Memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral. Alfred Stevens, the sculptor of the memorial, died before he had finished his work by the addition of the culminating equestrian figure that was part of the original design, and the possibility of the completion of this figure by other hands has frequently been discussed by artists. In 1902 Sir Edward Poynter had approached the Government with a scheme for the execution of the work, and at the same time a group of admirers of Stevens had been working privately with the same end in view. The unofficial group had acquired the large model left by Stevens of the Duke of Wellington and his horse, and the rumour that this model had been placed in the hands of an able young sculptor in order that the memorial might be completed led to a long and exceedingly bitter controversy in the columns of the *Times*. The unofficial group triumphed in so far that a cast of the model was placed on the memorial, where, however, its unsuitability in its present state was at once made manifest.

A little later the alleged mal-administration of the Chantrey Fund was the subject of more newspaper battles; and in the autumn the death of Mr. Whistler was followed by severe controversies concerning the neglect of that remarkable artist by the Royal Academy and by his fellow-countrymen of the United States.

The Royal Academy, although it took no notice as a body of the attacks on the administration of the Chantrey Fund, made several movements in the direction of reform. Its schools were reorganised and the standard of admission to them considerably raised; and the laws were altered concerning the number of works that artists are permitted to submit to the Selecting Committees for the summer exhibitions. In future non-members may submit only three works instead of eight as formerly, and the maximum for members has been reduced from eight to six. During the year Mr. R. W. Macbeth, Sir Ernest Waterlow and Mr. Aston Webb were elected Royal Academicians, and Mr. J. H. F. Bacon, Mr. Arnesby Brown and Mr. W. R. Colton, Associates. Mr. George Clausen, A.R.A., was elected Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy in succession to Mr. Val Prinsep, R.A. For the summer exhibition 13,653 works of various kinds were submitted by outsiders compared with 14,219 in 1902 and 14,353 in 1901. Of the 13,653 works submitted 10,373 were rejected at the first examination, eighty-three were accepted outright, twelve declared inadmissible

and 3,185 marked "doubtful." Rather more than 1,500 of the "doubtful" class found places in the exhibition, together with the eighty-three accepted works and 205 contributed by members. The Hanging Committee was composed of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Mr. J. MacWhirter, Mr. H. Woods, Mr. W. F. Yeames, Mr. J. W. Waterhouse, Mr. G. J. Frampton and Mr. G. F. Bodley.

The work of Mr. Sargent, which had been the most prominent feature of the exhibitions of 1901 and 1902, attracted less attention than usual, possibly because the American artist showed no large portrait groups. His work showed no falling off, and the portrait of Mr. McCorquodale was, in fact, a notable example of his painting. Judged by the regular Academy standard the exhibition was perhaps rather above the average in quality, and the sales were 40 per cent. better than in the preceding year, when business at the Academy was ruined by the general dislocation of affairs caused by the Coronation. Four works were purchased by the Chantry Trustees: two pieces of sculpture, Mr. W. R. Colton's "Springtide of Life" (1,000*l.*) and Mr. H. H. Armstead's "Remorse" (900*l.*); and two paintings, Mr. David Murray's "In the Country of Constable" (630*l.*), and "Autumn in the Mountains" (300*l.*), by Mr. Adrian Stokes. Other pictures sold for high prices were "Youth" (1,260*l.*), by Mr. C. Napier Hemy; "Warkworth Castle, Northumberland" (800*l.*), by Sir Ernest Waterlow; "Coming Day" (630*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "Alain Chartier" (600*l.*), by Mr. Blair Leighton; "Violets of Provence" (600*l.*) and "Mowing Bracken" (600*l.*), both by Mr. H. H. La Thangue; "Rosbach" (525*l.*), by Mr. John Charlton; "Silken Tresses" (500*l.*), by Mr. C. E. Perugini, and "Lot 97, 'A Grey Mare'" (500*l.*), by Mr. W. Frank Calderon. At the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy, composed chiefly of the works of Old Masters, the two Hampton Court Tintoretos lent by the King, "Esther Fainting before Ahasuerus" and "The Nine Muses in Olympus," attracted great attention. The exhibition contained also no fewer than twenty-nine Cuyps, the "Venus and Mars" of Paul Veronese, a number of fine examples of Wilson, Turner and other great English landscape painters, and pictures by Rembrandt, Franz Hals, Poussin, Vandyke and many more. Selected examples were also shown of the work of Vicat Cole, Henry Moore, John Brett and Matthew Ridley Corbet.

The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers for the second year in succession held no exhibition in London. Nevertheless, the society was not inactive, and it made preparations for future seasons by engaging the New Gallery from January to March for the winters of 1904-5-6. Later in the year the International Society took another important step by choosing for its president the famous French sculptor, M. Rodin, in succession to Mr. Whistler. It is probably the first time, in England at all events, that a sculptor has been elected president of an important mixed body of artists, and the International's choice is notable as a compliment to a branch of practice that has not yet been properly appreciated on this side of the Channel. The standard of execution in sculpture has risen enormously in England during the past twenty years, but the general appreciation of form without colour remains comparatively small.

However, sculptors were encouraged by the fact that the Chantry Trustees spent far more upon their art than upon that of the painter this year. Further, after several vain efforts made during the past decade, successful steps were taken to set on foot a representative society of sculptors.

At the New Gallery, early in the year, the Arts and Crafts Society held their triennial exhibition. Some good work was shown in certain sections, but the exhibition altogether was not remarkable, and among the furniture especially there was too much striving for originality, even at the entire sacrifice of beauty and fitness. Mr. Watts was the chief supporter of the summer exhibition at the New Gallery. Mr. Sargent, who usually reserves some of his strongest work for this exhibition, was unrepresented, but M. Boldini, whose art has some sympathy with that of Mr. Sargent, contributed the portrait of Mr. Whistler that was one of the sensations of the Paris International Exhibition of 1900. The loan exhibition at the Guildhall was smaller and of less importance than some that have been held in recent years in the same galleries. The exhibition of Dutch art was confined to three rooms, as the largest gallery was occupied by the newly acquired Gassiot collection. The great Dutch painters—the older men—were, upon the whole, poorly represented, while of the modern school there were too many examples. However, in the modern department there were some fine canvases by Matthew Maris, the greatest of the three painter-brothers of that name. At the Carfax Gallery in June Mr. Sargent's sketches were, for the first time, publicly exhibited, and in the autumn two collections of Mr. Whistler's etchings were shown, one at Messrs. Obach's, and the other, formed by Mr. Mortimer Menpes, and including several unique impressions, at the Leicester Gallery. At the Leicester Gallery also was held the memorial exhibition of Phil May's drawings. After the death of Mr. Whistler in July there were rumours of a projected exhibition of his paintings in London, but no such exhibition was held. The only painting by Whistler shown in London was a full-length unfinished study of a lady in red, the property of the artist's sister-in-law and executrix, Miss Rosalind Birnie Philip. It was shown at the Portrait Painters' exhibition at the New Gallery, in company with canvases by Watts, Millais, Orchardson, Boldini, Mancini and others.

A new society was founded, composed of artists and art lovers, on the lines of the Société des Amis du Louvre, which devotes itself to the acquisition of works of art for the French national collections. The amount allotted by the British Government for the purchase of pictures, etc., is small, and the competition of American and Continental collectors is keen when anything of importance comes into the market. The new society, known at present by the somewhat awkward title of "The National Art Collections Fund," proposes to collect money for the private purchase of works suitable for the National Gallery and public museums. The society is in no way intended as a rival to the official organisations for the purchase of works of art. Its efforts will be complementary to those of the directors of the National Gallery and the British and other museums, whose chief officers have shown their

sympathy with the National Art Collections Fund by becoming honorary members of its council. The first general meeting of this new society was held in November at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, under the presidency of Lord Balcarras, M.P. A council was elected, which included among its members the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Londonderry, Lord Windsor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Speaker, Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, R.A., and many other prominent persons. An executive committee was also appointed, and Lord Balcarras was chosen as chairman, Mr. E. W. Beckett, M.P., treasurer, and Mr. Isidore Spielmann and Mr. R. C. Witt, honorary secretaries.

The pictures acquired by the National Gallery included an interesting Reynolds, the portrait of the beautiful actress, Mrs. Elizabeth Hartley, shown holding her child on her shoulder. The Reynolds, which was presented by Sir William Agnew, was exhibited earlier in the year with the Old Masters at Burlington House. A Zurbaran was another acquisition—a curious full-length portrait of a lady represented in the character of St. Margaret, which was formerly the property of Louisa, Lady Ashburton. Mr. J. P. Heseltine presented a small portrait by Lucas Cranach; and a fine landscape by Jan Both, part of the Cheylesmore bequest to the nation, was hung in the Tenth Room. "The Severn off Portishead," a landscape by Patrick Nasmyth, bequeathed by Mr. Charles Gassiot, was also exhibited for the first time. Several pictures were lent for exhibition. Among them were the two Tintoretto's already referred to, from Hampton Court, which were lent by the King, some early Italian canvases, lent by Mr. George Salting, and a Goya, "Dr. Peral," lent by Mr. George Donaldson.

Of the art sales of the year the chief was that of the collection of French eighteenth century pictures formed by Mr. Reginald Vaile. High prices were given at the Vaile sale for examples of Nattier, Largillière and Lancret, but the maximum was reached when four large panels by Boucher were put up in one lot. The Bouchers were knocked down for 22,300 guineas. The sum total realised on this day (May 23) was 105,845*l.*, which is said to be a record for Christie's. However, of this sum only 58,529*l.* was given for the Vaile pictures, as other works of exceptional interest were disposed of on the same afternoon, when 9,400 guineas was paid for a Romney, the "Mrs. Blair"; 6,000 guineas for a very fine Veronese belonging to Lord Wimborne, and 9,000 guineas for a small Gainsborough, a "Portrait of a young Lady in a Muslin Dress." The sale of the Gainsborough attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. The history of the picture was unknown, except that it had been in the possession for many years of two ladies residing at Worthing, by whom it was sent to Christie's for sale. It was currently reported after the sale that the picture had been offered in vain for a few pounds to several Bond Street dealers, but for this story there was no foundation. The picture was sent directly to Christie's by its owners, who had no idea of its real value or of its author, for they had been told that it was a Reynolds. It was in a dilapidated condition, for although the face had fortunately escaped injury there were two holes as large as shillings in the breast.

The Gainsborough was acquired after a keen competition by Mr. Charles Wertheimer. Another sale of interest was that of the collection of the late Mr. Ernest Gambart of Nice, who forty years ago was one of the most prominent of European picture dealers. Gambart was instrumental in making known the work of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema in England, and a famous Tadema, the "Dedication to Bacchus," was in his collection. This picture was sold for 5,600 guineas. Other great sales at Christie's were those of the collections of Mr. Hamilton Bruce and Mr. H. J. Turner; while at Messrs. Robinson & Fisher's 14,000 guineas was bid for a portrait by Raeburn of Sir John Sinclair of Ulster; and at Messrs. Sotheby's William Blake's original designs illustrating the Book of Job realised no less than 5,600l.

II. DRAMA.

There were additions to the English drama in 1903 that were of more than passing interest. In the first place there is to be noted the appearance of a new author who, from the promise of his two plays which were acted, is likely to go far. Mr. Hubert Davies, in "Cousin Kate" at the Haymarket and "Mrs. Gorrings's Necklace" at the New Theatre, gave evidence of the rarest gift in dramatic authorship—the creation of really first-class light comedy. In the first-named play the various members of the cast proved themselves to be worthy upholders of the high tradition of this theatre. Mr. Cyril Maude and Miss Ellis Jeffreys were the leading performers, but they were admirably supported by an unusually level cast. Sir Charles Wyndham, Miss Mary Moore, Miss Illington, Mr. Barnes and Miss Kate Terry Lewis were equally successful in "Mrs. Gorrings's Necklace," and the two performances must be reckoned as amongst the most delightful memories of the year.

Mr. Barrie quite maintained his reputation for delicate play-writing, combined with a certain whimsical humour, in his wholly delightful play, "Little Mary"—a play of such originality that, as the critic of the *Times* stated, "it gave playgoers a new sensation." The author was excellently served by his actors, amongst whom Mr. John Hare, Mr. Gerald Du Maurier, Mr. Eric Lewis, and, above all, Miss Nina Boucicault were all quite first class.

At His Majesty's Mr. Tree, after a short revival of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," staged Tolstoi's "Resurrection," which had already enjoyed a considerable success in Paris. It was a very painful play and, for those who knew the book, not a very successful one, its chief justification being the opportunity it gave Miss Lena Ashwell to display her great powers in tragedy. After "The Gordian Knot," by Mr. Claud Lowther, had failed to draw an audience for more than ten days, Mr. Tree revived the popular "Trilby," playing before it a poor adaptation of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's powerful story, "The Man Who Was." He then produced, with something more than his usual magnificence, Shakespeare's "King Richard II.," which ran till the end of the year. The glitter and wealth of detail with which the revival was staged

rather detracted from the interest of the play itself, and the acting of the name part cannot be reckoned amongst Mr. Tree's most successful efforts.

At the St. James's Mr. Alexander played Mr. Forster's "Old Heidelberg," which proved a considerable success, although it is not a comedy of much distinction. At the same theatre Mr. E. S. Willard made a welcome reappearance in "The Cardinal," a picturesque drama by Mr. Parker. Besides "Cousin Kate" Mr. Maude was seen in a revival of the old play, "The Clandestine Marriage," in which he once more showed skill in eighteenth century comedy.

At the Garrick Mr. Bouchier's only novelty was Mr. Haddon Chambers's "Golden Silence," which was produced in September and, in spite of a somewhat chilly reception by the critics, ran for several months.

Mrs. Patrick Campbell was only seen in a striking performance of Sudermann's gloomy play "The Joy of Living" and in a revival of "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," which has now become almost a classic.

At the Criterion Miss Marie Tempest repeated her admirable performance of "Caste," to be succeeded by Miss Annie Hughes in "Just Like Callaghan" and Miss Eva Moore in "Billy's Little Love Affair"—an agreeable comedy by H. V. Esmond.

Mr. Forbes Robertson scored a well-deserved success with his performance of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's "The Light that Failed." He was admirably supported by Miss Gertrude Elliot and Miss Nina Boucicault, whose playing of the part of Bessie Broke must be reckoned one of the most notable of the year.

The Adelphi returned to the well-worn paths of melodrama and there were produced with fair success "The Worst Woman in London," "Her Second Time on Earth" and "Little Em'ly," the last an adaptation of "David Copperfield."

At the Comedy Clyde Fitch's "The Climbers" won considerable applause, Mr. Sydney Valentine being seen to great advantage in it.

Mr. Pinero's only contribution to the drama of the year was "Letty," which was given at the Duke of York's, and held the stage during the autumn. It was a play written with all the author's skill of dialogue and characterisation and it was admirably acted by Miss Irene Vanbrugh, Mr. H. B. Irving, Mr. Fred Kerr and Miss Nancy Price. The somewhat unsavoury subject dealt with and the uncompromising realism of the treatment were probably the reasons of its comparative lack of success.

Sir Henry Irving was seen only in Sardou's new play "Dante," which he performed with Miss Lena Ashwell at Drury Lane. It is very much to be regretted that our leading actor could not get a more interesting play or one that gave him a better opportunity for the exhibition of his unique talent.

Musical comedy again proved its hold on the playgoing public, and "The Toreador," "The Orchid," "The Girl from Kay's" and "The School Girl" each held the stage for many months. Especial mention must be made of "My Lady Molly" by Messrs. Jessop and Sydney Jones, which recalled much of the charm of Alfred Cellier's "Dorothy." Miss

Sybil Arundale, Miss Decima Moore and Mr. Richard Greene were all admirable in this performance.

At the Savoy "The Princess of Kensington" by Messrs. Hood and German succeeded the same authors' "Merrie England" and, though not so good as the latter opera, was a very delightful performance and contained some excellent music. It is a matter of great regret that a public cannot be found in London to support genuine comic opera, and the old Savoy company after the close of the run of the "Princess of Kensington" left the theatre in which they had for so long followed the tradition of that most charming form of entertainment—the Gilbert and Sullivan Opera.

III. MUSIC.

The principal event of the year in opera in England was of course the magnificent production of "Der Ring des Nibelungen" at Covent Garden under Dr. Richter, with which the Royal Opera season opened. Three performances of the cycle took place and they were undoubtedly the finest in every respect ever given in London. The cast included such well-known names as Fräulein Ternina and Herren Van Dyck, Kraus, Lieban and Van Rooy; and the opera band, augmented for the occasion by members of the Hallé Orchestra, played with superb effect under its distinguished conductor. The syndicate spared no expense over the production, some really beautiful new scenery being provided, and the stage-management, always a matter of difficulty in an opera-house where a large repertoire of operas given in their native language is the rule, showed, under Mr. F. Neilson, a gratifying improvement. During the rest of the Royal Opera season Herr Lohse conducted the German operas, amongst which "Tristan und Isolde" (with Fräulein Ternina and Herr Van Dyck), "Die Meistersinger," and Miss E. M. Smyth's "Der Wald" call for mention, the revival of the last-named showing that the favourable impression made at its production the previous year and in March at the Metropolitan Opera-house, New York, was completely justified. The list of French and Italian operas conducted by M. Flon and Sgr. Mancinelli contained one novelty, a one-act opera on an unpleasant subject and musically of slender value, M. Missa's "Maguelone," which was fortunate in its production in having Madame Calvé in the title-part. The other operas were chiefly of the old-fashioned and inferior order that apparently sets far less value upon dramatic interest and edifying and ennobling subjects than on pleasing melodies beautifully sung. Mesdames Calvé and Melba sang as perfectly as ever, and Sgr. Bonci, the Italian tenor, made a success, while Mesdames Suzanne Adams, Blauvelt (this lady making her operatic *début* in London), Kirkby Lunn and Miss Mary Garden and MM. Alvarez, Pini Corsi and Scotti may also be mentioned. The Royal Opera Syndicate was also responsible for the successful production of M. André Messager's opéra-comique, "Véronique," in French, at the Coronet Theatre, Notting Hill.

With regard to opera in English there were no further developments towards the establishment of a national opera, except what is perhaps the best of all, and that, the unceasing support that the English opera

companies continue to meet with from the public. That a national opera is much needed for the development of native singers and composers is beyond question, but the final and irrefutable claim for it must lie in the attitude of those on whom the greatest benefit will fall, the general public, on whom also, of course, depends the financial justification for any such undertaking. The Carl Rosa Company produced in London Umberto Giordano's "Andrea Chenier," and the Moody-Manners Company Ponchielli's "Gioconda," the last-named company repeating its autumn season at Covent Garden. Mr. Manners had offered a prize for an opera, and it was won by Mr. McAlpin with his "The Cross and the Crescent," which was duly performed. It proved to be a work ambitious in design and treatment, but showed inexperience, in that the instrumental writing was not conceived in such a manner as to allow the voice parts to stand out with sufficient clearness, and the music, though virile, was not very original. The Royal College of Music gave a performance of "Hansel und Gretel," and here may be mentioned the revival at Cambridge of the "Birds" of Aristophanes, with the incidental music by Sir Hubert Parry. Vincent d'Indy's opera, "L'Etranger," was produced successfully at Brussels, being subsequently given in Paris, where an interesting series of performances of some of Ernest Reyer's somewhat neglected operas took place. In New York, after much discussion and opposition, a successful production of "Parsifal" was carried out under the direction of Mr. Conried at the Metropolitan Opera House, with Fräulein Ternina and Herren Burgstaller, Van Rooy and Blass, and Mr. Alfred Hertz as conductor, this being, of course, the first performance of the opera away from Bayreuth.

Turning to chamber music, Dr. Joachim and his quartet again visited London and gave a series of six concerts in the St. James's Hall, meeting with the success due to what is still the most perfect combination of its kind so far as interpretation is concerned. In the autumn Professor Johann Kruse took over the management of the Popular Concerts with his own excellent quartet, and it is to be hoped that the establishment of a regular quartet party at these concerts will have the best results. The Broadwood Concerts continued to meet with well-deserved support, and a number of novelties were included in the programmes, such as H. Balfour Gardiner's String Quartet, Cyril Scott's Pianoforte Quartet and Donald F. Tovey's Cor Anglais Trio. That the Bohemian Trio, the London Trio, the Brodsky Quartet from Manchester, the Halir, Wessely and other quartet organisations gave concerts goes to show that the interest in this branch of the art is as widespread as ever.

The concerts of orchestral music in London continue to grow in number and interest. The Queen's Hall Orchestra, under Mr. H. J. Wood, maintained its high reputation at the Saturday Symphony, the Sunday Afternoon and the Promenade Concerts. It is indeed a fact of the greatest importance that there is now an established orchestra of first-rate quality in London with a large repertoire of all kinds of the best orchestral music, and this by the way was well shown at various concerts given by solo performers where the playing of the Queen's

Hall band added materially to the artistic value of the performances of concertos. The repertoire now includes Richard Strauss' principal compositions, which are becoming better understood, though opinion is still divided as to the merits of his music, but the real point at issue seems to be the old one of "programme" *versus* "absolute" music. For, even granted the programme, some account must be taken of the general appreciation of such themes as the opening one in "Ein Heldenleben," the horn-tune in "Don Juan," and the "Verklärung" theme in "Tod und Verklärung," etc., as no one doubts the composer's extraordinary knowledge and command of orchestral effects. A large number of novelties were produced at the Promenade Concerts, doing the greatest credit to Mr. Wood's untiring energy and catholic taste, though few, it must be confessed, will probably be heard again. Amongst these novelties there may be mentioned: concertos, for violoncello by Hugo Becker, viola by Cecil Forsyth, pianoforte by Arensky and Josef Holbrooke; symphonies by Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mohler, Jean Sibelius and Cyril Scott; while symphonic poems included York Bowen's "Lament of Tasso," Ernest Blake's "The Bretwalda," Edgar Bainton's "Pompilia" and Rutland Boughton's "Into the Everlasting"; and suites, Josef Suk's "A Fairy Tale" and William Wallace's "Pelleas and Melisande." These concerts were as pronounced a success as ever, and it is a great pity that they should only take place in the autumn months. It is most important that frequent opportunities should be available for hearing all kinds of orchestral music well played at as small a cost as possible, not only for the general improvement of public taste but also for the special development of native composers and performers. Moreover, as long as the present system is continued of producing compositions by the younger composers and of engaging the lesser-known singers and instrumentalists, a great advance in the standard of national music in expression and interpretation will be made.

In the season of the Philharmonic Society, conducted by Dr. F. H. Cowen, the following interesting performances took place: Sir C. V. Stanford's "Irish Rhapsody," No. I.; Sir A. C. Mackenzie's "London Day by Day"; F. Cliffe's vocal scena "Triumph of Alcestis," sung by Madame Clara Butt, all these works having been produced at the Norwich Festival the preceding year; Baron d'Erlanger's Violoncello Concerto, Arthur Hervey's overture "Youth," Edward McDowell's Second Pianoforte Concerto, the solo part played by the composer; Reginald Somerville's "Ballad of Thyra Lee," sung by Mr. Ffrangcon Davies, and M. Glazounow's Seventh Symphony in F, and the suite "Aus dem Mittel-Alter," conducted by the composer. This symphony had been previously given its first performance in London by the pupils of the Royal College of Music under Sir C. V. Stanford, and though it is an exceedingly interesting and often beautiful work it did not make such an impression as the Sixth in C minor. In June a Richard Strauss Festival took place at the St. James's Hall, at which the composer's symphonic poems were splendidly played by the "Concertgebouw Symphony Orchestra" from Amsterdam, conducted by Herr Willem Mengelburg, to whom "Ein Heldenleben" is dedicated. One of the concerts consisted of music by other composers, notably Sir C. V.

Stanford's "Irish Rhapsody," No. II., which was then heard for the first time in London, and met with no less hearty appreciation than its predecessor, which was produced by the Philharmonic.

The Beethoven Festival, organised by Professor J. Kruse and consisting of six orchestral and two chamber music concerts, came at a very busy time of the season, but those who were able to attend it were well rewarded by the fine conducting of the nine symphonies by Herr Weingartner, whose readings of the master's music are well known for their dignity and extreme sympathy. The Richter Concerts in London started under a new system, the conductor bringing the Hallé Orchestra from Manchester, a fine body of players, which, if not equalling the old London band in tone, has the inestimable advantage of being constantly under the distinguished conductor's guidance. Three of the concerts were devoted to the music of Brahms, Wagner and Berlioz, and no novelties were given at all. The last-named concert was one of the Berlioz centenary celebrations which were held in the autumn. Neither this concert nor those conducted by Weingartner and Richard Strauss were as well attended as one would have expected considering the interest of the occasion. The Royal College of Music gave a complete performance of the "Romeo and Juliet" music under Sir C. V. Stanford, and the same work was given during the celebrations in Paris at the Conservatoire, as well as five performances of "Faust" and other works. It would have been an excellent opportunity for reviving Berlioz's operas, which are so seldom performed, and it is to be regretted that this was not done. Orchestral music of a lighter kind was provided by Mr. Sousa, whose remarkable performances caused the same entertainment as of old, and a somewhat similar organisation, the "Band of Rome," also visited London.

The cycle of British music in Canada, conducted by Sir A. C. MacKenzie, was a great success, a number of works from the pen of prominent composers being played.

The Royal Choral Society produced only one novelty in the year and that was Sir Hubert Parry's "War and Peace," a work which, written in the composer's best manner, made a notable impression. Dr. Cowen's "Coronation Ode," which was produced at the Norwich Festival the preceding autumn, was also performed, the other choral works given including such established favourites as the "Messiah," "Elijah," "Hallelujah" and "Golden Legend," Sullivan's "The Light of the World" also being revived.

The Handel Festival was held in June at the Crystal Palace. Sir August Manns—for it is pleasant to be able to record his having received in November the honour of knighthood—was prevented from occupying his accustomed post of conductor by illness, and his place was taken by Dr. Cowen, who fulfilled the duties admirably. With such distinguished oratorio singers as Mesdames Albani, Clara Butt and Miss Ella Russell, Messrs. Black, Coates, Ben Davies, Kennerly Rumford, Santley and others the performances reached an excellent level; the "Messiah," "Israel in Egypt," "Acis and Galatea," and selections from "Solomon," etc., being the works chosen.

Of provincial festivals held in the year those at Hereford and Bir-

mingham each brought out new works. At Hereford Sir Hubert Parry's "*Voces Clamantium*" was the chief attraction, and it worthily maintained the composer's reputation as a master of earnest and dignified expression in choral music. Mr. Coleridge Taylor has not yet surpassed "*Hiawatha*," and his new work, "*The Atonement*," though serious and interesting, does not show as much confidence of treatment as was evinced in his earlier work. Professor Philipp Wolfrum's "*Weihnachtsmysterium*" (given later in London by the Handel Society), while not displaying great power or originality, met with some success, and Dr. Cowen's "*Indian Rhapsody*" (subsequently played at a promenade concert) is an extremely good example of the composer's gift for brilliant and effective orchestral writing. At Birmingham interest centred round Dr. Elgar's latest work, Parts I. and II. of an elaborate exposition of the spreading of Christianity. "*The Apostles*" waits for a third part for completion, but so much as was given proved to be full—too full for a single hearing—of that masterly contrapuntal and expressive writing with which the composer has made us familiar in "*Gerontius*." Whatever the final result will be, it is certain that it will be awaited with more than ordinary interest, though some doubt may be felt as to whether the full import of the leading idea can be successfully dealt with in this form. Anton Brückner's "*Te Deum*" was also given, and it is hardly necessary to speak of the magnificent performances of Bach's B Minor Mass and Beethoven's Choral Symphony under Dr. Richter.

Of individual performers, the most notable appearance was perhaps that made by Miss Marie Hall, a young English violinist, a pupil of Sevcik, under whom Herr Kubelik studied. The latter player has maintained his reputation. The visits of the mature artists Herr Fritz Kreisler, Señor Sarasate and M. Ysaye were of course greatly appreciated, and M. Jean Gerardy, the young 'cellist, reappeared with a highly finished style. The pianists who were frequently before the public include MM. Bauer, Borwick, Busoni, Godowsky, Frederic Lamond, Pachmann and Sauer, and the younger players, Mark Hambourg and Josef Hofmann. Vocal recitals were given by, amongst many others, Mesdames Brema, Schumann-Heink and Patti and MM. Plunket Greene, Francis Harford, Lierhammer, zur Mühlen, van Rooy and Wüllner. It is very satisfactory to be able to record a continued high artistic standard both in performance and in the choice of music performed, showing that the public appreciation of the best is in no way diminishing. Especially is this so in the case of the large number of young and earnest musicians who are gradually making headway.

The musical death-roll of the year includes the names of Hugo Wolf, the gifted composer of a number of songs by which he is best known in England; A. J. Hipkins, F.S.A., the eminent musical antiquary, and probably the greatest authority of his time on the history of keyboard instruments, whose name was intimately connected with the firm of Messrs. Broadwood; Lieutenant Daniel Godfrey, the well-known bandmaster for so many years of the Grenadier Guards; Dr. Joseph Parry, Professor of Music at Aberystwith and composer; Enrico M. Beignani, some time conductor at Covent Garden; and Hermann Zumpe, musical director of the Royal Opera House, Munich.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1903.

JANUARY.

Señor Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, the most prominent Spanish statesman of his time, died at Madrid, on January 5, at the age of seventy-five. He was born in the small town of Torrecilla de Caméros, in Old Castile, educated as a civil engineer at the Government College at Madrid, and was appointed to the post of engineer of roads and bridges in the province of Zamora. As member for this province he entered the Cortès in 1854, and was known as an active member of the Progressist party. He took such a prominent part in the opposition to the *coup d'état* of Don Leopold O'Donnell in 1856 that he had to leave the country for a short time. Shortly after his return to Zamora, and an unsuccessful attempt to secure re-election to the Cortès, he moved to Madrid and turned his attention to journalism. He was soon elected as Deputy for the town of Logroño, and both in the Cortès and in his newspaper, *La Iberia*, opposed O'Donnell's Ministry and those which followed it. He was again obliged to leave the country for his share in the insurrection of 1866, and settled in France, being one of the most active conspirators from abroad against the Government of Queen Isabella; and in 1868 he returned to Spain with Prim, and took part in the rising by which she was dethroned. During the interregnum and the reign of Amadeo, Sagasta was constantly in office, usually as Minister of the Interior. He accepted the Republic after the abdication of Amadeo, but was thrust into obscurity by the more advanced party under Castelar and Salmeron. In 1874, after the *coup d'état* of Pavia, he returned to office for a few months. After Mar-

tinez Campos's *pronunciamento*, securing the re-establishment of the dynasty, in the person of Alfonso XIII., he accepted the Constitutional Monarchy, and became leader of the Liberal Opposition until 1881, when he again took office, and was Prime Minister in 1881-3, 1885-90, 1893-5, 1897-9, and 1901-2, in December of which year he finally resigned. His principal rival during that long period was the Conservative statesman, Canovas, who was murdered in 1897. Sagasta's terms of office were much disturbed by riots, strikes and violent proceedings in different parts of the country; and although a genuine Liberal he did not succeed in carrying important reforms. He was in office during the disastrous war with the United States. For its calamities he could not be held responsible, but he would have acted more worthily if he had not refused the Queen-Regent's earnest request to him to remain in office till the peace treaty was ratified. He never attracted a large number of followers or personal friends, and he could not be described as a really efficient statesman, but he was throughout life a cool-headed, shrewd, political leader, with great Parliamentary gifts, free from corruption and genuinely patriotic.

Henri Stephan de Blowitz.—On the 18th, in Paris, where he had lived and worked for thirty years, died, at the age of seventy-seven, Henri Stephan de Blowitz, Paris correspondent of *The Times*. According to his posthumous Memoirs he was born in his father's château in Bohemia, and lived there till he was fifteen, when he left home and travelled over Europe for four or five years in company with

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a young professor of philology. He thus acquired a thorough knowledge of French, German, and Italian, and some general education. The fortune of his family having been lost, he was purposing to settle in America, but, while staying in Paris, he formed the acquaintance of M. de Falloux, who, shortly after becoming Minister of Public Instruction, offered him the post of Professor of Foreign Languages at the Lycée of Tours. Having stayed there for some years, he moved in the early fifties to the Lycée of Marseilles. Here, in 1859, he married Madame Bethford, *née* Arnaud d'Agnel. Thereafter he gave up his professorship and began to turn his attention to literature and politics. In 1869 he had his first experience of public life. The Imperial Government had persuaded M. de Lesseps to stand for Marseilles, hoping that his personal popularity would win the seat; he was supposed to stand as an Independent, but Blowitz, having heard the true story of his candidature from a friend in Cairo, mentioned it to the editor of a Legitimist newspaper, who at once published it. Much feeling was roused against Blowitz, and his expulsion from France was demanded. He had to leave Marseilles, and lived in the country till the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, 1870, when a renewed demand was made for his expulsion because of his predictions of the fall of the Empire. Before the matter could be settled Sedan was fought, and he almost immediately disarmed his enemies by applying for naturalisation. When this was accomplished he returned to Marseilles, where he was able to bring himself under the favourable notice of M. Thiers by his promptness in informing him of the state of anarchy in the town, and in devising means for its suppression. Thiers summoned him to Versailles, where he was employed in collecting information, a work which he did so well that he was promptly offered the Consulship of Riga. Before this appointment was confirmed he met Laurence Oliphant, then special correspondent of *The Times*, who was so much struck with his powers as to suggest that he should take the work of regular Paris correspondent during the temporary absence of Frederick Hardman. Blowitz continued to work under Hardman till his death in 1873, and after some months' delay was appointed to succeed him as Paris correspondent of *The Times*, the immediate

cause of his obtaining the appointment being his exhibition of skill and promptness in securing an interview with the Prince of the Asturias, which enabled him to publish the earliest authentic account of the *coup d'état*, by which that Prince was placed on the throne of Spain. His career as correspondent was marked by several dramatic incidents, such as his being allowed in 1875 by the Duc Decazes, the French Foreign Minister, to see a confidential despatch from the French Ambassador in Berlin (M. de Gontaut Biron), warning his Government of the designs of Moltke for the crushing of France. At the request of the Duc Decazes, Blowitz exposed this design in *The Times*, and European public opinion was so effectually aroused against it that its execution became impossible. The Tsar, moreover, is understood to have made it clear to Berlin that he would not tolerate such an outrage. Bismarck, in Blowitz's belief (as his Memoirs show), was so much against the design that he communicated it to the French Ambassador. The whole scheme melted away, leaving Blowitz at the time under accusations, both French and German, of having created an unnecessary scare. His greatest triumph was the manner in which he secured a copy of the Treaty of Berlin twenty-four hours before any other correspondent, so that the text of the Treaty was published in *The Times* at the same hour that it was being signed in Berlin. The name of the Plenipotentiary who gave him the Treaty has never been divulged, and once more Blowitz incurred a storm of abuse for his action. Though personally of aristocratic sympathies, Blowitz used his position very powerfully, at the time of the *Seize Mai* in 1877, and again during the career of General Boulanger in 1888, to expose and frustrate designs against the Constitutional Republic. In Paris, Blowitz made himself one of the best-known men of his time, and was constantly to be seen in all the most select company, social and political. He never acquired real command of the English language, but was a keen supporter of English interests, and devoted himself entirely to the service of the paper he so brilliantly represented, thinking himself justified in acquiring and conveying information for it under circumstances sometimes considered questionable. He died suddenly, shortly after he had resigned his post as correspondent.

On the 1st, in London, aged 52, **William Irvine Ritchie**, one of the Assistant Secretaries to the Board of Education. Educated at Eton, King's College,

London and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the Education Office, 1874, and devoted all his working life to it, being specially useful on financial matters. On the 2nd, aged 82, the **Hon. Joseph François Armand**, the last of the original French-Canadian Senators of the Dominion. Was appointed to the former Legislative Council of Upper and Lower Canada (1859), and in 1867, on the formation of the Dominion, he was nominated to the Federal Senate, of which he was still a member in 1901. On the 4th, aged 79, **Pierre Lafitte**, Professor at the Collège de France, an eminent Positivist, appointed by Comte as his literary executor and elected after his death Director of the Positivists in France. Chosen (1893) to the new chair at the Collège de France for exposition of the general history of science. On the 4th at Delhi, where he had gone for the Coronation Durbar, aged 44, **Sir Mahomed Munawar Ali Khan Bahadur**, fourth Prince of Arcot, a title bestowed in 1871 on the then representative of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. He was the leader of the Moslem community in the Madras Presidency and was held in high esteem by both them and the British authorities; received the title of Khan Bahadur, 1876, and was made a K.C.I.E., 1897. On the 5th, **Colonel Arthur Frederick Barrow**, b. 1850, eldest s. of Major-General de S. Barrow. Educated at Cheltenham. He served in the Afghan War, 1878, receiving the medal, and was attached to the Afghan Boundary Commission, 1884, being mentioned in despatches, and receiving the brevet of Major and C.M.G.; served with the Chitral Relief force, 1895, for which he was mentioned in despatches, received the D.S.O. and medal with clasp. M., 1898, Margaret, dau. of Jasper Young of Garroch. On the 5th, in Florence, **Louis Fagan**, second s. of George Fagan, H.B.M. Consul-General to Venezuela. Served in the British Legation at Caracas, 1866-9, when he was appointed to a post in the Prints and Drawings Department of the British Museum, where he rose to be chief assistant; wrote "The Art of Michel Angelo Buonarrotti" and several other art books, also "Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi," whose letters he had carried to Italy as a boy during the political crisis preceding the fall of Francis II. of Naples. On the 6th, at Portsmouth, **Rev. Daniel Charles West Darnell**, Head of Cargilfield School, Trinity, in Edinburgh, 1873-98, when he was appointed Vicar of Portsmouth. On the 9th, in London, **Henry de Worms**, first Baron Pirbright, b. 1840, third s. of Solomon Benedict de Worms, hereditary baron of the Austrian Empire. Educated at King's College, London, he was called to the Bar, 1863, and joined the Home Circuit, publishing in the same year a book on "The Mechanism of the Earth." He was given permission to use his Austrian title in England and was known as Baron Henry de Worms till he was created a peer, 1895, with the title of Lord Pirbright; he was returned, 1880, as Conservative member for Greenwich, and in 1885 fought and won the Toxteth (East) Division of Liverpool. Before his return to Parliament he had written books (1872) on the Austro-Hungarian Empire and (1877) on England's policy in the East. He was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1885, and held the same office, 1886-8, when he was made Under-Secretary for the Colonies, which post he held till 1892. In 1888 he was raised to the Privy Council and named one of the plenipotentiaries for the International Conference on Sugar Bounties held in London, for which he prepared the way by visiting several foreign capitals. He presided at the Conference and signed with Lord Salisbury the Abolition Treaty for Great Britain. After the Conference Lord Pirbright continued his interest in the sugar-growing Colonies, speaking and writing on the subject of their trade and urging non-ratification of the Brussels Convention of 1902. Lord Pirbright married, first, Fanny, eldest dau. of Baron von Tedesco of Vienna, and second, Sarah, only dau. of Sir Benjamin Phillips. On the 10th, **General George Scougal Macbean, C.B.**, b. 1824, s. of Colonel Forbes Macbean. Entered the Bengal Army, 1843, and served in it for forty years; served with Havelock's force throughout the Indian Mutiny, being present at many actions, including the relief and defence of Lucknow, and the Rohilkund Campaign. For these services he was mentioned in despatches, thanked by the Government of India, received brevet of Major and a year's services; acted as Deputy Commissary-General in the Afghan War, 1878-9. M., 1875, Bertha Violet, dau. of Stanley Lowe, of Whitehall, Devon, and widow of Colonel Sir William West-Turner, C.B. On the 11th, **Rev. Henry W. Watson, D.Sc., F.R.S.**, b. 1827. Was Smith's Prizeman and Second Wrangler, 1850; assistant master at Harrow, 1857-65; rector of Berkswell, near Coventry, 1865-1902; author of several mathematical and scientific books and papers, including the article "Molecule" in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the "Kinetic Theory of Gases," and several others. Was also a keen mountaineer,

and one of the founders of the Alpine Club. On the 11th, aged 91, **Dunn Gardner**, of Chatteris, Isle of Ely, and Soham, Cambridgeshire, a noted collector of old silver and *bijouterie*. He gave and partly designed the reredos of Ely Cathedral. On the 11th, aged 76, **General Mangles James Brander**, s. of Dr. James Mainwaring Brander, H.E.I.C.S. Served in the Burmese War, 1852-3, the Indian Mutiny and the Afghan War, 1878-9. For his services in the Mutiny he was twice mentioned in despatches, and received brevet of major. M., 1848, Ellen, dau. of Rev. R. Eteson, H.E.I.C.S. On the 12th, aged 44, **Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Thomas Alexander O'Callaghan**. Educated at Trinity College and the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin; was senior surgeon of the Chelsea Hospital for Women, and surgeon and gynaecologist of the French Hospital. Volunteered for service with the Royal Army Medical Corps in S. Africa, and acted as surgeon-in-chief of the Langman Hospital there. For his services in the field he was mentioned in despatches, and received the medal with clasps. On the 13th, **Dr. Henry Edward Schunck**, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., b. 1820, a leading scientist of Manchester. He devoted his life to chemical research, making discoveries of great value in manufacture, especially in connection with dyes. President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and of the Society of Chemical Industry (1897), which awarded him its Gold Medal in 1900, the Royal Society giving him its Davy Gold Medal in 1899. M., 1851, Judith, dau. of J. Brooke, of Stockport. On the 13th, aged 68, **Professor Gustav Bischof**, s. of Geheimmrath Gustav Bischof, the eminent geologist. Held the chair of Technical Chemistry at Anderson's College, Glasgow, 1871-5, and afterwards worked in London as analytical chemist. He invented the spongy iron filter, and devoted his later years to inventing and perfecting a new process for the manufacture of white lead. Mar., 1864, Jessie, dau. of George Munro, of Swansea. On the 13th, at Bathurst, N.S.W., aged 47, **Fleet Paymaster William Hawken Rowe, R.N.**, private secretary to Sir Harry Rawson, Governor of the Colony. Served with the Naval Brigade landed at Mombasa, 1895; at the bombardment and capture of the Sultan of Zanzibar's palace, 1896; and in Benin, 1897; mentioned in despatches for these services, and specially promoted fleet paymaster, 1900. On the 14th, aged 89, **Admiral Edwin Clayton Tennyson D'Eyncourt**, s. of Right Hon. Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, an uncle of the poet. Served as lieutenant in the *Calliope* at the siege and capture of Canton, 1841; commanded the *Desperate* and *Pylades* in the Baltic operations, 1854-6, and a division of ships in the Gulf of Finland, 1855, for which services he received the C.B. M., Lady Henrietta Pelham Clinton, dau. of fourth Duke of Newcastle. On the 15th, **Very Rev. David Howell**, b. 1831. Dean of St. David's since 1897, before which time he had held various livings in Wales. The son and brother of Calvinistic Methodist deacons, he had great sympathy with Nonconformists, and desired to co-operate with them in all good works. He was a thorough Welshman, and an authority on Welsh hymnology. On the 15th, in Rome, **Cardinal Lucido Maria Farocchi**, b. 1833. He was almost the last of Pius IX.'s cardinals, was Sub-Dean of the Sacred College and Chancellor of Rome. He was a man of great learning, and was not narrow in his sympathies, but he also held strong views in favour of the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal power. Had been quite lately appointed President of the Commission of Biblical Exegesis. On the 16th, **Henry Tanworth Wells, R.A.**, b. 1828. Trained as an artist, he devoted himself for many years entirely to miniature painting; exhibited his first portrait in oils, 1861, and subsequently was an almost invariable exhibitor at Burlington House; was chiefly known as a portrait-painter; also an excellent man of business and great supporter of the Royal Academy. On the 17th, **General Sir Henry Charles Barnston Daubeny, G.C.B.**, b. 1810. He served with the 55th Regiment in the Coorg Campaign, 1834; commanded the Light Company in the Chinese War, 1841-2, and was Brigade-Major to Sir James Schoedde, being twice mentioned in despatches and given the C.B.; commanded the 55th through the Crimean War and was wounded at Inkerman; for services in the Crimea he received the reward for distinguished services, the medal with three clasps, and was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour; K.C.B., 1872; G.C.B., 1884. On the 17th, **Quintin Hogg**, s. of Sir James Weir Hogg, M.P., b. 1845. Educated at Eton, where he was a very successful football player, being afterwards an international player; was a business man, director of several companies and an alderman of the London County Council, 1888-94; he had large estates in the West Indies, the income from which he devoted largely to the Regent-street Polytechnic which he had founded, and to which he gave constant care and attention all his life, almost invariably spending his evenings in the Polytechnic, and giving addresses

there on Sundays. He acquired a great influence over the members, who number between 17,000 and 18,000, and with many of whom he kept up constant correspondence. M., Alice, eldest dau. of William Graham, M.P. On the 18th, **Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore**, b. 1822. Was Consul-General for Italy, a member of the Stock Exchange and founder of the firm bearing his name; was prominent as a supporter of Jewish charities and institutions. On the 18th, aged 80, **Abram Stevers Hewitt**, formerly Mayor of New York. Held several municipal and national offices, and kept a high line of independence and courage, being of late years, when he had left active life, consulted as a wise adviser on public matters. On the 18th, aged 77, **James Innes Minchin** of the Madras Civil Service. Educated at Haileybury; served at various stations in the Madras Presidency, 1844-73, acting during his last year in India as Resident in the Native States of Travancore and Cochin; author of a collection of Sonnets, "Ex Oriente," of "Sybil, a Soul's History," and of a translation of Dante's "Divine Comedy" into terza rima, which was highly commended by Robert Browning; was a noted chess player. On the 20th, aged 89, **Rev. Alfred Gatty, D.D.**, Vicar of Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, since 1839, and Sub-Dean of York Minster since 1862. M., 1839, Margaret, dau. of Rev. Dr. Scott, chaplain to Lord Nelson, and was father of Mrs. Ewing, the authoress; was author of "The Vicar and His Duties," "Sheffield Past and Present," and other works. On the 20th, **Sir Colley Harman Scotland**, b. 1818, s. of Thomas Scotland, formerly registrar of Antigua; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras, 1861-2, and Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, 1862-71, and for the same period Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. M., 1854, dau. of John Joseph Bygrave. On the 22nd, **Augustus John Guthbert Hare**, b. 1834. Adopted and brought up by his aunt Mrs. Augustus Hare. He was the writer of some of Mr. Murray's "Handbooks" to English counties, 1859 and 1863, of "Walks in Rome" (1870), "Walks in Florence," "Cities of Central Italy," "Cities of Northern Italy," and similar volumes on other parts of Europe. They were all freely illustrated by the author's sketches; he also wrote "Memorials of a Quiet Life" (1872), "The Gurneys of Earlham," and other biographies, including his "Story of My Life" in six volumes. On the 22nd, **Admiral Thomas Saumarez, C.B.**, aged 75. Saw much active service as a midshipman in South America, being present at the blockade of Buenos Ayres, 1845, capturing and destroying seventeen boats, 1846, and in the same year being specially mentioned in despatches for his pursuit of two large schooners under heavy fire; was severely wounded at Lagos, 1851; promoted to commander at the age of twenty-seven. In China, 1858, commanded the *Cormorant*, being commended in despatches and specially promoted to Captain's rank at the age of thirty-one for his services in the attack on the Pei-ho forts. M., first to a dau. of S. R. Block, of Barnet; secondly, to a dau. of B. Scott Riley, of Liverpool. On the 23rd, aged 84, **Commander Frederick Morris, R.N.**, s. of Sir John Morris, of Sketty Park, Glamorganshire. As mate of the *Pique* he served throughout the Syrian War, 1840, being mentioned in despatches for his conduct at the taking of Caiffa and Tsour. On the 25th, aged 85, **Major-General Charles James Buchanan Riddell, C.B.**, late R.A. Served in the Indian Mutiny, commanding the siege artillery of Outram's force at the siege and capture of Lucknow, and the artillery of Lugard's column at the engagement of the Tigree; was three times mentioned in despatches, made a C.B., and received the medal with clasps. On the 25th, **Colonel William George Cubitt, V.C., D.S.O.**, aged 67, s. of Major Cubitt, of the Bengal Army. Saw much active service in India, and was awarded the V.C. for his gallantry in saving the lives of three men in the action of Chintahut in the Indian Mutiny. Mentioned in despatches for his conduct in the Duffa and Burmese Expeditions, for which last he received the D.S.O. M. a dau. of James Hills, of Nischindapore, Bengal. On the 26th, aged 73, **Major-General Thomas Carlyle Bell**, of the Indian Army. Served with the Persian Expeditionary Force, 1856-7, and in the Afghan War, 1879-80, being mentioned in despatches. On the 28th, aged 90, **Captain Robert Calder Allen, C.B., R.N.**, retired, s. of William Allen, of Torryburn, Fife. Entered the Navy, 1827. When acting master of the *Plumper* brig, he captured a Spanish slave schooner with 510 slaves on board; served against pirates in Borneo, 1842-3; took part in the Arctic expedition, 1850-1, as master of the *Resolute*; served in both Baltic expeditions during the war with Russia, being mentioned in despatches for his services in making soundings at night; was Queen's Harbour Master at Malta, 1864-7, and at Devonport and Deptford, 1867-72. On the 28th, aged 80, **James Stevenson**, of Hailie, Largs, Chairman of the African Lakes Company, the road between Lake Nyassa and Tanganyika being named after him. Founded several scholarships in the Uni-

versity of Glasgow, and endowed the chair of Natural Science in the Free Church Theological College, and paid the cost of a catalogue of the Greek coins in the Hunterian collection in Glasgow University. For these services the University gave him the degree of LL.D. On the 29th, aged 71, **Lieutenant-Colonel George Lynedoch Carmichael**, s. of the Hon. David Carmichael, Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. He served with the 95th Regiment through the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, when he was in Rajputana and Central India, 1858-9. He received the Crimean medal with three clasps, the Turkish medal and fifth class of the Medjidieh, and was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour; for his services in the Mutiny he was mentioned in despatches, granted the brevet of major, and given the medal with clasps. For several years he was Chief Constable of Worcestershire, and raised the police force under him to a state of great efficiency. On the 29th, aged 92, **James Edwards Sowell**, for nearly forty-three years Warden of New College, Oxford. Educated at Winchester and New College, his whole life was bound up with the interests of the College of which he was tutor and bursar before he was elected Warden (1860). Though by nature a strong Conservative and disliking all change, his great fairness of mind enabled him to carry out the reforms in the administration of the College which had been recommended by the first University Commission just before he became Warden. Under his rule the number of undergraduates increased eightfold, and New College was one of the first to remove the old rule of celibacy for its Fellows, to open its lectures to members of other colleges, and to found a number of open scholarships. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1874-8, and showed the same impartiality and knowledge of detail in dealing with university as with college matters. He had taken the first steps preliminary to resigning the Wardenship, but became too ill to carry them out, and died in the Warden's lodgings. On the 30th, aged 88, **General George Lambrick**, Royal Marine Light Infantry (retired). Served under General Sir de Lacy Evans in Spain, 1836-7, being mentioned in despatches; was employed on special service in Mexico, 1861-2; made A.D.C. to Queen Victoria, 1864. M. dau. of General Sir Charles Menzies. On the 31st, the **Velikivovode Peter Vukotitch**, s. of one of the Montenegrin chiefs exiled by the Vladika, 1834; was grandfather of the Queen of Italy. A fighter by nature, and particularly in the wars against Turkey, 1852-62, he distinguished himself by his success (1853) in holding, with about twenty others, a cavern in a monastery against the Turkish army. In the later wars of 1874-6 he was not in command, but fought throughout the campaign. For the last twenty-five years he had lived peacefully on his small estate. On the 31st, at Cambridge, aged 73, **Rev. Norman Macleod Ferrers, D.D., F.R.S.** Educated at Eton and Gonville and Caius College; Senior Wrangler and first Smith's Prizeman, 1851; author of an "Elementary Treatise on Trilinear Co-ordinates" (1861) and of an "Elementary Treatise on Spherical Harmonics" (1877); for some time editor with Professor Sylvester of the *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics*; became Tutor of his college, 1865, and Master, 1880. On the 31st, at Oxford, **Rev. John Earle**, b. 1824; educated at Kingsbridge Grammar School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford; elected a Fellow of Oriel, 1848, and Professor of Anglo-Saxon, 1849. He roused much interest in a much neglected study. In 1857 he took the living of Swanswick, near Bath, but returned to Oxford and his Anglo-Saxon Professorship, 1876. Author of "The Philology of the English Tongue," "English Plant Names," "English Prose," and several other works on philological subjects. On the 31st, **Meyer Lutz**, b. 1829, for many years organist of St. George's Roman Catholic Cathedral, London. Conducted at the Surrey Theatre, 1851-5, and was engaged at the Gaiety Theatre, where he wrote the music for a long series of comic operas and burlesques; composer of the "Pas de Quatre" and many well-known songs and dances, as well as some more serious music. In January, **Herbert William Fisher**, b. 1826. A friend of A. H. Clough, who took him on several of his reading-parties; was tutor to the present King at both Oxford and Cambridge; private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle during the Crimean War, and to the then Prince of Wales, 1863-70. From 1865-70 he was Keeper of the Privy Seal to the Prince; Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, 1870-96, when that ancient office was abolished. In January, **Giovanni Costa**, b. 1826, an Italian landscape painter of great merit. Also a devoted supporter of Garibaldi, under whom he worked and fought ardently for the unity of Italy. In January, aged 57, **Commander Edward Richard Connor, C.M.G.** Employed for two years on the coast of Africa in the suppression of the slave trade, and was severely wounded in an engagement with natives in Tierra del Fuego; served in the New South Wales Defence Force from 1885, ultimately becoming its commandant. In January, **Sir Frederick Sargood**,

b. 1834 at Walworth. Emigrated to Victoria, 1850. A successful business man; entered the Legislative Council, 1874; Minister of Defence, 1888; and was one of the six senators representing Victoria in the Commonwealth Parliament. In January, aged 48, **Major John Sullivan Cameron**, an officer who rose from the ranks. Served in the ranks and as warrant officer for eleven years, receiving a commission as quartermaster in the Lancashire Fusiliers, 1886; took part in the Nile campaign, 1898, receiving mention in despatches, honorary rank of Major, medal, and Egyptian medal and clasp. In January, **Colonel John Francis Fitzgerald Cologan**. Served in the Indian Mutiny, taking part in the siege and capture of Lucknow and of Calpee, also in the operations in the Azimghur and Goruckpore districts, 1858-9, gaining the medal with two clasps; served in the Afghan campaign, 1879-80, as Staff Officer and Paymaster of the Transport, Khyber Line, being mentioned in despatches and receiving the thanks of the Imperial Government, with brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel and medal; and in the Burmese expedition, 1887-8. In January, **Robert Cunliffe**, one of the oldest practising solicitors in London. President of the Law Society, 1890-1, and a well-known Freemason. In January, **Miss Helen Blackburn**, one of the pioneers in the movement for improving the political and industrial position of women. She was for many years secretary and afterwards hon. secretary to the Central Committee for Women's Suffrage in London, and editor till her death of the *Englishwoman's Review*. In January, aged 71, **Donald Harvey MacVicar, D.D.** Born in Scotland, he passed his whole life in Canada, receiving his theological training at Knox College. He was appointed to Côté Street Church, Montreal, 1860, and to be principal of the Montreal Presbyterian College (1868), where he remained for the rest of his life, training men for the Presbyterian ministry. Received his D.D. from Knox College, 1888, after holding the office of Moderator of the Canadian General Assembly.

FEBRUARY.

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.—On February 9 there died Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, born 1816, son of a farmer and shopkeeper of Monaghan. Came to Dublin as reporter on the *Morning Register*, became editor of the *Vindicator* in Belfast, 1834, but returned to Dublin, 1842, and founded the *Nation* with the help of Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. He controlled the paper for thirteen years and made it a powerful influence in Irish politics, giving strong support to the agitation for repeal of the Union. The *Nation* was of high literary quality, and its directors aimed at educating the Irish people for the worthy conduct of a national political existence. Duffy was involved with O'Connell in a State prosecution for exciting disaffection among the people and was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, but was released at the end of three. After his release Duffy gathered a band of young men, chiefly Trinity College students, who wrote in the *Nation* and were known as "Young Irelanders," recognising Mr. Smith O'Brien as their leader. They preached the appeal to physical force to obtain the repeal of the Union and in 1848, one year after the death of O'Connell, who had strenuously opposed any use of force, decided to rebel. The rising was a total failure, the people not

being prepared to follow the Young Irelanders, and was easily put down by a few police. The *Nation* was suppressed; Duffy was tried three times for treason but each time the jury disagreed, and after ten months in jail he was released. In 1849 he revived the *Nation*, but turned his attention now to the social improvement of Ireland. He helped, 1850, to found the "Tenant League," and was returned for New Ross, 1852. The collapse of the Tenant League induced him to leave Ireland, 1855, and he emigrated to Victoria. There, after holding various offices, he became Prime Minister, 1871, and was gazetted knight, 1873. He visited Ireland, 1875, and was concerned in an unsuccessful attempt to substitute a movement for repeal for the Home Rule agitation. He returned to Victoria, 1876, and was Speaker of the Assembly for three years, from 1877. In 1880 he left Australia and spent the rest of his life at Nice, always taking a keen interest in Irish affairs and strongly supporting Mr. Gladstone's Land Act, 1881. He was entirely out of sympathy with Parnellite tactics, and therefore refused the twice-made offer that he should represent Monaghan, 1885 and 1892. He published "Young Ireland," "Four Years of Irish History," "My Life in Two Hemispheres,"

"Conversations with Carlyle," and "The League of the North and South."

Field-Marshal Sir J. Lintorn Simmons.

—On February 14 there died Field-Marshal Sir John Lintorn Arabin Simmons, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., born 1821, son of Captain Thomas Frederick Simmons, R.A. Educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. He obtained his first commission in 1837; for the first part of his career he was chiefly occupied with railway work, being successively Inspector of Railways, Secretary to the Railway Commission, and Secretary to the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. In 1853, being in Turkey on leave, he was employed by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on several missions connected with the Embassy and was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner at the headquarters of the Ottoman army in Europe. In 1854 he served with the army under Omar Pasha on the Danube, receiving the Turkish gold medal for his services; later in the same year he went to the Crimea where he took part in the siege of

Sevastopol and the action of Eupatoria, in which the Turkish garrison, with which he served, repulsed a greatly larger force of Russians. In 1855 he fought under Omar Pasha in Asia Minor, rendering good service against the Russians. For his services in the Crimea he received a brevet and mention in despatches, the C.B., and a sword of honour from the Sultan. In 1857 he acted as British Commissioner for regulating the Russo-Turkish Boundary in Asia, and was Consul-General at Warsaw, 1858-60. He received the command of the Royal Engineers at Aldershot (1860), was Director of the Royal Engineer establishment at Chatham, 1865-8, Lieutenant-Governor and, a year later, Governor of the Royal Military Academy, 1869-75, Inspector-General of Fortifications, 1875-80, and Governor of Malta, 1884-8. He also served on several Commissions and Special Embassies, his last public service being as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Pope in 1889. He married, first (1846), Ellen, daughter of John Lintorn Simmons, of Keynsham, and, second (1856), Blanch, daughter of Samuel Charles Weston.

On the 1st, there died at Cambridge, aged 83, **Sir George Gabriel Stokes**, a most distinguished mathematician and man of science, s. of the Rev. Gabriel Stokes, Rector of Skreen, co. Sligo. He was educated at Dr. Wall's School, Dublin, Bristol College and Pembroke College, Cambridge; Senior Wrangler, 1841; Fellow of Pembroke, 1841-57, and re-elected, 1869; appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University, 1849, and elected member of the Royal Society, 1851; was awarded (1852) its Rumford medal for his paper on the dynamical theory of diffraction, one of the most important advances made in establishing the undulatory theory of light; from 1884 to 1885 he was one of the secretaries, and from 1885-90 President of the Royal Society. Created a baronet, 1889, he received among many other recognitions of his work, the Prussian Order *Pour le Mérite*. Having worked on the Cambridge University Commission of the early seventies, he represented Cambridge University in Parliament, 1887-92. In 1902 he consented to become Master of Pembroke on condition that he need not change his residence. In June, 1899, his jubilee as university professor was celebrated at Cambridge with the presentation of a commemorative medal from his university, a medal from the French Institute, and addresses from a great gathering representing learned societies in all parts of the world. In an appreciation of his work, contributed on that occasion to the *Cambridge Review*, Professor J. J. Thomson wrote: "By his researches on hydrodynamics Sir G. Stokes has founded a new branch of the science; in optics he has, to use the words of Lord Kelvin, been the teacher and guide of his contemporaries; he was the first to enunciate in his lectures the principles on which spectrum analysis is founded; he unravelled the laws of fluorescence; he investigated the variation of gravity over the surface of the earth; he has solved problems of the greatest difficulty in pure mathematics; while the latest of his long series of researches is his remarkable paper on the nature of the Röntgen rays. His papers are the classics of science." M., 1857, a dau. of the Rev. T. R. Robinson, D.D., Director of Armagh Observatory. On the 1st, aged 85, **Martin Friedrich Rudolf Delbrück**, one of the most prominent officials who worked with Prince Bismarck for the making of modern Germany. Owing to disagreement with Bismarck's fiscal policy, when it was becoming Protectionist, he retired from office, 1876, and had since led a retired life, except for three years, 1878-81, when he sat in the Imperial Diet. On the 2nd, aged 76, **Louisa Lady Ashburton**, dau. of Right Hon. James Alexander Stewart-Mackenzie, M.P. M., 1858, second Baron Ashburton. Much

devoted to good works, making her house both in London and at Melchet a social and philanthropic centre. On the 3rd, **Dr. David George Ritchie**, s. of Rev. George Ritchie, of Jedburgh; Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in St. Andrews University. Educated at Jedburgh Academy and Edinburgh University, and afterwards at Balliol College, Oxford. Elected Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, 1878, and was tutor of that college, 1881-94; for part of the time also tutor of Balliol. Elected to the chair of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews, 1894; author of "Darwinism and Politics," 1889; "Natural Rights," 1895, and other works; also worked with Dr. Jowett in translation of, and notes to, the Politics of Aristotle. M., first, a sister of Professor Macdonell; secondly, a sister of Professor Berry Haycraft, of University College, Cardiff. On the 4th, aged 71, **Major John Arthur Bayley**, s. of Judge Bayley of the Westminster County Court. Served in the Indian Mutiny, when he commanded and led the storming party of the third column in the assault on the Kashmir Gate in the siege of Delhi, 1857, being severely wounded and receiving the brevet of Major. On the 4th, aged 68, **Surgeon-Major William Venour**, Army Medical Staff (retired). Served in the Ashanti Campaign, 1873; the Afghan War, 1878-80; the Soudan Expedition, 1884, when he was in charge of a hospital at the base, and the Burmese Expedition, 1886-7, when he had charge of a field hospital. Was mentioned in despatches for his services in the Soudan and Burma. On the 4th, aged 88, **Right Rev. Charles John Abraham**, s. of Captain Abraham, of Sandhurst. Educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge; was an assistant master at Eton, 1898-50, when he went out to New Zealand as chaplain to Bishop Selwyn. Consecrated first Bishop of Wellington, 1858; returned to England to be Assistant Bishop to Bishop Selwyn at Lichfield, 1870, and was given a Canonry in the Cathedral, 1876, which he resigned, 1890. M. a dau. of Sir C. Palmer, of Wanlip. On the 6th, **Ralph Milbanke, C.B.**, b. 1852, s. of Sir John Milbanke. Educated at Harrow. Had been third and second secretary at Vienna, Pekin and Berlin, before he was appointed, 1893, to be Consul-General for Hungary. Made C.B., 1895; Secretary of the Embassy at Vienna, 1896, and Minister Plenipotentiary, 1900. He was highly popular in Viennese society, and was treated with rare consideration by the Imperial family. On the 6th, **Petko Karaveloff**, b. 1845, three times Prime Minister of Bulgaria, 1880, 1884, and 1901. Was charged by his enemies with being concerned in the abduction of Prince Alexander. He was an object of dislike and suspicion to M. Stamboloff, and during his power was imprisoned for five years, having been convicted by court-martial on a very slenderly supported charge of complicity in the murder of M. Beltscheff. His inability to deal with the financial question brought his fall a few months after becoming Prime Minister, November, 1901. Was a man of probity, and died comparatively poor. On the 7th, aged 93, **James Glaisher, F.R.S.** From an early age he took great interest in the science of meteorology. In 1833 he became assistant at the Cambridge Observatory, and in 1836 in the astronomical department of the Greenwich Observatory; became superintendent of the Magnetic and Meteorological Department there, 1840, and held that post for thirty-four years. He began (1841) the publication of quarterly and annual reports of meteorology, continued ever since. In 1862 he joined Mr. Coxwell in balloon ascents for the British Association, reaching the height of 37,000 feet, and making very valuable observations; was the author of more than 100 books and papers relating to meteorology, astronomy and the theory of numbers; for many years chairman of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. On the 8th, **Miss Ada Ellen Bayly**, dau. of Robert Bayly, a barrister; was a well-known writer of novels under the pseudonym of "Edna Lyall". Her first published work was "Won by Waiting" (1879); and was followed by "Donovan" (1882), and "We Two" (1884), which attracted more attention and were widely read. They were both written in advocacy of Christianity as opposed to Secularist teaching. Miss Bayly also published "A Knight Errant," "In the Golden Days," "A Hardy Norseman," and several other novels, which had about equal merit of pleasant writing and serious thought. On the 8th, aged 63, **Frebendary Edward Burbidge**, for nearly thirty years Rector of Backwell; for several years diocesan inspector in the diocese of Bath and Wells; author of "Liturgies and Offices of the Church," a standard work on its subject. On the 9th, aged 76, **Professor Edward Byles Cowell**, educated at Ipswich Grammar School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was in India, 1856-64, as Professor of History at Calcutta, and Principal of the Government Sanskrit College; Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge from 1867 till his death. In his time the Semitic Languages Tripos (1878), the Indian Languages Tripos (1893), and the Oriental Languages Tripos (1895) were founded. He was an active supporter of the Cam-

bridge University Mission at Delhi; was a good Spanish scholar and botanist, and was much beloved in the University. On the 12th, aged 81, **Sergeant E. H. Lewis, R.E.** He volunteered for service in the Soudan under Lord Kitchener, 1899, and constructed the telegraphs up the Nile nearly to Khartoum, and also from Suakin to Kassala; was the subject of a special Army Order, praising these services. On the 13th, aged 82, **Alderman John Love Seaton**, senior alderman and member of the Hull Corporation. Mayor of Hull, 1879-4, and had filled nearly every public office in the city; took a leading part in the agitation against the income-tax thirty years ago, being one of the founders of the Anti-Income Tax League. M., 1852, dau. of Dr. Edward Tribe, of Bristol. On the 14th, **Vice-Admiral George Le Geyt Bowyear, C.B.**, s. of Thomas Kyerwood Bowyear, of Delwa, Herefordshire, b. 1818. Served in the East and West Indies and China; took part in the bombardment of Sevastopol as commander of the *Vengeance*, and later in the same war commanded the *Vulcan*; received for his services promotion to Captain and the Legion of Honour. On the 15th, aged 85, **Francis Cranmer Penrose, F.R.S., F.R.I.B.A.** Surveyor of the Fabric of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1852-97; Director of the British Archæological School at Athens, 1886; Hon. Antiquary to the Royal Academy, 1899. He published (1851) "The Principles of Athenian Architecture," and (1869) "A Method of Predicting Occultations of Stars and Solar Eclipses by Graphical Construction." M., 1856, a dau. of Francis Gibbs, Surgeon, of Harewood, Yorkshire. On the 15th, **Joshua George Falle**, a Jurat of the Royal Court of Jersey, b. 1820, s. of J. G. Falle, of Hambie. Devoted his life to the interests of Jersey, representing St. Heliers as Deputy and "Connétable," and was a Judge of the Royal Court for twenty-five years; was president of several of the committees by which the island is governed, and gave freely to many of its societies. M. Mary Elizabeth, dau. of Francis Godfray of Gray's-Inn Square. On the 16th, aged 87, **Captain and Brevet Major Edward Tite James**, s. of the late Francis James, of Edgeworth Manor. He served in South Africa with the first battalion of the South Lancashire Regiment, taking part in the relief of Ladysmith and the operations which led up to it, being twice mentioned in despatches and receiving the brevet of Major, and being one of the officers specially selected by Lord Roberts for admission as students to the Staff College. M. the dau. of Colonel R. W. Edis, C.B. On the 16th, aged 86, **Danby Palmer Fry**, legal adviser to the Local Government Board, 1878-82, previously in the service of the Poor Law Board; published many legal works, including "Poor Laws" and "Law of Vaccination," which has passed through seven editions. On the 17th, aged 61, **Dr. Joseph Parry**, Mus. Doc. (Cantab), s. of poor Welsh parents. He studied music at the Royal Academy of Music under Sterndale Bennett, Garcia and Steggall; author of an opera, "Blodwen," an oratorio, "Emmanuel"; an opera, "The Maid of Cefn Ydfa," and several other operas; Professor of Music at University College, Aberystwith, for many years. On the 18th, at Tokio, **Prince Komatsu**, b. 1846, a Japanese prince who was early impressed with the advantages of applying Western civilisation to Japan. He visited England three times, being the first Japanese prince to be received by Queen Victoria in 1871; represented the Mikado at the Jubilee, 1887 (when he received the G.C.B.), and came as Special Ambassador for the Coronation of King Edward, 1902. He was a keen soldier, commanding an army corps at the age of twenty-six, and the Guards in the Chinese War, 1894-5. On the 19th, aged 50, the **Right Rev. the Hon. Arthur Temple Lyttelton**, Bishop Suffragan of Southampton, fifth s. of the fourth Lord Lyttelton. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as head of the Moral Science Tripos (1873). After two years as curate at Reading, he joined the staff of Keble College, Oxford, and three years later (1882) was appointed Master of the newly opened Selwyn College, Cambridge. Here he worked with much success, maintaining a high tone among the men under him, and seeing the college grow from very small beginnings to take its full share in the University life. In 1893 he accepted the Vicarage of Eccles, near Manchester, where he became Rural Dean and Proctor in Convocation; was made Honorary Chaplain to the Queen (1895), and Honorary Canon of Manchester (1898). In 1898 he was appointed to the Suffragan Bishopric of Southampton in the diocese of Winchester, with which work he combined that of Provost of Lancing College. He contributed the essay on the "Atonement" to the volume "Lux Mundi," and published his Hulsean lectures on "The Place of Miracles in Religion" (1891), and was for many years a regular contributor to the *Guardian* newspaper. His early death was deeply deplored, important services having been expected from his great abilities and devotion in higher positions in the Church. M. Kathleen, dau. of George

Clive, of Perrystone Court, Herefordshire. On the 21st, at Johannesburg, **Miss Kate Vaughan**, a well-known actress and dancer at the Gaiety Theatre (1876-83), and in the provinces where she toured with a company of her own. On the 22nd, aged 57, **Gustav Storm**, a noted Norwegian historian, s. of O. J. Storm, parish priest of Rendalen; was Professor of History in the University of Christiania from 1877 to his death. Author of a great number of works on ancient Scandinavian history, of a series of editions of texts from the earliest times to the sixteenth century, and of monographs on the legendary history of the North. On the 24th, **Dr. George Birkbeck Hill**, s. of Arthur Hill, and nephew of Sir Rowland Hill, b. 1835. Headmaster, 1859-76, of Bruce Castle School, where he had been educated, going afterwards to Pembroke College, Oxford. He was a great authority on Johnsonian literature, publishing "Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics" (1878), and "Boswell's Correspondence" (1879), before he brought out (1887) his edition in six volumes of Boswell's "Life of Johnson," with notes by himself, which is recognised as the standard edition of that work. He also edited "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa," published in 1881, from material supplied by Colonel, afterwards General, Gordon. On the 25th, **Colonel Sir J. Terence O'Brien, K.C.M.G.** He served in India from 1849 to 1867, being present throughout the Mutiny. For the Oudh Campaign, 1858-9, he was mentioned in despatches. For his services under Sir Hope Grant at the passage of the Gogra and affairs of Muchleegawn and Kumdakoti he received the medal and brevet of Major. After some years of engineer work he was appointed (1867) Inspector General of Police in Mauritius, Governor of Heligoland (1881), and of Newfoundland (1888). On the 26th, aged 49, **Henry John Palmer**, editor since 1890 of the *Yorkshire Post*. He had been previously connected with the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and editor of the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*. On the 27th, aged 78, **Rev. John Hurst, D.D.**, Rector of St. Swithin, London-stone. Was brought up in Canada; educated at the Western University, which gave him his honorary D.D., 1900; was Rector of Windsor, Ontario, 1859, and a pioneer of missions in the Far West. He came to England, and in 1881 was appointed to the Vicarage of St. Mark's, Tollington Park, which he resigned after having been made Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1889. He held this post till 1902, in conjunction, since 1892, with the Rectory of St. Swithin with St. Mary Bothaw, in the City. On the 27th, aged 89, **Rev. Henry Solly**, founder (1862) of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and a leading social reformer. In February, **Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer**, b. 1855, a distinguished worker for the higher education of women in America. She occupied the chair of History at Wellesley before being elected its President, 1881; received the degree Ph.D. from Michigan University, 1883; of Litt.D. from Columbia College, and LL.D. from Union College, 1887. Married George Herbert Palmer, 1887; became Dean of the women's department of the University of Chicago, 1892; President of several associations for the advancement of women's interests. In February, aged 84, **Richard Jordan Gatling**, b. in Hertford County, North Carolina. Invented the revolving gun which bears his name, 1862; a new gun metal made of steel and aluminium, 1886, and various machines.

MARCH.

Sir Hector Macdonald, K.C.B. — On March 25 there died by his own hand in Paris, aged 50, General Sir Hector Archibald Macdonald, K.C.B. Born at Rootfield, Ross-shire, the youngest of five sons of a crofter and stonemason. Entered the Army, 1870, enlisting in the 92nd Regiment (now 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders). Served with distinction with his regiment in the Afghan War of 1879, when he was a colour-sergeant, and was mentioned in despatches by General Roberts. After ten years' service in the ranks received his commission. Took part in Sir G. Colley's attempted relief of the British forces in the Transvaal at

Majuba, 1881, and displayed such remarkable courage on that day, when he was taken prisoner, that on his release General Joubert returned him his sword. He served with the Nile Expedition, 1885; at Suakin, 1888; received the D.S.O. for Toski, 1889; took part in the capture of Tokar, and became a Major, 1891. While with Sir H. Kitchener in the Sudan he showed conspicuous bravery in many battles. At Omdurman his cool manoeuvring of his brigade was of essential value at a critical moment, and he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; was promoted to be Colonel and an Aide-de-Camp to the

Queen. He took command of the Highland Brigade after the death of General Wauchope in South Africa, and was wounded in the battle of Paardeberg, for his services at which he was twice mentioned in despatches and made K.C.B., 1900. He subsequently served with his brigade in many engagements. After returning home he was appointed, 1902, to command the forces in Ceylon. Thence he came to England early in 1903, and died by his own hand in Paris on his way back to his post, in presence of newspaper reports as to a court-martial inquiry which was impending into allegations affecting his personal conduct. The British Army never had a braver soldier.

The Very Rev. George Granville Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster.—George Granville Bradley, son of Rev. Charles Bradley, Vicar of Glasbury, Brecon, was born December 11, 1821, and was educated at Clapham Grammar School and at Rugby (1837-40) under Dr. Arnold. Obtaining a scholarship at University College, Oxford, he graduated in 1844 (First Class *Lit. Hum.*), and the next year took the Chancellor's prize for a Latin essay, when he was a resident Fellow of his college. In 1846 he became an assistant master at Rugby School, and in 1858, when also he was ordained, he was made the Head Master of Marlborough College, in which position he achieved a great reputation, especially as a stimulating and inspiring teacher. In 1870 he became Master of University College, Oxford, in succession to Dr. Plumptre. He was appointed by Dr. Tait when Archbishop of Canterbury as one of his examining chaplains, and became Hon. Chaplain to Queen Victoria in 1874, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary 1876. In February, 1881, he was appointed by Mr. Gladstone Canon of Worcester in succession to Dr. Barry, who had been transferred to Westminster, and on the death of Dean Stanley he was promoted in August, 1881, to the Deanery of Westminster. During his tenure of office, from 1881 to 1902, when on account of failing health he resigned, he took part in many great services and functions. In the Jubilee service attended by Queen Victoria in 1887, and when the House of Lords came in state to the Abbey on the Sunday before the thanksgiving day in 1897, and in the coronation of King Edward VII., Dean Bradley was a notable figure. He will be remembered for his services in rescuing the Abbey

from decay and for restoring its finances, and also for his successful continuance of Dean Stanley's efforts to interest the people in the historic building and its monuments.

Dean Bradley married in 1859 Marian, a daughter of Archdeacon Philpot, and they had seven children—two sons and five daughters. His second daughter—the authoress—married Rev. Dr. Woods, a former President of Trinity College, Oxford. Dean Bradley was much loved for his gentle and amiable character.

His death took place on March 13 after a lingering illness of several weeks.

The Very Rev. Frederic William Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury.—Frederic William Farrar, son of Rev. C. R. Farrar, Rector of Sidcup, Kent, was born at Bombay in August, 1831. He was educated at King William's College, Isle of Man, and at the age of sixteen entered King's College, London, where he took scholarships and many prizes, graduating B.A. in 1850, and was University Scholar in 1852. He had already won a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the Chancellor's Prize for English Verse on the subject of "The Arctic Regions." He graduated at Cambridge in 1854 as fourth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, and was among the Junior Optimes in mathematics. He won several other University prizes and a Fellowship at his College. The Bishop of Salisbury ordained him as deacon in 1854, and the Bishop of Ely as priest in 1857. He chose the profession of schoolmaster, serving his first apprenticeship at Marlborough. Next he became an assistant master at Harrow, first under Dr. Vaughan, and afterwards under Dr. Butler, now Master of Trinity, Cambridge. In 1870 he delivered the Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge on "The Witness of History to Christ." In 1871 Dr. Farrar was appointed Head Master of Marlborough College in succession to Dr. Bradley. He remained there till 1876, when on the death of Canon Conway he became Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. He was appointed Chaplain of the House of Commons in 1890, and while at Westminster was known as an eloquent and popular preacher. His first great literary success was achieved while he was at Harrow in the shape of a public-school story entitled "Eric, or Little by Little," which, despite a certain sentimental note differentiating

it from Thomas Hughes's classic work, attained a great popularity. At Marlborough he wrote his best-known work, "The Life of Christ," which reached in a single year its twelfth edition, and has been translated into many of the languages of Europe.

He was Bampton Lecturer in 1885 at Oxford, taking as his subject "The History of Interpretation," and was Honorary Chaplain, and afterwards Chaplain-in-Ordinary, to Queen Victoria.

He accepted in 1895 the Deanery of Canterbury, and exerted himself in a position which was less prominent and less lucrative than that he had held at Westminster to carry out the much-needed work of restoration of Canterbury Cathedral. His literary activity, which had been incessant, diminished with increasing years and

failing health. For a year or more he had suffered from paralysis, and his death occurred at Canterbury on March 22 at the Deanery. Among his numerous literary productions besides those already referred to, should be mentioned, in the domain of Christian history, the "Life of St. Paul" (1879), and "The Early Days of Christianity" (1882); in that of fiction, "Julian Home," a tale of college life (1859), and "St. Winifred's, or the World of School" (1863); the "Origin of Language" (1860), and other philological works, which, it is said, secured Dr. Farrar's election as a Fellow of the Royal Society; a volume entitled "Eternal Hope," held in the late seventies of doubtful orthodoxy, and various contributions to biblical commentaries and dictionaries, and to the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

On the 1st, aged 93, at Florence, which had benefited much from his benevolence, **John Temple Leader**, a man of great wealth, culture and liberality; sat for Westminster from 1837 to 1847, and previously for Bridgwater in the Reform Parliament of 1832. He was a friend of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. C. P. Villiers, and other eminent politicians and men of letters. His mediæval castle of Vincigliata, Italy, was visited by Queen Victoria, and by many lovers of art. On the 1st, at Southsea, aged 67, **Vice-Admiral Richard Henry Napier**, second s. of the late Captain H. E. Napier, R.N. Entered the Navy, 1849; became commander in 1868; conducted the China survey, a work extending over five years, and for it was promoted Captain. From 1886 to 1890 he was Captain in charge of Ascension Island; Rear-Admiral on retired list in 1892, and Vice-Admiral in 1898. M., first, Mary, dau. of Frederick Dyer, and second, Teresa, eldest dau. of Robert Priest. On the 3rd, at Prague, aged 85, **Dr. Baron Ladislaus von Rieger**, founder and leader of the Old Czech party. Born at Semil, in Bohemia. Educated at Prague and Vienna for civil service, but this career he abandoned to take part in the Czech national movement. In 1850 he returned to Prague from Paris, whither he had fled after the suppression of the Constituent Bohemian Reichsrath, formed an alliance with the Czech nobility, and remained undisputed leader of his party and nation for forty years. At the election of 1891, the Old Czechs, who had been undermined by Radical influences, disappeared, but in 1896 Rieger became a member of the Upper House in the Austrian Reichsrath, and was made a Baron. On the 4th, at Edgbaston, aged 69, **Joseph Henry Shorthouse**, chemical manufacturer and member of the Society of Friends. Born in Birmingham in 1834. Author of "John Inglesant," a remarkable philosophical romance of the time of Charles I., in the composition of which he spent nearly twenty years. Published in 1880 in a privately printed edition of 100 copies, it afterwards attained an enormous sale. He wrote several other works, and published "The Little Schoolmaster Mark" in 1883; "Sir Percival" in 1886; "Countess Eve" in 1888; "A Teacher of the Violin" in 1888; and "Blanche Lady Falaise" in 1891; but except his "John Inglesant" none had any considerable success. On the 5th, at Babbicombe, near Torquay, **The Right Rev. Dr. Ellsborough**, R.C. Bishop of Salford. Born 1837. He was educated at Ushaw College, and was ordained in 1865; in 1890 became a domestic prelate of the Pope. Appointed Bishop of Salford, 1893; was a noted controversialist and supporter of Roman Catholic schools. On the 5th, at Estancia de los Ombres, Buenos Ayres, aged 58, **Sir Adam Clayton Power**, sixth baronet of Kilfane, Co. Kilkenny. Was the third s. of Sir John Power, the second baronet. On the 5th, at Assouan, aged 49, **Lieutenant-Colonel George Francis Henderson**, C.B., eldest s. of the Dean of Carlisle. Entered the army in 1878 after leaving Oxford; served in Egyptian Campaign of 1882, taking part in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir; was Professor of Military Art and History at the Staff College from 1892 to 1897; Director of Military Intelligence under Lord Roberts in the South African War up to the capture of Cronje's army at Paardeberg, after which his health broke down. Author of a remarkable Life of Stonewall Jackson, a study of the early years of

the American Civil War. He was entrusted with the charge of editing the official History of the Boer War, with the rank of Assistant Adjutant-General. He was very highly considered as a teacher, writer and thinker on military affairs, and his early death was greatly deplored. On the 6th, off Corfu, aged 65, **Colonel Richard Kerr Bayly, C.B.** Entered the army in 1855; served in the Crimea, 1855-6; Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, including actions at Cawnpore and Lucknow; Captain in 1865; served in Ashanti War (Brevet-Major), 1874; Colonel, 1886. Took part in the battles of Tel-el-Kebir, 1882, and El-Teb, 1884, and in the Nile Expedition of 1884-5, for which he was made C.B. On the 7th, at Windlesham, Surrey, aged 51, **Henry Currie Leigh-Bennett, M.P.**, eldest s. of Rev. Henry Leigh-Bennett. Educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, sat as a Conservative for Chertsey division of Surrey from 1897; was a director of the London and South-Western Railway; a county councillor for Surrey. M., 1878, a dau. of Thomas Miller Mackay. On the 6th, aged 63, **Gaston Paris**, a distinguished philologist and writer, s. of Paulin Paris, member of the French Academy and the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres; head of the Collège de France. On the 7th, at Musselburgh, **Hely Hutchinson Almond, LL.D.**, Headmaster of Loretto from 1862. Born in Glasgow, 1832. Educated at Glasgow University and at Balliol College, Oxford; a prominent educationist and supporter of public school games. M. a dau. of Canon Tristram, Durham. On the 9th, **Major-General William Henry Kerr**. Served through the Indian Mutiny in the 13th Prince Albert's (now Somersetshire) Light Infantry; was wing commander at the capture of the fort of Nuggur, for which he was mentioned in despatches; took part in later attacks on the rebels, receiving brevet of Major; for five years Assistant Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General in Nova Scotia. M. dau. of James Baril Daubuz of Offington, Sussex. On the 10th, aged 43, **Major Hedley Wright, D.S.O.**, of the 11th Bengal Lancers, s. of Henry Wright of Little Ferry, Golspie, Sutherland. Served with the Chitral Relief Force, being mentioned in despatches, and took part in the defence of Malakand and Chakdara on the North-West Frontier, being again mentioned in despatches and receiving the D.S.O. On the 13th, at Utrecht, aged 89, **Nikolaus Beets ("Bates")**. Born at Haarlem; educated at Leyden University. In 1839, under pseudonym of "Hildebrand," issued the "Camera Obscura," a remarkable volume of sketches of Dutch life; was styled the Dutch Dickens; author of numerous poems and translations from Scott and Byron; appointed Professor of Divinity at Utrecht in 1874. On the 14th, in Paris, aged 97, **Ernest Legouvé**, *doyen* of the French Academy, dramatist, and influential writer and lecturer on educational subjects; wrote "Adrienne Lecouvreur" in collaboration with Scribe, and other dramas. On the 11th, **Professor Thomas Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A.**, Professor of Architecture at University College, London, since 1879. His chief works are Elphinstone College and the Post Office at Bombay, Hampstead Consumption Hospital, and laboratories and technical school at University College, Gower Street. On the 11th, **Rev. W. J. Woods**, s. of Rev. W. Woods. Educated at Leicester Grammar School, New College, Hampstead, and London University; was Pastor of Cavendish Street Church, Manchester, 1881-7, when he moved to be Pastor of the Clapton Park Church; was Secretary of the Congregational Union from 1892 till shortly before his death. On the 12th, aged 70, **Rev. Dr. Walford Green**, one of the Wesleyan ex-presidents; for the past fifteen years Chairman of the Third London District; Treasurer of the Aged Ministers and Ministers' Widows Fund, for which he raised a sum of 25,000l.; President of the Wesleyan Conference, 1894. M. dau. of Thomas Davis of Hill Top, Wednesbury. On the 15th, at Wellington, New Zealand, aged 73, **Major-General Sir George Stoddart Whitmore, K.C.M.G.**, s. of Major George St. V. Whitmore, R.E. Born in Malta. Entered the Army, 1847; saw service in the Kafir wars, 1847-53, and with the Turkish contingent, 1855-6; in 1861 became Military Secretary to Sir Duncan Cameron in New Zealand; in 1863 was elected to the Legislative Council; did good service, 1869, in command of militia against natives; was Colonial Secretary and Defence Minister in Sir E. Grey's Ministry, 1877-9; member of the Stout-Vogel Cabinet in 1894, and a little later was appointed Commandant of the Colonial forces and Commissioner of the Armed Constabulary, with the rank of Major-General. M., 1865, a dau. of William Smith of Roxeth, near Rugby. On the 15th, at Cheltenham, aged 66, **Major-General Charles Frederick Parkinson**. Entered the 95th Regiment in 1854; served in the Crimea and was wounded in the assault on the Redan at Sevastopol; took part in Central Indian Campaign in 1858 (mentioned in despatches). M., 1876, a dau. of James Anderson of High Holm, Port Glasgow. On the 15th, at Bournemouth, aged 67, **Major-General Clennell Collingwood**, s. of H.

J. W. Collingwood of Lilburn Tower, Northumberland. Entered the Army in 1854; served in the Afghan War, 1878-9 (mentioned in despatches). M., in 1868, Annie, dau. of Major J. H. Oakes Moore of the Essex Regiment. On the 17th, at Westminster, aged 61, **William Sproston Caine, M.P.**, s. of Nathaniel Caine, J.P. Born at Seacombe, in Cheshire. Educated at Birkenhead Park School. Early entered his father's business, that of an iron merchant, at Liverpool; as a young man he found time for religious preaching; attempted a career in Parliament, first in 1873, and again in 1874, but failed of election, but in 1880 he was elected for Scarborough as a Radical; in 1884 became Civil Lord of the Admiralty; elected again to Parliament, 1886, at Barrow-in-Furness, as a Liberal Unionist; resigned his seat in 1889, but was returned, 1892, for East Bradford, as a Gladstonian Liberal. He was defeated in 1895, but at the general election of 1900 became Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall. Held advanced temperance views, and was President of various temperance societies. M., 1868, Alice, dau. of Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, a noted Baptist minister at Liverpool. On the 17th, at St. Petersburg, aged 67, **Admiral Pavel Petrovitch Tyrtoff**, Director of the Russian Ministry of Marine since 1896. On the 20th, at Florence, Italy, **Charles Godfrey Leland**. Born (1824) at Philadelphia, U.S.A., the son of a merchant of that city; he was educated at Princeton College, New Jersey, and at Heidelberg, Munich and Paris; studied law in America, and was admitted to the Bar in 1851; left the law for journalism; first in Philadelphia and afterwards in New York he was an editor and a contributor to various periodicals. His "Hans Breitmann's Barty" brought him fame in 1856. In the American Civil War he was a staunch Unionist, and eloquently advocated the abolition of slavery. He was a great authority on Gipsy-lore and Folk-lore. Author of numerous cyclopædia articles, and of many popular books. On the 20th, at Calcutta, aged 81, **Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna, K.C.I.E.**, head of the Soba Bazar family. Grandson of the famous Nava Krishna; held many prominent positions, and took part in many philanthropic works in Calcutta. On the 20th, at Wells, aged 59, **Rev. Hugh Fenton Currie**, Principal of Wells Theological College, seventh s. of Sir Frederick Currie, first baronet. Educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1877; Curate of Hawarden, 1881; Chaplain of Cuddleston, 1892-4; Principal of Wells Theological College, 1895. On the 23rd, **Sir Richard Garth, K.C.**, s. of the Rev. Richard Garth. Born 1820, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn), 1847; sat as a Conservative for Guildford, 1866-8; was Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, Bengal, 1875-86, and Privy Councillor, 1889. M., 1847, Clara, dau. of W. Loftus Lowndes, Q.C. On the 25th, at Plymouth, **Rev. George Rundle Frynne**. Born, 1818, at West Looe, Cornwall. He was educated at Devonport and at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1839; ordained priest in 1842, he was appointed Vicar of St. Peter's, Plymouth, in 1848, and remained there till his death; was a strenuous champion of the Oxford Movement; author of several well-known hymns. M., 1849, a dau. of Admiral Fellowes, C.B. He was fiercely opposed in the early days of his incumbency, but he had for very many years been greatly loved and esteemed by his people, and in 1885 he was elected Proctor in Convocation by his brother clergy. On the 26th, at Calcutta, aged 65, **Rai Bahadur Durgagati Banerjee, C.I.E.**, for more than twelve years Collector of Calcutta; held a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council, 1895. On the 28th, in Belgium, at his country seat, aged 63, **Baron Edward Charles Stephen Whettnall**, s. of Baron Charles Whettnall. Born 1840; Belgian Minister in London since 1894—a position in which he had won the high esteem and confidence of the British Court and Government. On the 28th, at Copenhagen, aged 84, **Anna Magdalene Thoresen**, a distinguished Norwegian writer. Was the second wife of Pastor Thoresen of Söndmör, Norway; author of many novels and plays. In March, aged 86, **John Ross**, one of the oldest Australian bushmen and explorers. He led the Government party which explored the route of the transcontinental telegraph line from Port Augusta to Port Darwin. In March, **Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Edward Colborne Jarvis**, late Hampshire Regiment. Served throughout the Afghan War, 1878-80, taking part in the operations round Kabul and the march from Kabul to Kandahar; was four times mentioned in despatches and received brevet of Major.

APRIL.

On the 1st, at Bombay, aged 79, **Dr. Thomas Blaney, C.I.E.** Born in Ireland. Went to India in service of East India Company, 1836; studied at Grant Medical College. Made a large fortune in his private practice, which he spent in charity. Twice Sheriff of Bombay; Coroner of Bombay, 1876-93. A fine statue, costing over Rs. 20,000, was erected in his honour by his fellow citizens, and when too old for work a subscription was raised to relieve the poverty caused by his ceaseless generosity. On the 1st, **Major-General Colin Cookworthy, s. of Dr. J. C. Cookworthy of Plymouth.** Served as a subaltern in the Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6, and in the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; also through the Indian Mutiny, when he was wounded in the action at Narnoul while commanding the artillery. Was thrice mentioned in despatches and received brevet of Major, having been promoted Captain, June, 1857. On the 3rd, aged 79, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wickham.** Served with the 33rd Regiment (now 1st Battalion The Duke of Wellington's) in the Crimea, being severely wounded in the attack on the Redan, June, 1855, and receiving brevet of Major. On the 4th, in Guernsey, at the great age of 110, **Mrs. Margaret Anne Neve.** Born in Guernsey, May 18; baptised, May 27, 1792, dau. of Jean Harvey. M., 1823, John Neve, of Tenterden, Kent. Was a great traveller. She retained her faculties till shortly before her death. On the 5th, at Montreal, aged 82, **Mary Anne Sadlier,** a popular Canadian writer, dau. of Francis Madden of Co. Cavan, Ireland. M., 1845, James Sadlier of Montreal. On the 6th, at Berlin, aged 59, **Herr Siegfried Ernst Köhner,** editor of the *National-Zeitung*. Born at Breslau; educated himself by constant reading in the Breslau University Library. Editor of *Hanover Courier*, 1872, and of the *Berlin National-Zeitung*, 1890, which became under his rule the mouthpiece of semi-official *communiqués* from the Government. On the 6th, in London, **E. Philip Day, A.B.I.B.A.** Born at Hitchin. Was surveyor for London diocese and architect of St. Gabriel's, Willesden, a new church at Herne Bay, and several other churches. M. a dau. of Rev. George Smith. On the 7th, at Haslemere, aged 90, **Josiah Wood Whympster, R.I.,** an eminent wood engraver. Born at Ipswich. Came to London, 1830; trained many pupils in his art, which he practised for fifty years. On the 9th, at Antwerp, aged 67, **Sir Gerald Raoul de Courcy-Perry, C.M.G.** British Consul-General for Belgium; s. of Sir William Perry; served in Navy as midshipman, 1849-52; entered Consular service, 1855; held various Consular posts; Consul-General, Odessa, 1883; Consul-General, Belgium, 1888. M., 1874, Elena, dau. of Francis Low, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A. On the 9th, at Hampstead, aged 83, **Samuel Palmer,** of the Society of Friends. One of the founders of the firm of Messrs. Huntley & Palmer, biscuit makers; was a generous patron of philanthropic causes. On the 10th, at Kensington, aged 64, **Horace Bell,** a distinguished engineer of Indian Railways; author of "Laws of Wealth" and "Railway Policy in India." On the 10th, in London, aged 67, **Sir Charles Grant, K.C.S.I.,** s. of the Right. Hon. Sir Robert Grant. Educated at Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Haileybury. Bengal Civil Service, 1858; Commissioner of Central Provinces, 1870; Acting Chief Commissioner, 1879; Foreign Secretary of Government of India, 1881; retired, 1885. M., first, Ellen, dau. of Right Hon. H. Baillie; second, Florence Lucia Harris, dau. of Admiral Sir E. Harris, K.C.B., and sister of the fourth Earl of Malmesbury. On the 10th, at Wortham Diss, aged 72, **Rev. Charles Caldecott James.** Graduated tenth Junior Op. and third Classic, 1853, King's College, Cambridge, and Fellow; Assistant Master and Tutor, Eton, 1855-84; Curate of Papworth St. Agnes, Hunts, 1885-8; Rector of Wortham, 1888. On the 10th, at Santa Barbara, Cal., U.S.A., aged 80, **Rev. William Henry Milburn,** the blind Chaplain of the U.S. Senate; Chaplain of House of Representatives, 1845 and 1853; again in 1885, and of the Senate, 1893; quite blind for many years; was an eloquent preacher and author of several books. On the 11th, at Gloucester, aged 64, **Samuel Bland, J.P.,** Mayor of Gloucester, 1902; was a prominent Liberal; founded *The Citizen*, 1876. On the 12th, at Llanwrin, Montgomeryshire, aged 85, **Rev. Daniel Silvan Evans, B.D.,** an eminent Welsh philologist. Educated at St. David's College, Lampeter; ordained, 1848; Professor of the Welsh language in University College, Aberystwith, 1875-83; Rector of Llanwrin, 1876; author of many works in Welsh, including an English-Welsh Dictionary. On the 13th, in London, aged 65, **Rev. John Fenwick Kitto,** eldest s. of Rev. John Kitto, D.D., the famous Biblical scholar. Educated at St. Alban's Hall and Merton College, Oxford; graduated, 1860 (second class Mathematics); Curate of St. Pancras, 1862; Vicar of St. Matthias, Poplar, 1867-75; Rector of

Whitechapel, 1875-81; Rector of Stepney, 1881; Vicar of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, 1886; Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1896; Hon. Chaplain and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria; appointed Honorary Chaplain to the King, 1901; was active in many philanthropic works both in East and West London. M. Elizabeth, dau. of Adam Symon, of Dundee. On the 13th, at New York, aged 80, **Thomas Waterman Wood**, a prominent American portrait and figure painter. Born at Montpelier, Vt., U.S.A.; studied portrait painting in Boston, London, Paris, Rome and Florence; President of the American National Academy, 1891. On the 13th, at Meran, **Professor Moritz Lazarus**, an eminent psychologist. Born, 1824, at Filehne, Posen; Professor at University of Berne, 1860-7; teacher of philosophy at the Berlin Staff College, 1867, and at University of Berlin, 1878; author of "Jewish Morality"; was a follower of Herbart. On the 15th, at Fortrose, aged 71, **Major-General Donald Macintyre, V.C.** Born at Kincaig, Ross-shire; educated at Addiscombe. Entered the Army, 1850; served in India under Sir Colin Campbell, 1852; with the 66th Gurkhas in the Koorum Valley Expedition, 1856, and in the Looshai Expedition, 1871-2, when, as a Major, he won the V.C. for his gallantry in leading the attack on the stockaded village of Lalgnocora; was breveted Lieutenant-Colonel and received the thanks of the Governor-General of India in Council; commanded the 2nd Gurkhas in both Bazar Valley Expeditions, 1878-9; retired, Major-General, 1880. On the 15th, at Naples, aged 65, **Professor Giovanni Bovio**. Born at Trani; self-educated. Appointed Professor of Public Law in University of Naples; Member of Chamber of Deputies and an esteemed leader of the Republican party; author of works on law and philosophy. On the 17th, killed in action in Somaliland, **Major Arthur William Valentine Plunkett**, commandant of 2nd Battalion King's African Rifles. Served with the Manchester Regiment in operations in the Miranzai country, 1891; showed exceptional military qualities in his handling of the men under him in the Malakand Campaign, 1897, and in Somaliland, 1902, when he was with Colonel Swayne's column at Erigo. On the 18th, at Kensington, **Leonard Field**, a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell, s. of Rev. William Field, Unitarian Minister of Leam, Warwick. Born 1824. Educated at University College, London, of which he became Fellow; graduated 1844 with honours in classics; studied also at Universities of Heidelberg, Berlin and Paris. Called to the Bar (Inner Temple) 1852; practised as an equity draughtsman and conveyancer, and was one of the joint editors of "Daniell's Chancery Practice"; Benchet of his Inn, 1888. On the 18th, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, aged 50, **Lealie Crotty**, operatic baritone singer. Born at Galway; studied in Florence. Appeared chiefly in English opera with Carl Rosa's Company. On the 18th, at Pretoria, South Africa, aged 67, **Mrs. Heckford** (Sarah Goff), wife of Dr. Nathaniel Heckford. Born in Ireland. Founded East London Hospital for Children; devoted her wealth and her life to many good works; travelled in India, and in 1880-1 lived in the Transvaal; returned to England for a few years, but was again in South Africa when the second war broke out; wrote "A Lady Trader in the Transvaal," which embodied her own experience on her South African farm and in trading expeditions. She was keenly desirous of educating the Boers, and was active in promoting the "Transvaal Education Union." On the 19th, at Ottawa, aged 82, **Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G.**, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Of Scotch extraction, he was born at Kingston, Ontario, s. of John Mowat, a Peninsular veteran. Studied law in the office of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John A. Macdonald; called to the Bar, 1841; took silk, 1855; elected to the Canadian Parliament, 1857; entered Liberal Cabinet as Provincial Secretary, 1858; Post-Master General, 1863; Member of Quebec Conference of 1864 which framed the Canadian Constitution; Vice-Chancellor of Ontario, 1864-72; Premier and Attorney-General of Ontario, 1872-96; Minister of Justice in Federal Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1896; Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, 1897. M., 1846, a dau. of Mr. John Ewart. His high character, alike as judge and as politician, secured for him in an altogether remarkable degree the confidence of the people of his native province, who steadily gave him a majority at the provincial elections for nearly a quarter of a century. On the 20th, in London, aged 64, **Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Clare Gardia, C.B.**, Commissioner of Prisons and Inspector-General of Military Prisons. Entered the army, 1855; assistant engineer in expedition on West African coast, 1861. M., 1868, Margaret, dau. of James Anderson of Grace Dieu, Co. Waterford, Ireland. On the 20th, in London, aged 86, **Sir Charles Bruns Graves Sawle**, eldest s. of the first baronet. Educated at Eton and at Clare Hall, Cambridge. Sat as a Liberal for Bodmin Division of Cornwall, 1852-7; special Deputy-Warden of the Stannaries, Cornwall, 1852-1908. M., 1846, Rose Caroline, dau. of David R. Paynter, of Dale, Pembroke. On the 22nd, in Guernsey, aged 74, **Lieutenant-General Sir**

William John Williams, K.C.B. Entered the army, 1847; Captain, 1854; served at the siege and capture of Sevastopol, during which he was wounded; Colonel, 1876; commanded the artillery in the Jowaki-Afridi Expedition, 1877-8; served in the Afghan War, 1878-9; took part in capture of Ali Musjid, being mentioned in despatches; Major-General, 1886; Lieutenant-General, 1891; retired, 1895. M. a dau. of Colonel J. de Lancy, of Guernsey. On the 22nd, at La Torre all' Antella, near Florence, aged 89, **Sarianna Browning**, only sister of Robert Browning, the poet. On the 24th, in Dublin, aged 43, **Walter Frederic Osborne, R.E.A.**, an Irish portrait painter. Several of his portraits were in the exhibition of the Royal Hibernian Academy at the time of his death. On the 24th, at Munich, aged 88, **Herr August Friedrich Pecht**, a distinguished painter. Born at Constance. Studied at Munich and Dresden, 1835; Paris, under Delaroche, 1839. Wrote "Südfürchte" while studying in Italy, 1851-4; returned to Munich, 1854. Was a painter of numerous frescoes and author of many works on art; became managing editor of *Die Kunst für Alle*, 1885. On the 26th, at Edgbaston, aged 95, **Abraham Pollett Oaler, F.R.S.**, a meteorologist of repute. Inventor of a self-registering anemometer, 1855. On the 27th, at Tivoli, Italy, aged 64, **Colonel Frederick Beaufort Scott, C.M.G.**, of the Royal Medical Army Corps, s. of George Scott, of Glendowran. Educated at Winchester, at University College, London, and Glasgow University. Entered Army Medical Service, 1862, in 18th Hussars; served in Zulu War, and was mentioned in despatches, 1879; Egyptian Campaign in 1882, on personal staff of Duke of Connaught; won C.M.G. at Tel-el-Kebir; served on staff of the Duke in India, 1883-5; Chief Medical Officer in Quetta district, 1892-7. On the 28th, at New Haven, Conn., aged 64, **Professor Josiah Willard Gibbs**, a most distinguished American mathematician. After graduating at Yale, 1858, and studying later at the Universities of Paris, Berlin and Heidelberg, he became Professor of Mathematical Physics at Yale, 1871. He contributed very powerfully to the development of physical chemistry. His most important paper, published 1875-8, "On the Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances," provided, says *The Times*, "the first application of the second law of thermo-dynamics to the exhaustive discussion of the relations between chemical, electrical and thermal energy and capacity for external work." Other papers dealt with "The Fundamental Formulæ of Dynamics," and the electromagnetic theory of light in some of its most important aspects. Was elected foreign member of the Royal Society, 1879, and received its Copley medal, 1901. On the 28th, in London, **Right Hon. Robert William Hanbury, M.P.**, President of the Board of Agriculture. Born, in 1845, at Bolehall House, near Tamworth, s. of a country gentleman; educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; B.A. (2nd class *Lit. Hum.*), 1868. Sat as a Conservative for Tamworth borough, 1872-8, and for North Staffordshire, 1878-80; returned for Preston, 1885; took a prominent part in opposing the Gladstone Ministry of 1892, and was made Financial Secretary of the Treasury, and Privy Councillor, in Lord Salisbury's Government, 1895; became President of Board of Agriculture, 1900, with a seat in the Cabinet, and threw himself with great ardour into the furtherance of the interests of the agricultural world, collecting a large amount of information as to the circumstances of all its branches with a view to the preparation of schemes for their advantage. M., 1884, Ellen, dau. of Colonel Knox-Hamilton. On the 29th, at St. Petersburg, **Paul Belloni Du Chailla**, African explorer. Born, 1835, in New Orleans (some say in Paris). Early in life he went to the French Gaboon Settlement, West Africa, where his father was a consul; went to America, 1852; returned to West Coast of Africa, 1855, where for nearly four years he travelled about on foot and by canoe more than 8,000 miles. He rediscovered the gorilla mentioned by Carthaginian explorers, and returning to New York in 1859 published in 1861 his "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa." In 1863 he made a second journey to West Africa, giving the results in "A Journey to Ashango Land" (1867), a work of more scientific value. He lectured in the United States extensively, and afterwards travelled in Sweden, Norway, Lapland and Finland. He wrote "Stories of the Gorilla Country," "Wild Life under the Equator," "The Country of the Dwarfs," "The Land of the Midnight Sun," and several other works. On the 29th, at Falmouth, **Rev. Arthur George Warner**. Graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, 1861; won the Pusey and Ellerton Scholarship, 1862; Kennicott Scholarship, 1863; ordained, 1866; Perpetual Curate of St. Mary's, Tothill Fields, 1873-87; Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, 1887; instituted there regular midday sermons for City men, providing the salaries himself. A keen student in astronomical and microscopical research. In April, at

Key West, Florida, aged 71, **George Eugene Balknap**, Rear-Admiral U.S. Navy. Born at Newport, N.H. Entered the American Navy as midshipman, 1847; served in the Civil War in many naval battles, and was specially commended; commanded the *Tuscarora* when engaged in making deep-sea soundings between the U.S. coast and Japan. Admiral of the U.S. squadron in Chinese waters, 1889; was for a time head of the Naval Observatory, and held other posts of distinction in the U.S. Navy.

MAY.

On the 1st, at Tunbridge Wells, **Henry Davis Willock**. Born 1890; s. of Sir Henry Willock. Passed into the Bengal Civil Service, 1851, and was joint magistrate of Allahabad when the Mutiny broke out. Volunteered for service for the relief of Cawnpore; was with General Havelock in his two unsuccessful advances on Lucknow, and a member of the Lucknow garrison till its final relief; also present at the capture of Calpee; for these and other services he was the only civilian to receive the Mutiny medal with all three clasps. Retired, 1884, when senior District Sessions Judge of North-West Provinces. On the 1st, at Brighton, **Luigi Arditi**, a celebrated operatic musical conductor. Born, in 1822, at Crescentino, Piedmont. Went to America, 1846, returning, 1868, as Conductor to Her Majesty's Theatre; also conducted Italian Opera in Vienna every spring for thirty-three years; author of *Il Corsaro* and other operas, and of "Il Bacio," a popular vocal waltz. On the 2nd, at Oxford, aged 65, **Dr. Charles Sumner Austin**, Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford. Edited the *Madras Times*, and afterwards the *Athenæum* and *Daily News* of Madras; correspondent of London *Times* during siege of Paris and the Commune, 1870; served *The Times* in Ashanti War, in India, and in the American Southern States, and was an extremely vivid and brilliant writer. On the 2nd, at Bedford, aged 78, **Lieutenant-Colonel George Edward Owen Jackson**. Entered Royal Marines, 1842; served at Balaklava and Sevastopol, 1854-5; China Expedition, 1857-9, receiving brevet of Major, and North China Expedition, 1860. On the 4th, at Walton-on-Thames, aged 78, **Rev. Frederick William Vinter**. Graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1847 (Third Wrangler); Fellow of his College, 1849; ordained, 1849; Priest, 1850; Mathematical Master at Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 1851-8; Professor of Mathematics at Royal Military College, Sandhurst, 1858-72; served as Curate of Yately, Hants, 1866-72. On the 4th, at Glasgow, **Julius Seligmann**, a well-known music teacher. Born, in 1817, in Hamburg; came to Glasgow, 1842. Under his leadership the first performances of "Elijah" were given in Glasgow and Edinburgh. On the 5th, at Barnes, aged 54, **F. H. Macklin**, a favourite Shakesperian actor. On the 7th, at Worcester, aged 83, **Rev. Richard Cattley**, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral. Educated at Worcester College, Oxford; B.A., 1848; ordained, 1849; Priest, 1850; Minor Canon of Worcester Cathedral, 1855-80; was active in forming the large volunteer choir of the Cathedral, and was a great expert in clocks and bells. On the 7th, at Southsea, aged 87, **Captain and Brevet-Major Frederick Prendergast, R.A.** Served with distinction in the South African War, and was mentioned in despatches, and received brevet of Major for his services in the relief of Ladysmith. On the 7th, at Liverpool, aged 64, **Captain Archibald Thomas Miller, R.N.** (retired), commanding mercantile cadet school ship *Conway* in the Mersey. Born in Tasmania, s. of a naval officer. Served with the P. & O. Company; entered Royal Navy, 1862; retired 1870. For twenty-one years commanded the *Conway*; was inventor of torpedo nets and boat davits. On the 8th, at Sitapur, India, **Saiyid Mahomed**, a distinguished Indian jurist, s. of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; District Judge of Rai Bareilly, 1879; Judge of High Court of North-West Provinces, 1887-93; was an expert in Moslem law, and author of works on law; was a trustee of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, founded by his father. On the 8th, at Seychelles, **Mwanga**, King of Uganda, 1884-97. He roused popular feeling against himself by his barbarous rule and persecution of Christians, and had to flee from the country, 1886, returning to his throne nominally a Roman Catholic in 1889. A treaty was concluded between him and this country, 1895, but he failed to observe it, and plotted against British authority. Finally he was defeated and captured in 1897, and was exiled first to Kismayu, and later to the Seychelles. On the 8th, at Ottawa, Canada, **Hon. David Mills**, Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada. Born, in 1831, in Kent, Ontario. Educated at the law school of

the University of Michigan; LL.B., 1855; engaged in teaching, 1855-65; member of the Canadian House of Commons, 1867-82, and 1884-96; called to the Bar, 1888; Ontario Q.C., 1890, and Imperial Q.C., 1896; Professor of Constitutional and International Law at University of Toronto, 1868; Examiner in Constitutional Law (University of Toronto), 1897; Minister of the Interior, Dominion Government, 1876-8; Senator, nominated by Lord Aberdeen, 1896; Minister of Justice in Laurier Cabinet, 1897. In politics he was an advanced Liberal, and opposed to protection; in religion a Methodist. On the 9th, at Weybridge, aged 60, **Sir James Westland, K.C.S.I.**, s. of James Westland, a banker. Born in Dundee. Educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and at Wimbledon; distinguished Indian financier. After rising to be Secretary to Government in Department of Finance, 1888, and Chief Commissioner of Assam, 1889, he retired from ill-health at 47, but was called by the Home Government to succeed Sir David Barbour in 1893 as Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council. Was largely instrumental in giving India a fixed exchange. M., 1874, Mildred, dau. of Surgeon-Major C. J. Jackson. On the 11th, at Copenhagen, aged 84, **Vilhelm Kyhn**, a famous Danish landscape painter. On the 12th, at Aden, **W. T. Hand**, Special Artist Correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* in Somaliland. On the 13th, at Newmarket, aged 74, **John Dawson**, the celebrated Newmarket trainer of race-horses; he trained Prince Batthyany's Galopin, which won the Derby, 1875; Lord Dupplin's Petrarch, winner of the Two Thousand Guineas and St. Leger, 1876; and Mr. Wallace Johnstone's Disraeli, winner of the Two Thousand Guineas, 1898. On the 18th, in London, **Ernest de Bunsen**. Born, in 1819, at Rome where his father, afterwards Prussian Minister in London, was then Minister to the Vatican. Educated at Berlin in a school for cadets and served in the Guards. Author of some theological works. M., 1845, Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel Gurney of Ham House, and niece of Mrs. Fry, and thenceforward settled in England; his son Maurice being at present British Secretary of Embassy in Paris. On the 18th, at Ramsgate, aged 60, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Pringle Harrison**. For many years employed in Civil Service in India; on the Oudh Commission, after being Deputy-Commissioner in charge of various districts. On the 15th, at Woolwich, aged 18, **Second-Lieutenant Claud Edward Wickham**, Army Service Corps, s. of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Wickham, C.B. Served in South Africa as local officer and was mentioned in despatches. On the 16th, at Brendon, North Devon, **Sir William Robert Williams**, third baronet of Tregulow, born 1860, eldest s. of Sir Frederick Martin Williams, second baronet. Born at Tregulow; educated at Eton and Sandhurst. M., 1881, Matilda Frances, eldest daughter of E. Beauchamp Beauchamp of Trevice, Cornwall. A well-known breeder of Devon cattle, which he frequently exhibited. On the 16th, in Paris, aged 89, **Madame Sibyl Sanderson**, an operatic singer of some distinction in Paris. Born in San Francisco. Made her *début* in Paris, 1889, in "Esclarmonde"; excelled in rendering Massenet's operas. Married M. Terry, and left the stage till after the death of her husband. On the 19th, at Gedling, near Nottingham, aged 47, **Arthur Shrewsbury**, the famous Notts cricketer and batsman. Made his first hundred at Trent Bridge, 1876; made 119 at the Oval, 1877; went to Australia with a select team, 1881-2; on returning to England (1882) he made 207 at the Oval in a match for Notts against Surrey; in 1886 he made 164 for England against Australia at Lords, and in 1887 played eight innings of over 100, with an average for the season of 78. He made four visits to Australia. He shot himself. On the 19th, at Stockholm, aged 61, **Count Carl Snoilsky**. Born of Hungarian extraction at Stockholm. Educated at the Lyceum and the University of Upsala; graduated, 1864; entered the Swedish Diplomatic Service; became Head of Foreign Office, 1878; author of exquisite poems and lyrics; retired to Florence, Italy, 1878; returned to his native land, 1891; appointed by King Oscar the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library in Stockholm. On the 19th, at Pittsburg, Pa., aged 79, **Benjamin Franklin Jones**, founder of Jones and Laughlin's Steel Works. Chairman of Republican National Committee in the Blaine-Cleveland Presidential campaign. On the 19th, at Large, Ayrshire, aged 72, **John Scott, C.B.**, a noted shipbuilder and engineer of Greenock, s. of Charles Cunningham Scott. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and Glasgow University; contested, as a Conservative, Greenock in general elections of 1880 and 1885, and in 1884 when Sir Thomas Sutherland first gained the seat. Received the C.B., 1887, for his services to the Volunteer movement, having raised two companies of Artillery Volunteers, 1859, afterwards incorporated in the Renfrew Artillery, which he commanded, 1863-92. M., 1864, Annie, dau. of Robert Spalding of Kingston, Jamaica. On the 19th, at Eynesbury, Victoria, aged 26, **Captain Samuel Thomas Staughton, D.S.O.**, a distinguished

Colonial officer. Went to South Africa as a Lieutenant in 1st Victorian contingent; served in many engagements under Sir John French; fought in many battles under Lord Roberts in the Transvaal; thrice mentioned in despatches, and received the D.S.O., 1900; Member of Victorian Legislative Assembly. On the 20th, at Manchester, aged 66, **Richard Maradan**, Editor and Proprietor of the *Textile Mercury*. Born in Blackburn. Author of many works on commercial topics, particularly the cotton trade. On the 20th, at Southampton, aged 54, **Thomas Godolphin Rooper**, youngest s. of Rev. W. H. Rooper of Abbots Ripton, Huntingdonshire. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1872 (*Lit. Hum.*); Tutor to the Duke of Bedford, 1872-7; Inspector of Schools, 1877, and devoted his energies to the advance of education, especially with regard to physical culture. One of the main supporters of the Parents' Educational Union and *Parents' Review*, to which he frequently contributed. On the 23rd, at Llanilid, Glamorgan, **Rev. John Morgan**, s. of Principal Morgan of Newport Training College. Born, in 1827, at Newport, Pembrokeshire; educated at Cardigan Grammar School, under the late Archdeacon Griffiths, of Llandaff, and at the Theological School of Abergavenny; ordained, 1850; Vicar of Pontnewynydd, 1852-75; Rector of Llanilid and Llanharan, 1875-1903. Author of numerous pamphlets in English and Welsh and of several volumes of poems. On the 23rd, at Oxford, **Rev. William Inge**, D.D., Provost of Worcester College, Oxford, eldest s. of Rev. Charles Inge, of Bean Hill, Leicestershire. Born 1829. Educated at Shrewsbury School and Worcester College, Oxford. First class Mod., 1852, and first class in *Lit. Hum.*, 1853; elected Fellow of his college, but resigned; ordained, 1857; Curate of Crayke, Yorks, 1857-74; Vicar of Alrewas with Fradley, 1875-81; nominated by Lord Salisbury, 1881, to be Provost of Worcester College. M. Susanna Mary, dau. of the Ven. Edward Churton, Archdeacon of Cleveland. He was a man of great modesty, who won general affection and respect by his simplicity and goodness. He took a keen interest in various forms of Church activity, and for many years took personal charge of the lay readers' course of studies at Kettle College. On the 24th, at Ballynamona, Co. Limerick, **Rev. Gerald Ormsby Vandeleur**. Born 1841, s. of George Vandeleur, J.P. Graduated Trinity College, Dublin, 1864; after holding two curacies served as Chaplain to the Forces for twenty years; received Zulu medal, 1879; retired, 1887; Rector of Ravenstone, 1890. M., 1868, a dau. of Judge Martley, of the Irish Landed Estates Court. On the 24th, at Edinburgh, **Rev. Hugh Macmillan**, D.D., LL.D. Born at Aberfeldy, 1833. Educated at Aberfeldy, University of Edinburgh and the Free Church College; Minister of the Free Church at Kirkmichael, 1859; St. Peter's Church, Glasgow, 1864; Free West Church, Greenock, 1878; was a popular lecturer and a great traveller; Moderator of Free Church Assembly, 1897-8. Author of "Bible Teachings in Nature," and many other popular works. On the 25th, in Paris, **Paul Mouët** ("Max O'Rell"). Born in Brittany, 1848. Served as a cavalry officer in the Franco-German War, 1870, and was captured at Sedan; was severely wounded in the second siege of Paris; French Master at St. Paul's School, 1876-84; lectured extensively in America and in Great Britain, and was popular as a genial humorist. Author of "John Bull et son Ile," which had a great success both in French and English, and of several other books of humorous criticism of the people of America, Scotland and France. M. Miss Bartlett, who translated all his books from the French in which he wrote them. On the 26th, at Rosneath, Scotland, aged 56, **Sir James Macnabb Campbell**, K.C.I.E., s. of Rev. Dr. J. M. Campbell, D.D. Educated at Glasgow Academy and University; entered Bombay Civil Service, 1869; was Acting Municipal Commissioner at Bombay, 1880; Collector of Land Revenue, Customs and Opium, 1891; Senior Collector of Land Revenue, 1893; compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. According to a correspondent of *The Times* he was regarded in the Bombay Presidency as one of the ablest servants of Government, and much regret was felt that his health broke down after he had filled in 1897, with much wisdom, the chairmanship of the Bombay Plague Committee. On the 30th, at Slinfold, near Horsham, aged 75, **Colonel John Evans**, second s. of Samuel Evans of Darley Abbey, Derby. Served with distinction in defence of Kars, under Sir F. Williams; received commission in 9th Lancers, and served during Indian Mutiny; was at the relief of Lucknow and at the siege and capture of Delhi, being mentioned in despatches for his zeal and efficiency. Left the Army in 1862; took great interest in Volunteer movement; Colonel of 1st Battalion Derbyshire Volunteers, 1881-9. M. Miss Lucy Hamilton. On the 30th, at Johannesburg, aged 43, **Sir Edward Hulse**, sixth baronet, of Breamore House, Hants. Educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford; sat as Conservative for Salisbury, 1886-97; served as Captain of Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa, 1900-2;

mentioned by Lord Roberts in despatches; was Press Censor at Johannesburg for a time. M., 1888, Edith Maud, only dau. of Sir Edward Lawson. On the 31st, aged 62, **Sir John Hutton**, s. of John Hutton of Devonshire Street, W. Educated privately; for ten years Editor and Proprietor of the *Weekly Times*, was also part Proprietor of *Sporting Life* and the *A B C Railway Guide*; elected, 1889, to the first London County Council; was a very active member and, 1892-5, filled with great ability the position of chairman; at the time of his death represented South St. Pancras as Progressive; knighted, 1894. In May, at Montreux, aged 70, **Noel Temple Moore, C.M.G.**, Consul-General in Tripoli, 1890-4, s. of Niven Moore, C.B. Served forty years in British Consular posts; attended the Prince of Wales when on his travels in Syria, 1862, and other members of the Royal Family in subsequent years when travelling in the Holy Land. M., 1859, Emma, dau. of Colonel O. H. Churchill. In May, at East Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A., aged 84, **Thomas Alfred Starkey, D.D.**, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Newark. Born in Philadelphia. Educated for a civil engineer; studied theology in New York; ordained, 1848; was rector of parishes successively in Troy, Albany, Cleveland, O.; Washington City and Paterson, N.J.; Bishop of Newark, 1879. In May, at New York, **George Gilbert Williams**. Born 1826. A most widely known American banker. Born at East Haddam, Connecticut, s. of a physician; became President of the Chemical Bank of New York, 1878. In May, at New York, **Randolph Thomas Price**, Professor of English Language and Literature, Columbia College. Born in Virginia, 1838. Graduated from University of Virginia, 1855; studied at Universities of Berlin and Kiel; ran the blockade in the American Civil War; enlisted in Confederate army; served as Captain of Engineers; Professor at Randolph-Macon College, 1867-76, Columbia University, 1882; wrote "The Teaching of the Mother Tongue," "Shakespeare's Verse Construction," and various monographs on Elizabethan plays. In May, aged 79, **Colonel Edmund Armitage Hardy**, s. of Colonel Edmund Hardy, Bombay Artillery. Educated at Rugby and the Scottish Naval and Military Academy, Edinburgh; joined 1st Bombay Cavalry, and served in one or two minor campaigns, and in the Mutiny, when he was severely wounded in the action at Nusserabad, and was present at the siege and capture of Kotah and other actions, receiving brevet of Major for his services. In May, **William Livingstone Watson**, of Ayrton and Balmanno. Born 1835, partner in the business of Messrs. James Finlay & Co., East India merchants; Chairman of several companies; Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, and possessor of an observatory and the largest telescope in Scotland; Fellow also of the Royal Geographical Society and Society of Antiquaries (Scot.); was a great lover of art and books, of which he had a good collection, and a vigorous supporter of various philanthropic works. M., 1878, Elizabeth Lindsey, dau. of George Seton, advocate, of Edinburgh.

JUNE.

The King and Queen of Servia.—Their Majesties were brutally murdered on the night of June 10-11 in their palace at Belgrade, by a number of officers of the Servian Army. King Alexander, who was born August 14, 1876, was the only son of the late King Milan and Queen Natalie, the daughter of a Russian Colonel named Keschko, and was the last surviving representative in the male line of the Obrenovitch family, the feud between whom and the Karageorgevitches, or their respective adherents, has repeatedly stained Servian history with the blood of dynastic assassinations. King Alexander succeeded to the throne on the sudden abdication of his father in 1889. The arrangement was that for five and a half years he should rule through a Regency, of which M. Ristitch was the leading member; but after four years

of this tutelage Alexander arrested the Regents, who were dining at the palace, proclaimed himself of age, and assumed the reins of Government, April 13, 1893. He formed a Ministry of Radicals, and leant upon that party, but within four months a movement was on foot for placing on the throne Prince Peter Karageorgevitch, who is married to a daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro. King Alexander appealed to his father to come to his assistance, and the ex-monarch at once returned to Belgrade from Paris, and became practically King again. The Radicals went out of office; the liberal Constitution which Milan had granted shortly before his abdication, was suspended without difficulty, and under the revised and more conservative Constitution of 1869, order prevailed, and the Georjevitch Ministry effected some

improvements in the economic and financial condition of the country. At the end of 1897, Ex-King Milan was made Commander-in-Chief. Anti-dynastic agitation, believed to be favoured by Russia, on account of Milan's Austrian sympathies, revived and led to the arrest of several Radical politicians. Still, King Alexander and his father pulling together, no crash occurred. In July, 1900, however, the King announced his betrothal to Madame Draga Mashin, a widow considerably his senior, who had been a lady-in-waiting to his mother. The marriage was strenuously opposed by the ex-King and his wife—for once agreed—and was generally disapproved. But King Alexander refused to be dissuaded from it. His father left the country, but the young King seemed to succeed, by submitting himself to Russian direction, in disarming the support which had been understood to be at the disposal of the Karageorgevitch faction, and obtained the Tsar's open sanction to his marriage, which was celebrated in August, 1900. Nevertheless, his position was thenceforth continuously precarious. He tried to recover Radical support by amnestying the leaders of that party, and establishing a new liberal Constitution, but was not able to prevent the recrudescence of anti-dynastic intrigues, against which it seemed that he could not rely with entire confidence for support upon any section of his subjects. In April, 1903, he suspended the new Constitution by a *coup de main*, but set it going again after annulling some laws and remodeling the Cabinet. The new Ministry secured a large majority at the Skupshchina elections a few weeks later. But the rumour, true or false, that in the absence of an heir of their marriage the King was being pressed by the Queen to alter the line of succession in favour of a brother of hers, stimulated or facilitated the ripening of a murderous conspiracy, which carried out its designs with a ferocity that would have been considered ghastly even in the Middle Ages. Besides the King and Queen, her two brothers, a few officers who behaved loyally, the Prime Minister (General Markovitch), and two of his colleagues were slaughtered. The Army at once proclaimed Prince Peter Karageorgevitch King, and the National Assembly unanimously confirmed its choice.

Cardinal Vaughan.—Herbert Alfred Vaughan was the eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, of Courtfield,

Ross, Monmouthshire, the representative of an old Roman Catholic family. His mother, *nee* Rolls, of The Hendre, was an enthusiastic convert to Roman Catholicism. At an early age, like many of his family, he dedicated himself to the religious life, and ceded to his second brother the succession to the Courtfield estates. He was educated at Stonyhurst and in Belgium; and completed his theological training at the Accademia Ecclesiastica, in Rome. Ordained, October 28, 1865, Vaughan worked for ten years in the mission field in Central and South America. Thence on the death of Cardinal Wiseman he was recalled (1866) to serve as the first head of the Missionary College at Mill Hill, which grew rapidly under his care. In 1872 he was made Bishop of Salford. This promotion was against his wishes, but he exhibited great zeal and energy in the northern diocese, distinguishing himself specially by his labours for the education of the poor, both in elementary schools of the ordinary type, and in Poor Law schools for the children of Roman Catholic parents, and by his efforts for the establishment of social clubs and the organisation of emigration in connection with his Church. On the death of Cardinal Manning, with whom he had been on terms of close friendship, it was thought very natural that Bishop Vaughan should be chosen (1892) to succeed him as Archbishop of Westminster, though the selection was more gratifying to the Conservative section of English Roman Catholicism than to the Democratic elements on whom Manning had established so strong a hold. Enthroned (May, 1892) in the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, with much pomp—for he believed in a certain amount of display on the part of the Roman Church in England—the new Archbishop was invested with the pallium by a Papal delegate at the Oratory in the following August—the first incident of the kind here since 1556—and in January, 1895, was created a Cardinal Priest of the title of SS. Andrew and Gregory, of the Coelian Hill. Cardinal Vaughan laboured with great devotion, according to his lights, for the spiritual benefit of the adherents of his Communion in his archdiocese and in England generally, and for the increase of their numbers, but it cannot be said that he succeeded in commending his Church increasingly to English feeling, which, indeed, he failed to understand. The leading instances of that failure, perhaps, were his request in a Pastoral to

the faithful laity not to criticise the political action of their Bishops, and the singularly injudicious letter which he issued to be read in Roman Catholic churches after the death of Queen Victoria, explaining why solemn observances relating to that event could not be allowed—which instruction he was constrained practically to reverse. He was also credited with a good deal of responsibility for the issue of the Bull by Pope Leo XIII. in regard to Anglican Orders. He allied himself, however, energetically with the leaders

of the English Church in regard to questions of educational legislation in 1902-3; and he gave free permission to Roman Catholics to resort to Oxford and Cambridge, which Manning had forbidden. The great new Cathedral at Westminster is a monument of the powerful influence he wielded with his co-religionists. Eminently a Prince of the Church in countenance and bearing, he was not less noteworthy for his personal piety. Cardinal Vaughan died on June 19, after a long period of precarious health.

On the 2nd, at Ealing, aged 61, **Andrew Ainslie Common, LL.D., F.R.S.**, a well-known astronomer and maker of reflecting telescopes. Born at Newcastle. Early began astronomical work with a 5½ in. refractor, 1874; made larger instruments with improved adjustments, and received, 1883, the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society for photographing the nebula in Orion; finished, in 1891, a 5 ft. reflector of silvered glass with focal length of 27½ ft.—rivalled only by the 50 in. Paris refractor and the 5 ft. refractor of the Chicago (Yerkes) Observatory. On the 3rd, **Alfred John Hipkins, F.S.A.**, an expert on the subject of musical instruments. Born, in 1826, in Westminster. Connected with the Broadwood piano firm for sixty-three years; author of many masterly treatises on musical instruments; of 184 articles in Sir George Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians"; and of the article on the Pianoforte in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th edition; Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, 1886. On the 4th, at Banstead, Surrey, **Sir Allen Lanyon Sarsie**. Born 1828. Manager L.B. & S.C. Railway, 1885-98. M., 1859, Elizabeth Ann, dau. of Robert Horn, of Bishop-Wearmouth. On the 5th, at Wells, aged 69, **Venerable Alexander Colvin Ainslie, LL.D., Archdeacon of Taunton**, s. of William Ainslie, M.D. Educated at University College, Oxford, graduating 1852 (First Class Math. Finals); ordained, 1853; Vicar of Corfe, near Taunton, 1854; Vicar of Henstridge, Somerset, and Prebendary of Yatton, Wells Cathedral, 1871; elected, 1874, Proctor in the Lower House of Convocation, of which he became the official chronicler; Vicar of Langport, 1883; Vicar of Over Stowey, 1891; Canon of Wells, 1895; Archdeacon of Wells and Prebendary of Milverton, 1896. M., 1854, Miss Sadler of Clifton. On the 7th, in London, aged 73, **Sir Edmund Du Cane, K.C.B.**, s. of Major Richard Du Cane. Educated at Woolwich, and entered the Royal Engineers, 1848. Sent out (1851) with a company of sappers to aid in forming a convict establishment in Western Australia, and took an important part, judicial and administrative, in that connection; was employed at home (1856) in the designing of important works of coast defence at Dover, Plymouth and elsewhere; appointed Director of Convict Prisons and Inspector of Military Prisons, 1863; became (1869) Chairman of Directors of Convict Prisons, Surveyor-General of Prisons, and Inspector-General of Military Prisons; was Chairman of the Prison Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1877; took a leading part in reorganising and administering the county and borough prisons; wrote much in magazines, and also a book on "Punishment and the Prevention of Crime" (1888); retired (1896) from the effective list as Major-General. M., first (1855), Mary Dorothea, dau. of Lieutenant-Colonel Molloy; and, second (1883), Florence Victoria, dau. of Colonel Saunderson. On the 7th, at Oswestry, aged 63, **Rev. Charles William Norman Ogilvy**, third s. of Sir John Ogilvy. Graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, 1864; ordained, 1864; Priest, 1867; Rector of Barton-le-Street with Butterwick, 1870-8; Rector of Hanbury, Worcestershire, 1878-97; Vicar of Oswestry, 1897. M., Emily, eldest dau. of the late Lord De Mauley. On the 7th, in London, aged 84, **Lady Jane Harriet Ellice**, dau. of third Earl of Radnor. M., 1847, William Ellice. Was one of two out of the twelve bridesmaids of Queen Victoria who survived her. On the 8th, at Oxford, aged 58, **Rev. Robert Campbell Moberly, D.D.**, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, s. of Dr. George Moberly, who was Head Master of Winchester and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, 1869-85. Educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford; elected to Senior Studentship, Christ Church, which he held till his marriage, 1880; Tutor, 1869-76; was Principal, St. Stephen's House, Oxford, and later, 1878, Principal of Salisbury Theological College; held the living of Great Budworth, Cheshire, 1880-92; Hon. Canon of Chester, 1890-3; appointed to the Regius Professorship of Pastoral Theology, 1892, to which a Canonry of Christ

Church is attached; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King, 1901. He was a scholarly High Churchman, who had shown in his published books, the "Ministerial Priesthood" (1897), and "Atonement and Personality" (1901), some of the riches of his well-stored and deeply thoughtful mind. M., 1880, a dau. of Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury. On the 10th, at Horbury, Yorkshire, aged 92, **Canon John Sharp**, s. of Rev. Samuel Sharp, Vicar of Wakefield. Ordained, 1838; was chiefly instrumental in establishing the Horbury House of Mercy, and was a leader of the Oxford Movement in the north of England; Vicar of Horbury nearly sixty-five years, resigning in 1899. On the 10th, at Fuchow (where he was born), aged 55, **Sir Ohih Chen Lo Feng Luh, K.C.V.O.**, for some years Chinese Minister at the Court of St. James. He had previously acted as First Confidential Secretary to the late Li Hung Chang on important foreign missions. On the 11th, at Harrow, aged 56, **Charles Colbeck**, for many years assistant master at Harrow, where he was associated with the management and development of the modern side. Took a prominent part in measures for preserving the school from encroachments by building. On the 12th at Point-de-Galle, Ceylon, aged 80, **Dr. Antonias, C.M.G.** Educated at Bengal Medical College; rose to distinction in Ceylon Medical Department; Member of Ceylon Legislative Council, 1886-95; C.M.G., 1892. On the 14th, in London, **Edward Woods**. Born 1814. A distinguished engineer; entered the service of Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1835; contributed (1838) a paper on locomotive engines to the second volume of the *Transactions* of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Was President of that institution in 1886. M., 1840, Mary, dau. of Thomas Goodman of Birmingham. On the 14th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 79, **Rev. C. H. Newmarch**. Educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi, Cambridge; ordained, 1854, before which he had founded and edited a newspaper in the West of England, to which he contributed for many years; Rector of Wardley-cum-Belton, Rutland, 1856-93; wrote, with Professor Buckman, "Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art," 1851; published, 1847, a book of travel, entitled "Five Years in the East." On the 16th, at Tiverton, Devon, aged 62, **Henry George Cowie**, of the Indian Financial Department from 1868 to 1896. Educated at Pembroke College, Oxford; served as Deputy Accountant-General in various parts of India, and was Deputy Comptroller-General to the Government of India, 1893-6. On the 16th, in London, **Sir Joseph Loftus Wilkinson, M.I.C.E.**, General Manager of the Great Western Railway, s. of Mr. John Wilkinson. Born 1845; educated at Reading School, and started his career as a booking clerk; knighted, 1902. On the 17th, at Neston, Cheshire, **Stephen Williamson**, a prominent merchant. Born 1827; educated at Anstruther, Fife, and at St. Andrews University. Became in 1861 member of the firm of Balfour, Williamson & Co., Liverpool; sat as a Liberal for St. Andrews district of burghs, 1880-5, when he was unseated by one vote on a scrutiny, and as a Gladstonian Liberal for Kilmarnock burghs, 1886-95. On the 19th, in London, aged 46, **Mrs. Edward Tyas Cook**, dau. of John Forster Baird, of Bowmont Hill. M., 1884, Mr. E. T. Cook, the eminent journalist. She was a frequent contributor to the press, and published "The Bride's Book" and "Highways and Byways of London." On the 21st, at Jersey City, N.J., U.S.A., aged 65, **Major James Burton Pond**, the celebrated manager of lecturers and singers in America. Began his lecturing agency in 1874; was previously in mercantile business, and had fought in the Civil War in the 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry. On the 21st, at Stoke Newington, London, **Rev. Dr. Langham**, for forty years missionary in Fiji. University of Glasgow D.D. conferred, 1903, in token of his life-work as an evangelist and a scholar. On the 22nd, at Berbera, aged 88, **Veterinary Captain William Edward Russell**, s. of Captain B. H. Russell. Served with Lord Kitchener's Nile Expedition, 1898, being twice mentioned in despatches, and receiving British medal, Egyptian medal with two clasps, and Fourth Class of the Medjidieh. On the 22nd, at Carden Park, Cheshire, the seat of his family since the time of Henry IV., aged 76, **John Hurleston Leche**, eldest s. of J. H. Leche, of Carden Park. Educated at Eton. High Sheriff of Chester, 1851; Deputy-Lieutenant, 1866; a keen sportsman and hard rider to hounds. M., first, Caroline, dau. of Edwin Corbett, of Darnhall; and, second, Eleanor, dau. of Captain C. Stanhope Jones. On the 23rd, at Falmouth, aged 75, **Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, M.P.**, first baronet, eldest s. of Joseph Pease, of Darlington, who was the first Quaker to sit in the House of Commons. Educated privately, and early in life entered a business career. Sat as a Liberal for South Durham in Parliament, 1865-85, and for Barnard Castle Division of South Durham from 1885 till his death; was engaged in many commercial enterprises; Chairman of North-Eastern Railway, 1894. The banking firm of J. & J. W. Pease failed in 1902, entailing loss to the railway of

230,000*l.*, but, owing to arrangements made by the Quaker connection, this was reduced to 125,000*l.* Was President of the Peace and Anti-Opium Societies in Parliament. M., 1854, Mary, dau. of Alfred Fox, of Falmouth. On the 23rd, at Torquay, aged 85, General Charles Robert West Hervey, C.B., s. of Captain Hervey A. F. Hervey. Educated at Hampstead and at Addiscombe College. Entered the Army and went to India, where as Lieutenant he served in the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry in the Mangalore Expedition, 1837; Sind Irregular Horse, 1840-2; Captain and Aide-de-Camp to Sir James Outram, 1856-7, in Persian Expedition; Indian Mutiny and Relief of Kolapore, 1858; made Head of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Suppression Department, and afterwards Chief of the Secret Service Special Department in India; Major-General, 1877; Lieutenant-General, 1881; General, 1889. M., first, a dau. of General Peter Delamotte, C.B.; and, second, Mary, dau. of Lieutenant-Colonel Lothian Sheffield Dickson. On the 28th, at Chiswick, aged 66, Colonel Edmund John Tremlett, s. of Rev. D. Tremlett, of Rodney Stoke, Somerset. Entered Royal Artillery, 1855; served in Zulu War, 1879; twice mentioned in despatches. On the 29th, at Denmark Hill, aged 83, Edward McDermott, proprietor, and, with Dr. Smiles, founder, in 1864, of the *Railway News*. Had been previously connected with the *Star* and the *Morning Chronicle*, and was for some time editor of the *Observer*. One of the founders of the Newspaper Press Fund. On the 29th, in London, aged 64, Robert Steel, C.B.L., a prominent citizen, for many years, of Calcutta. On the 30th, at Beeston, Notts, aged 71, Lieutenant Daniel Godfrey, a celebrated bandmaster, eldest s. of Charles Godfrey. Born at Westminster; educated at the Royal Academy of Music. Bandmaster of the Grenadiers, 1856; gazetted Honorary Second Lieutenant in the Army, 1887; retired, 1896; author of the "Hilda" and "Mabel" waltzes, and many other popular pieces. In June, aged 76, Henry Cassels Kay, a scholar and a model business man. Born at Antwerp, 1827. Went to Egypt in 1844; taking a post in the banking house of Briggs & Co., he became manager, 1854; served as *The Times* correspondent at Alexandria with great credit in 1856, and for some years thereafter; retired and settled in England, 1874. He spoke French, German, Italian and Arabic perfectly, and became a great authority on Oriental literature; published, 1892, a translation of Omaran's "History of Yaman," and wrote numerous booklets and articles on Arabic literature and antiquities. In June, at Haverstock Hill, London, S. E. Waller, a well-known painter of animals and English country scenes and subjects. In June, aged 42, Major Harry Francis Holland, s. of Philip Holland, of Swanage, Cheshire. Served with the Burmese Expedition, 1885-6; with the Chitral Relief Force, 1895, and in the North-West Frontier Campaign under Sir William Lockhart, 1897, when he was severely wounded, receiving mention in despatches and brevet of Major. In June, aged 33, of wounds received in Major Gough's engagement at Daratoleh, Captain Hugh Barrow Rowlands, 2nd Battalion King's African Rifles. Served in Ashanti, and in the Transvaal, 1901-2, when he returned to Central Africa; was commended by Major Gough for the dash of the bayonet charges under his command. In June, at Bath, aged 77, Rev. Henry Edward Fowler Garnsey, B.D., s. of Rev. Thomas Rock Garnsey, of the Forest of Dean. Born at Coleford, Gloucestershire. Educated at Worcester College and Magdalen College, Oxford; was Senior Fellow of Magdalen, and a learned botanist; gave 5,000*l.* to restore the ceiling of Magdalen College Hall.

JULY.

Pope Leo XIII.—Giacchino Vincenzo Raffaele Aloisio Luigi Pecci was the younger son of Count Ludovico Pecci and was born at Carpineto in the Volscian Hills on March 2, 1810. He began his education at the Jesuit College of Viterbo in 1818, and in 1824 became a student in the Collegio Romano; in 1832 took his doctor's degree, and continued his studies at the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, where he read canon law and civil law. He was ordained by Cardinal Odescalchi as a priest, December

1837. The next year Pope Gregory XVI. sent him as Papal delegate to govern the province of Benevento and to suppress the smugglers and brigands who overran the district, and his success was complete. In 1841 Mgr. Pecci was transferred to the Governorship of Perugia, and in January, 1843, was consecrated Archbishop of Damietta and appointed Papal Nuncio at Brussels. He spent three years in the Belgian capital, and a very favourable impression on Leopold, who, however, recog-

nised the essentially unyielding quality of his character on points of principle. Pecci was next nominated, at the end of 1845, Bishop of Perugia. Before returning to Italy to take up the duties of that post he visited London, in February, 1846, and was presented to Queen Victoria. Seven years later he became Cardinal, but through the jealousy, as was commonly believed, of Antonelli, the Cardinal Secretary of State, he was kept for thirty years in charge of his provincial diocese. At last, in 1877, some months after the death of Antonelli, he was called to Rome to fill the office of Cardinal Camerlengo. On February 7, 1878, the death of Pius IX. took place, and on the 18th of that month a conclave of sixty-two Cardinals met at the Vatican. On the second day Cardinal Pecci was elected Pope by 44 votes out of 61, being a clear majority of two-thirds. He chose the name of Leo XIII. The coronation took place on March 3 in the Sistine Chapel. In personal appearance the new Pope was a contrast to Pius IX., being thin and spare, and of an attenuated figure. Mr. Thaddeus, the English artist who painted his portrait, said of him: "His head is a most remarkable one. The small, bright, rapid eyes, set close together, denote the man who is ever on the search, the largely developed aquiline nose a capacity for domination, the mouth when under a pleasing influence forms into an exceedingly wide, sweet smile. The ears, like the hands and feet, are exceptionally large and long. The skin is so thin that a perfect network of blue veins is visible over all the ascetic face."

The relations of the Papacy with the Italian Government continued antagonistic during the life of Leo XIII. He remained "the prisoner of the Vatican," like his predecessor, and maintained the prohibition to all good Catholics against taking any kind of part in Italian public life. With Germany better relations were gradually established. Bismarck, tiring of the *Kulturkampf*, and wanting the support of the Roman Catholic members of the Reichstag for the conflict with Socialism and other purposes, was ready to meet negotiators from the Pope. The Centre party having supported the German Chancellor on fiscal issues in 1879, in 1880 the Prussian Government obtained legislative authority to dispense with many of the most oppressive features of the Falk laws (whose immediate author had in the meantime resigned). It used

this power freely, and in 1882 accredited a Prussian Minister to the Vatican. In 1885 the Pope was much gratified by an invitation from the Emperor William I. to arbitrate in the dispute between Germany and Spain about the Caroline Islands, and agreed to mediate, with the result that his Holiness recommended a compromise-settlement to which both Powers agreed. In 1886 a transaction followed between the Vatican and Berlin. A Bill was introduced, and ultimately carried, abolishing several of the suspended Falk laws, and the Pope, for his part, agreed that the Prussian Government should have a veto on ecclesiastical appointments, "subject," according to *The Times* biography of his Holiness, "to limitations, the character of which is unknown." In 1888 and 1893 the Emperor William II. visited the Pope, as the Crown Prince Frederick had done in 1883.

Far less agreeable were the relations between Leo XIII. and France, although in this case his Holiness took a strikingly conciliatory initiative. Even in view of the severely anti-clerical policy of the Republican Government in the early eighties, in such matters as the breaking up of the "unauthorised" religious orders, and the enforcement of the conscription on seminary students, the Pope, though protesting, never adopted a hostile attitude. And in 1890, to the surprise of the world, Cardinal Laviege in a speech to French officers at Algiers, which was well understood to embody the Pope's views, declared that it was the duty of Catholic Frenchmen to accept the Republic as the form of Government definitely adopted by their country. To the principles of this declaration his Holiness firmly adhered, notwithstanding the confusion produced among French Roman Catholics—of whom the limited number who definitely accepted his injunction were known as the *Rallies* (i.e., to the Republic)—and the very scanty appreciation shown by the French Government at any time of the Papal support to the existing régime. And when in later years the campaign against the religious orders was renewed with enhanced bitterness, Leo XIII. continued to avoid any definite breach with the French Government. His French policy, in a word, was finely conceived, but in its results, as seen during his life, it could only be called a pathetically complete failure.

With the Tsar, as with the Russian

Government, his Holiness came to an understanding as to the appointment of Bishops in Poland; a number of vacant Sees there were filled up with Russia's consent; and in 1894 an encyclical enjoined on all the prelates who had been thus appointed the duty of labouring for the spread of the spirit of submission to the laws. In Austria-Hungary there were difficulties in regard to questions of civil and mixed marriages and clerical discipline, on which the Pope could not give way, and as to which a good deal of irritation was caused. A *Los von Rom* movement was even started in Vienna, but did not go far. In Belgium, perhaps, Leo XIII. promoted and witnessed the greatest measure of success vouchsafed to his Church in any country during his Pontificate; for there the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Papacy, following on the educational legislation of the Liberal Premier, M. Frère Orban, in 1880, paved the way to the return of a Clerical majority in 1884, which repealed the offending laws, and brought back the old terms of cordial friendship between Brussels and the Vatican, which lasted without further breach to the end of the Pope's life. In the United States certain Liberal tendencies which appeared among adherents of the Roman Church during Leo XIII.'s Pontificate encountered strong condemnation from the Vatican, and, at least outwardly, subsided. The Pope's sense of the importance of the American branch of his Church was illustrated by his appointment in 1893 of Mgr. Satolli to reside permanently at Washington with the rank and faculties of Apostolic Delegate.

Towards England, as a non-Roman Catholic nation treating the Roman Church fairly, the Pope's feelings were always very friendly. He was probably glad of the opportunity of doing anything to diminish the difficulties of the British Government, when, in the direct interests of Christian morality, he forbade in 1883 by a circular of the Propaganda to the Irish Bishops, the participation of their clergy in the collections for the Parnell Fund, and when again in 1888, by a formal decree of the Inquisition, he condemned the employment of "boycotting" and the "Plan of Campaign" in the agrarian struggle. In both cases there were strong lay Nationalist protests against the "political" action of the Vatican, and the acquiescence of the prelates, if ostensible, afforded little evidence of cordiality. Towards the recovery of the English to the Roman Catholic obedi-

ence an Apostolic Letter, *ad Anglos*, was addressed in 1895, pathetic in its earnestness, but no more fruitful of results than might have been anticipated. The question of corporate reunion between the Anglican and Roman Churches having been raised shortly after, with a genuine and avowed hope among English Churchmen, including Mr. Gladstone, that the attitude of the Vatican might prove not altogether rigidly unfavourable to the recognition of the Anglican as a true branch of the Church Catholic, all such aspirations were decisively defeated by the Pope's Bull *Apostolica Cura* of September 18, 1896, which altogether rejected the validity of Anglican Orders. A reply of much firmness and dignity was made by the two English Archbishops. For the character and person of Pope Leo XIII. deep respect was entertained in England, and the exchange of diplomatic missions of courtesy on the occasions of the twenty-fifth year of his Pontificate and the Coronation of King Edward, and still more his Majesty's visit to his Holiness in April, 1903, were regarded with cordial satisfaction.

In 1887 the Pope celebrated his sacerdotal jubilee and received money offerings which must have amounted in the aggregate to very large sums.

When eighty-nine years of age Pope Leo submitted to an operation for the removal of a tumour near the hip joint. Afterwards his health recovered completely and in 1900 he celebrated the "Holy Year" jubilee, which brought vast crowds of pilgrims to Rome. On this occasion he opened in person the "Holy Door" of St. Peter's after its closure for seventy-five years.

In February, 1893, he held his Episcopal jubilee, which again attracted great numbers of pilgrims and curiosity seekers. A convocation of leading dignitaries of the Eastern Church met in Rome in 1894 by Leo's invitation, but the Patriarchs after much discussion failed to recognise the Papal authority even as to dogma, and the conference accomplished nothing of importance.

Leo XIII. remained to the last a devoted advocate of the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas, and enjoined all teachers in Roman Catholic schools and colleges to adopt generally those doctrines in philosophy and theology and to promote their study in the original texts. The venerable Pontiff retained to the end all his mental faculties and died on July 20 at the

advanced age of ninety-three, amid universal manifestations of respectful sympathy.

James McNeill Whistler.—On the 17th, at Chelsea, aged 70, there died James Abbott McNeill Whistler, painter and etcher. Born at Lowell, Mass., son of Major G. W. Whistler, an engineer, he went in his boyhood to Russia with his father. He was educated at West Point Military Academy, 1851-5. After a brief period of work at making maps and charts in a Government office he went to Paris about 1857, and there began his famous etchings—the “French Set,” appearing in 1859, and published by Delâtre, making some mark. After some time he moved to London, where he made his home in Chelsea. Here he continued to produce etchings, the series known as the “Thames Etchings” appearing during the sixties, to be first collectively published by Mr. F. S. Ellis, 1871. At the same time he was painting and occasionally exhibiting in the Royal Academy. To this period belong “The Little White Girl” (1865); the “Symphony in White” (1867); “The Bal-

cony” (1870); the “Portrait of the Artist’s Mother” (1872), the latter bought in 1891 for the Luxembourg Gallery. Mr. Whistler’s paintings called forth a good deal of hostile criticism, which he took in very bad part, particularly that of Mr. Ruskin, against whom he brought a libel action (1878), obtaining one farthing damages. He continued to exhibit, chiefly at the Grosvenor Gallery after its opening in 1877—there his portraits of Carlyle and Lady Archibald Campbell, and various “Nocturnes” appeared—and in small private exhibitions of both paintings and etchings, such as that of “Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces” in 1886. After he left London and again settled in Paris his popularity grew, as the “impressionist” school, to which he may be said to have belonged, accustomed the public to his style. But up to the end of his life his resolute avoidance of anything like a popular style, his sharp sayings and irritable temper combined to make his work and personality the subject generally rather of attack than of admiration, though he had a large number of fervent and instructed admirers.

On the 1st, in London, aged 84, **Right Hon. Sir Charles John Colville, K.T., G.C.V.O.**, Viscount Colville of Culross, tenth Baron Colville, s. of General Sir Charles Colville. Educated at Harrow. Served with the 11th Hussars for many years in India. Succeeded his uncle in the Scottish title, 1849; created Peer of the United Kingdom, 1885, having previously sat as representative Peer of Scotland. Became Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal to Queen Victoria, 1852, and in 1858 and 1866 was Master of the Buckhounds. Appointed Chamberlain to Queen Alexandra, then Princess of Wales, 1873, and was Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty at his death. Was a keen yachtsman, an amateur artist of some merit, Director of the Great Northern, the Highland, and Central London Railways. M., 1853, the Hon. Cecile Katherine Mary, dau. of second Lord Carrington. On the 1st, at Beacon, Exmouth, aged 81, **Rev. Frederick Bennett**. Graduated at Wadham College, Oxford, 1843. Ordained, 1845. Worked in the parish of Maddington, in the Salisbury Diocese, as Curate and Vicar for forty-seven years. Organising Secretary of the S.P.G., 1852-72. Prebendary of Woodford and Wilsford in Salisbury Cathedral, 1868-99. On the 5th, at Hendon, aged 81, **Rev. William Burt Pope, D.D.** Entered the Wesleyan Ministry, 1841. Held the Chair of Theology at Didsbury College, Manchester, 1867-86. Elected President of the Wesleyan Conference, 1877. Editor for several years of the *London Quarterly Review*. Author of various theological works. On the 5th, at Slough, aged 76, **Archibald Henry Fraser, M.D.** Educated at Glasgow. Entered the army as Assistant Surgeon, 1851; served in Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; promoted Surgeon, 1858; Deputy Surgeon-General, 1877; Surgeon-General, 1884; retired, 1887; Hon. Physician to Queen Victoria, 1899, and to King Edward, 1901. M., 1851, Jane, eldest dau. of Major Duncan Grahame, of Glenly, Perthshire. On the 6th, at Abbey-Leix, Ireland, **John Robert William Vesey, Viscount de Vesey**. Fourth Viscount de Vesey and Baron Knapton in the Peerage of Ireland. Born, 1844. Entered the Coldstream Guards, 1863; served in Egypt, 1882, at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and obtained his majority. Retired as Lieutenant-Colonel, 1888. He was a most public-spirited Irish landlord, a vigorous opponent of the Land League, which he fought successfully on his own estates, winning the devoted affection of his tenants. M., 1872, Lady Evelyn Charteris, eldest dau. of the ninth Earl of Wemyss. On the 6th, at Ickwell, Bedfordshire, aged 87, **Henry Godfrey Astell**, s. of William Astell. Educated at Eton in the time of Dr. Keate. Entered the Indian Civil Service and became a Judge at Azimghar. He fought bravely in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. M., 1842, a dau. of Major-

General Wynyard, C.B., an A.D.C. to King William IV. On the 9th, in London, aged 60, **Sir Samuel Lewis, O.M.G.**, s. of William Lewis of Freetown, West Africa. Born at Freetown, of pure African extraction. Educated at University College, London; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1871; returned to his native Africa, 1872, becoming at Sierra Leone a distinguished advocate; from 1882 was an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone; refused Chief Justiceship of the Gold Coast; was first Mayor of Freetown. M., first, Christian, dau. of M. P. Horton, and second, 1892, Edith, dau. of William Grant. On the 9th, at Rome, **Mgr. Volpini**, Consistorial Secretary at the Vatican—a fine scholar, and much beloved by his friends. On the 11th, aged 80, **Major-General Webber Desborough Harris**. Entered the army, 1841; served in Punjab Campaign, 1848-9, and in the Indian Mutiny through siege of Delhi, where he was second in command of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and also in other operations; for which services he received mention in despatches and brevet majority. On the 11th, at Woking, aged 54, **William Ernest Henley**, poet, playwright and critic. Editor (1877) of *London*, a weekly paper. Published "A Book of Verses" (1888), which immediately attracted attention, and was followed by several other volumes of poems, all vigorous and striking, if not very elevated; many of them fervently patriotic. Wrote, in collaboration with R. L. Stevenson, four plays: "Deacon Brodie," 1884; "Beau Austin," 1890; "Admiral Guinea" and "Macaire," which have all been successfully produced on the London stage. Prepared an anthology of poetry for boys; edited and wrote an introductory *Life* for the Centenary Edition of Burns. Was in bad health all his life, and many of his poems tell of his hospital experience. On the 11th, in London, aged 73, **John Douglas Armour**, s. of Rev. Samuel Armour, Rector of Cavan, Ontario. Born at Otonabee, Ontario. Educated at Toronto University, winning several scholarships and prizes; B.A., 1850; studied law and was called to the Bar, 1859; took silk, 1867; appointed Judge of the Ontario Court of Queen's Bench, 1877; Chief Justice thereof, 1887; Chief Justice of Supreme Court of the Dominion, 1902; was appointed, 1903, one of the two Canadians on the Commission to determine the boundary between Canada and Alaska, but died before the tribunal assembled. M., 1855, a dau. of Freeman S. Church, of Coburg. On the 12th, in London, **Very Rev. Frederick Antrobus**. Born 1837, fifth s. of Sir Edmund Antrobus, second baronet. Superior of the Brompton Oratory. When a young man was in the Diplomatic Service as second secretary. On the 13th, at Vienna, aged 63, **Benjamin de Kállay**. Born at Buda-Pesth, s. of an official of the Hungarian Government; educated by his mother in great part. Became proficient in the languages of Russia and Serbia and in Turkish and Modern Greek; Consul-General at Belgrade, 1869-75; held high positions at the Vienna Foreign Office, 1879-82, when he was appointed Common Minister of Finance of Austria-Hungary, and Administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During his long tenure (till his death) of this position he devoted himself ardently and with singular success to the welfare of the provinces under his care, playing the part of enlightened despot in them, uprooting corruption and encouraging improvements in every department of public work. He was an ardent Hungarian, but was a firm believer in the dual system of Austro-Hungarian government, and a valued counsellor of the Emperor. Published a Hungarian translation of Mill's "Liberty" and a History of the Serbs. M., 1873, Countess Vilma Bethlen. On the 13th, in London, **Sir Vincent Hunter Barrington Kennett-Barrington**, s. of Captain Vincent F. Kennett. Born 1844; assumed the name of Barrington under his mother's will in 1878; educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1872; rendered services in relieving the wounded in the Franco-German War, 1871; in the Carlist War of 1873-6; in the Turko-Servian War, 1876; and the Turko-Russian War, 1877-8, acting as Chief Commissioner of the Stafford House Committee; in the Suakin Expedition of 1885 he performed like services, and in the Servo-Bulgarian War of 1886; did ambulance work in Argentina and Brazil, 1891, and founded the Venezuelan Red Cross Society; he received many foreign honours and distinctions, and became Deputy-Chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce, 1889. M., 1878, Alicia, dau. of George G. Sandeman, of Westfield, Hayling Island. On the 13th, at Rojan, Baluchistan, **Nawab Sir Imam Baksh Khan, K.C.I.E.**, a loyal and influential Baluch chief, who helped the Government at the time of the Indian Mutiny, and who was knighted in 1888; Member of the Punjab Legislative Council, 1901-3. On the 14th, at Haverstock Hill, aged 77, **Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D.**, s. of Rev. J. O. Kinns. Educated at Colchester Grammar School and privately. Ordained, 1885; Priest, 1886; Curate of All Souls, Langham Place,

1886; Rector of Holy Trinity, Minories, 1889; author of "Moses and Geology" and other works designed to prove the scientific accuracy of the Old Testament, which attained great popularity, though superficial and inexact. On the 14th, in London, **Sir Joshua Fitch**, s. of Thomas Fitch. Born, in 1824, at Colchester; took degree of M.A. at London University, 1852. Appointed Principal of the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society, 1856; Inspector of Schools, 1863; did much special work in the educational sphere, being Assistant Commissioner to the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1865-7; Special Commissioner on Education in great towns, 1869; and Assistant Commissioner of Endowed Schools, 1870-7; author of the paper "Education" in the supplementary portion of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and of numerous articles and papers on educational topics. M., 1856, Emma, dau. of J. B. Wilks and sister of Sir Samuel Wilks, F.R.S. On the 17th, in London, aged 84, **Sir Peter Edlin**, s. of Edward Colsill Edlin, of Mortlake. Studied at the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar, 1847; took silk, 1862; Bencher of Middle Temple, 1863; Recorder of Bridgwater, 1872; Assistant Judge Middlesex Sessions, 1874; First Chairman (under Local Government Act of 1888) of Court of Quarter Sessions of County of London. M., 1870, Amy Alicia, dau. of Thomas Bruce Swinhoe, of Calcutta. On the 22nd, at Ealing Park, Henry George Liddell, second **Earl of Ravensworth**, eldest s. of the first Earl. Born 1821. M., first, 1852, Mary Diana, only dau. of Captain Gunning Sutton, R.N., and secondly, 1892, Emma, widow of Major Oswin Cresswell, and dau. of Hon. Richard Denman. Was Conservative M.P. for South Northumberland, 1852-78; took very keen interest in the affairs of his county; was for forty-five years officer in the Northumberland Hussars, and had been President of the Royal Agricultural Society, the Institute of Naval Architects, the North of England Steamship Owners' Association, and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries; was also actively associated with many philanthropic movements. On the 23rd, at Hampstead, aged 65, **Benjamin Leopold Parjeon**, novelist, journalist and playwright. Born in London. Author of numerous books of popular fiction; was manager of the first daily newspaper published in New Zealand. M., 1877, Margaret, dau. of Joseph Jefferson, the American actor. On the 23rd, at New York, **George Frederick Holls**, a distinguished American juriconsult, who was a prominent delegate to the Hague International Peace Conference, and one of its chief founders. On the 24th, at Bad Gastein, aged 63, **Rev. Edward Walpole Warren**, D.D. Educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge; B.A., 1861; ordained Deacon, 1862; Priest, 1863. After holding curacies at Clandown and East and West Cranmore, Somerset, became Rector of Compton-Martin, Somerset, 1870; Vicar of Holy Trinity, Lambeth, 1884; Rector of Trinity Church, New York, 1887. On the 25th, at Musselburgh, **Willie Park** (senior), a noted professional golf player. Had won four open championships, 1860, 1863, 1866 and 1875. On the 26th, at Packham, Fordingbridge, Hants, **Admiral the Hon. Fitzgerald Algernon Charles Foley**, s. of the third Baron Foley. Born 1823. Entered the Royal Navy as midshipman, 1837; served in the *Castor*, 1840, on the coast of Syria, and at the bombardment of Acre, receiving Syrian and Turkish medals. Fought the Chinese pirates, and gained the Chinese medal. Captain, 1860; Superintendent of Sheerness Dockyard, 1875-7; Rear-Admiral, 1876; received, 1878, official expression of Queen Victoria's satisfaction at the raising of the *Eurydice*, which had foundered; Vice-Admiral, 1881; Admiral, 1887. M., 1850, first, Frances, dau. of Sir George Campbell, and second, 1874, Renira Anna, widow of Captain Edward H. G. Lambert, R.N., and dau. of Rev. R. F. Purvis. On the 26th, at Chelsea, **Right Hon. Sir John Rigby**. Born 1834. Educated at Liverpool College, and at Trinity College, Cambridge; Second Wrangler and a Second Class Classic, 1856; Fellow of his College, 1856-66; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1860; Junior Counsel to the Treasury, 1875; took Silk, 1881. Achieved notable successes in appeals before the Judicial Committee and the House of Lords, especially in realty and equity cases; sat as a Liberal for the Wisbeach Division, 1885, and as a Gladstone Liberal for Forfarshire, 1892. Solicitor-General, 1892-4; Attorney-General, 1894; Lord Justice of Court of Appeal, 1894-1901. On the 28th, at Aix-la-Chapelle, **Sir William Thackeray Marriott**, s. of Christopher Marriott, of Crumpsall, near Manchester. Born 1834. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1858; ordained, but soon left clerical life for law. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1864; Bencher of his Inn, 1879; took Silk, 1877; sat as a Liberal for Brighton, 1880; objected to the closure, and resigned, 1884; was at once re-elected as a Conservative, and continued M.P. for Brighton till 1892; Judge Advocate-General and Privy Counsellor, 1885. M. Charlotte Louisa, dau. of Cap-

tain Tennant, of Needwood, Staffordshire. On the 29th, at Middlehill, Worcester-shire, aged 72, **Edgar Flower**, s. of E. F. Flower, of Stratford-on-Avon; chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial Association, a munificent patron of various Shakespearean enterprises, and a founder of the Technical Institute at Stratford-on-Avon. In July, at Haslemere, **Major-General Dawsonne Melancthon Strong**, C.B., s. of Rev. C. B. Strong of Clifton. Born 1841. Entered Bengal Army, 1859; served in Abyssinian War, 1868; Afghan Campaign, 1879-80, being present at several actions against the Ghilzais, and receiving brevet of Major and, later, of Lieutenant-Colonel. M., 1870, dau. of G. Percival Smith of Lower Eaton, Herefordshire. In July, at Berlin, **Major Justus Scheibert**, an able military critic. Served in the Prussian Army in the engineers, 1848. Reported the progress of the American Civil War, 1863. Viewed the battle of Gettysburg from a tree-top. Was at the storming of Dueppel, and took part in the Bohemian Campaign, 1866. Severely wounded at Spicheren at the beginning of the Franco-German War. Author of many articles in German periodicals on military subjects, and autobiography, entitled, "Mit Schwert und Feder." In July, at Zafarwal, Punjab, **Captain Ganda Singh**, Sirdar Bahadur, Risaldar-Major of 19th Bengal Lancers. Enlisted, 1852, as a Dafadar. Served in Indian Mutiny suppression at Gugeru, and at the relief of Lucknow, where he saved the life of Sir Robert Sandeman, receiving third class of Order of Merit. Served in China, 1860 (medal with two clasps); and in the latest Afghan Campaign, on march to Kandahar, receiving medal and Order of British India, first class. Native A.D.C. to Lord Roberts. Was specially honoured at the Delhi Coronation Durbar as one of the Mutiny veterans. In July, at Dayton, Ohio, U.S.A., aged 72, **General Alexander McDowell McCook**, of the U.S. Army. Born in Columbia Co., Ohio. Educated at West Point Military Academy, graduating 1852. Stationed at Louisville, Ky., and at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., for a time. Teacher of Infantry Tactics at West Point, 1861. Brevetted Major in first battle of Bull Run, 1861. Took part in many battles in the South-West during the Civil War, becoming Major-General of Volunteers and Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular army. Colonel of Regulars, 1890. Major-General commanding Department of Colorado, 1894, during which appointment he did valuable work in controlling labour disturbances without an appeal to force. Represented the U.S. Government at the Coronation of the Tsar, 1896.

AUGUST.

The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.—On Saturday, August 22—the anniversary of his first election to Parliament—there died, at Hatfield House, Herts, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury, who had been three times Prime Minister of England. He was born at Hatfield on February 3, 1830, the second son of James, the second Marquess of Salisbury, and of his first wife Frances Mary Gascoyne, only daughter and heir of Bamber Gascoyne; and ninth in lineal male descent from Robert Cecil, who was created Earl of Salisbury, 1605, and who was the youngest son of William, the great Lord Burleigh. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1850, when he obtained an "honorary Fourth" in mathematics, he remained but two years at Oxford and did not offer himself as a candidate for honours. He took an active part in the debates of the Union, of which society he acted both as Secretary and Treasurer. He became a Fellow of All Souls in 1853 after his return from a course of foreign travel which extended as far as Aus-

tralia and New Zealand, and which included on his way homeward the Cape of Good Hope and the Transvaal. In August, 1853, Lord Robert Cecil was elected as a Conservative Member of Parliament for Stamford, and he continued to represent that constituency as long as he remained a Member of the House of Commons—a period of fifteen years. His first speech in Parliament, on April 7, 1854, criticised the Oxford University Bill, but received eulogy from his opponent, Mr. Gladstone, then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who regarded the "first effort" as "rich with future promise." In 1855 he was selected to move the "previous question," in the debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion of no confidence in Lord Palmerston's Government—the Tory party deeming it unpatriotic to discredit that Minister while carrying on the Crimean War, with which they did not desire to be burdened. His first Bill was introduced in 1857—a Bill to establish the voting paper system in place of personal attendance at a polling station. In the same year took place his marriage to Georgina

Caroline, eldest daughter of that eminent judge, Sir Edmund Hall Alderson, Baron of the Exchequer. The marriage was a most happy one, and her death in 1899 was a blow from which he never fully recovered. For some years after his marriage he was an active contributor to the *Saturday Review* (then lately founded by his brother-in-law, Mr. Beresford Hope), to the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals. His writings and his speeches were both marked by a pungent and caustic quality, as when he suggested that Lord John Russell as Foreign Minister had a "tariff of insolence," applicable to foreign Powers, on a scale ascending with their weakness; and on another occasion apologised—to the attorneys—for having said that the policy of the Whig Government was more worthy of an attorney than of a statesman.

In June, 1865, Lord Robert Cecil, on the death of his elder brother, became Viscount Cranborne and heir to the Marquisate of Salisbury. He took a conspicuous part in opposition to the Reform Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone in March, 1866, and became Secretary for India in Lord Derby's Cabinet, formed after the defeat of the Russell-Gladstone Government, through the combination of the Adulamate Whigs with the Tories. Soon after his appointment he introduced the Indian Budget in a speech of great ability, marked by skilful handling of the intricate financial questions involved. His first tenure of office, however, was brief, as he was unable to share responsibility for the Reform Bill introduced by Lord Derby's Government after the Hyde Park riots. Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon and General Peel refused to go beyond a certain point in popularising the suffrage and in the spring of 1867 these Ministers resigned their Cabinet positions. Lord Cranborne explained his action by saying that some of the checks and balances proposed in the Ministerial measure would be ineffective, or, if not, would be so unpopular that they would have to be given up. "Then," said he, "you will come to simple undiluted household suffrage, and I am content to fall back upon what seems to me a simple proposition of political morality, that the party that behaved in opposition as ours did last year is not the party to propose household suffrage." These predictions were fulfilled; the safeguards and guarantees were one by one swept away in the Commons, and Lord

Derby's Government and the Conservative party, "educated" by Mr. Disraeli, made their "leap in the dark" to household suffrage. Nothing could exceed the severity with which Lord Cranborne denounced the Conservative surrender from his place in the House of Commons as well as anonymously in the *Quarterly Review*. He did not, however, lose the confidence of his party. Disraeli admired his invective, and they were soon drawn together by common opposition to Mr. Gladstone. In the early months of 1868 Lord Cranborne strongly attacked Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church resolutions, and later in the same session, having succeeded (April 12) on his father's death to the Salisbury Peerage, he took an active part in the successful resistance to the Irish Church Suspensory Bill in the House of Lords.

Nevertheless, in view of the decisive character of the general election in the autumn of 1869, the new Lord Salisbury used his influence and voted in favour of the second reading of the Disestablishment Bill in the House of Lords, holding that it was the duty of the Upper House to bow to the clearly ascertained will of the country. In October, 1869, the University of Oxford unanimously elected him its Chancellor in the room of the Earl of Derby deceased, and had every reason to be satisfied with its choice. It was as Chancellor of Oxford, as well as Cabinet Minister, that in 1877 he promoted the appointment of the second Universities Commission. Through the 1868 Parliament he was a powerful influence among the Opposition Peers, and in 1874 when Mr. Disraeli again became Premier Lord Salisbury again took the office of Secretary of State for India. He had to cope with one of the periodical famines that afflict that country, and when Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy, refused to prohibit the export of grain he supported him, and was able to claim that through the confidence thus given to private traders they relieved the distressed districts at a greater rate than by the grain carried by the public agency. He was doubtless a leading party to, but not the originator of, the Act under which Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India and was so proclaimed at a Durbar at Delhi on January 1, 1877.

In regard to the Public Worship Regulation Bill introduced by Archbishop Tait in 1874, Lord Salisbury took quite a distinct line from that adopted by Mr. Disraeli. He held it

APRIL.

On the 1st, at Bombay, aged 79, **Dr. Thomas Blaney, C.I.E.** Born in Ireland. Went to India in service of East India Company, 1836; studied at Grant Medical College. Made a large fortune in his private practice, which he spent in charity. Twice Sheriff of Bombay; Coroner of Bombay, 1876-93. A fine statue, costing over Rx.20,000, was erected in his honour by his fellow citizens, and when too old for work a subscription was raised to relieve the poverty caused by his ceaseless generosity. On the 1st, **Major-General Colin Cookworthy, s. of Dr. J. C. Cookworthy of Plymouth.** Served as a subaltern in the Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6, and in the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; also through the Indian Mutiny, when he was wounded in the action at Narnoul while commanding the artillery. Was thrice mentioned in despatches and received brevet of Major, having been promoted Captain, June, 1857. On the 3rd, aged 79, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wickham.** Served with the 88th Regiment (now 1st Battalion The Duke of Wellington's) in the Crimea, being severely wounded in the attack on the Redan, June, 1855, and receiving brevet of Major. On the 4th, in Guernsey, at the great age of 110, **Mrs. Margaret Anne Neve.** Born in Guernsey, May 18; baptised, May 27, 1792, dau. of Jean Harvey. M., 1823, John Neve, of Tenterden, Kent. Was a great traveller. She retained her faculties till shortly before her death. On the 5th, at Montreal, aged 82, **Mary Anne Sadlier,** a popular Canadian writer, dau. of Francis Madden of Co. Cavan, Ireland. M., 1845, James Sadlier of Montreal. On the 6th, at Berlin, aged 59, **Herr Siegfried Ernst Köbner,** editor of the *National-Zeitung*. Born at Breslau; educated himself by constant reading in the Breslau University Library. Editor of *Hanover Courier*, 1872, and of the *Berlin National-Zeitung*, 1890, which became under his rule the mouthpiece of semi-official *communiqués* from the Government. On the 6th, in London, **R. Philip Day, A.R.I.B.A.** Born at Hitchin. Was surveyor for London diocese and architect of St. Gabriel's, Willesden, a new church at Herne Bay, and several other churches. M. a dau. of Rev. George Smith. On the 7th, at Haslemere, aged 90, **Josiah Wood Whympere, B.I.,** an eminent wood engraver. Born at Ipswich. Came to London, 1830; trained many pupils in his art, which he practised for fifty years. On the 9th, at Antwerp, aged 67, **Sir Gerald Raoul de Courcy-Perry, C.M.G.** British Consul-General for Belgium; s. of Sir William Perry; served in Navy as midshipman, 1849-52; entered Consular service, 1855; held various Consular posts; Consul-General, Odessa, 1883; Consul-General, Belgium, 1888. M., 1874, Elena, dau. of Francis Low, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A. On the 9th, at Hampstead, aged 83, **Samuel Palmer,** of the Society of Friends. One of the founders of the firm of Messrs. Huntley & Palmer, biscuit makers; was a generous patron of philanthropic causes. On the 10th, at Kensington, aged 64, **Horace Bell,** a distinguished engineer of Indian Railways; author of "Laws of Wealth" and "Railway Policy in India." On the 10th, in London, aged 67, **Sir Charles Grant, K.C.S.I., s. of the Right. Hon. Sir Robert Grant.** Educated at Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Haileybury. Bengal Civil Service, 1858; Commissioner of Central Provinces, 1870; Acting Chief Commissioner, 1879; Foreign Secretary of Government of India, 1881; retired, 1885. M., first, Ellen, dau. of Right Hon. H. Baillie; second, Florence Lucia Harris, dau. of Admiral Sir E. Harris, K.C.B., and sister of the fourth Earl of Malmesbury. On the 10th, at Wortham Diss, aged 72, **Rev. Charles Caldecott James.** Graduated tenth Junior Op. and third Classic, 1853, King's College, Cambridge, and Fellow; Assistant Master and Tutor, Eton, 1855-84; Curate of Papworth St. Agnes, Hunts, 1885-8; Rector of Wortham, 1888. On the 10th, at Santa Barbara, Cal., U.S.A., aged 80, **Rev. William Henry Milburn,** the blind Chaplain of the U.S. Senate; Chaplain of House of Representatives, 1845 and 1853; again in 1885, and of the Senate, 1893; quite blind for many years; was an eloquent preacher and author of several books. On the 11th, at Gloucester, aged 64, **Samuel Bland, J.P.,** Mayor of Gloucester, 1902; was a prominent Liberal; founded *The Citizen*, 1876. On the 12th, at Llanwrin, Montgomeryshire, aged 85, **Rev. Daniel Silvan Evans, B.D.,** an eminent Welsh philologist. Educated at St. David's College, Lampeter; ordained, 1848; Professor of the Welsh language in University College, Aberystwith, 1875-83; Rector of Llanwrin, 1876; author of many works in Welsh, including an English-Welsh Dictionary. On the 13th, in London, aged 65, **Rev. John Fenwick Kitto,** eldest s. of Rev. John Kitto, D.D., the famous Biblical scholar. Educated at St. Alban's Hall and Merton College, Oxford; graduated, 1860 (second class Mathematics); Curate of St. Pancras, 1862; Vicar of St. Matthias, Poplar, 1867-75; Rector of

to the revolution at Philippopolis and the declaration of the union of Eastern Roumelia with the Principality of Bulgaria, Lord Salisbury, who was Foreign Secretary as well as Premier, acting through Sir William White at Constantinople, strongly opposed any forcible Turkish action, such as was advised by Russia, for the undoing of this partial reversal of a portion of the Berlin Treaty arrangements for which England had been specially responsible. The result was that the union was ultimately sanctioned and that England won much Bulgarian gratitude at the expense of Russia. In regard to Ireland, there appeared an unexpected softness about the policy of the Conservative Government. Lord Carnarvon, their Viceroy, held conference with Mr. Parnell; Lord Randolph Churchill elaborately washed his hands of all responsibility for Lord Spencer's resolute administration of the criminal law; and Lord Salisbury himself used language at Newport in the autumn of 1885 of an ambiguity which had the effect of making many people doubtful as to the quality of his resistance to Home Rule projects. This mood, however, did not last long. In November came the dissolution, and in view of the large proportion of Irish members returned, under the new franchise, as Home Rulers, Mr. Gladstone decided that that policy must be adopted. It is understood that he entered into communication with Lord Salisbury as to the possibility of a concerted treatment of the question by the two political parties, but the Conservative Premier entirely rejected his overtures.

In January, 1886, the Conservatives were put in a minority on a division on Mr. Jesse Collings' Small Holdings motion; Lord Salisbury and his colleagues resigned, and Mr. Gladstone returned to office, and after a few weeks brought in his first Home Rule Bill. It was thrown out on its second reading in the House of Commons by a combination of Conservatives with a section of Liberals led by Lord Hartington, and the general election which followed gave the Unionists a majority of 116. Lord Salisbury generously offered to make way for Lord Hartington, but the Liberal Unionists thought it desirable for the present to stand out of office. Lord Salisbury therefore became Premier again and formed his second Administration of Conservatives only, but on the resignation of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer within a few months

by Lord Randolph Churchill, who desired to press certain economies in the defensive services to which his colleagues would not agree, Mr. Goschen succeeded him. The Government was a successful one. The firm administration of the Premier's nephew, Mr. Arthur Balfour, as Irish Secretary broke down lawless combinations in Ireland, and his initiation of a generous and considerate treatment of the congested districts of the West was a departure of permanent value. The Ministerial legislation of the period 1886-92, both Irish and English, as for example the Local Government Act, bore the impress of a loyal determination to co-operate on the part of both sections of the Unionist party. Lord Salisbury's influence as Premier was undoubtedly very useful in promoting this spirit of co-operation. His presence at the Foreign Office, which he resumed on Lord Iddesleigh's resignation—almost immediately followed by his death—at the end of 1886, was recognised throughout Europe as making for peace. British relations with most of the Powers were friendly; and various causes of friction with Germany were removed in 1890 by an agreement settling the spheres of influence of the two Powers in East and West Africa. For the German recognition of a British protectorate over Zanzibar, however, special payment was made in Europe by the cession of Heligoland. Lord Salisbury had previously found it necessary to use strong language at Lisbon, and even to threaten the withdrawal of the British Minister, in order to secure the abandonment of large and vague territorial claims by Portugal, the recognition of which would have cut off our South African from our Central African possessions, and which were not supported by any kind of effective occupation.

In 1892 Mr. Gladstone came back to office, but not to power, with the narrow majority of 40 in the Commons. The Duke of Devonshire (to which title Lord Hartington had succeeded) actually moved, but Lord Salisbury gave his strongest support to, the rejection in the House of Lords of the second Home Rule Bill, which was accordingly thrown out by the great majority of 419 to 41. The period of absence from office was marked by Lord Salisbury's tour in Ulster (May, 1894), where he delivered impressive addresses, and was received with great enthusiasm as the chief of the party who had prevented the surrender of the Loyalists and Protestants of the

Northern province to the Nationalists and Roman Catholics of the South and West. In September of the same year, he delivered at Oxford, as President of the British Association, a striking address, illustrative of the more conservative aspects of scientific progress. In 1895, the Liberal party, whose leadership Mr. Gladstone had resigned and which was in a disorganised condition, was driven from office, the Unionists receiving a majority of 152. Lord Salisbury was again called in and this time formed a Ministry containing leading Liberal Unionists as well as Conservatives. His long third Administration, through most of which he was again Foreign Secretary, was a period of immeasurably greater anxiety and difficulty in the foreign and Imperial sphere than the second had been. His prestige probably enabled him to exercise much greater forbearance than would have been possible to a Minister of less established reputation, in view of President Cleveland's highly provocative intervention at the end of 1895 in the frontier dispute between this country and Venezuela, as to which arbitration was ultimately arranged with results in the main justifying the British case.

Lord Salisbury had set himself to improve the relations between Great Britain and the United States, and undoubtedly succeeded in doing so, first, by the general course of his diplomacy, illustrated by the treaty arranging for the settlement of the Behring Sea fisheries question, and by his negotiation of a treaty—which the Senate failed to ratify—for the general reference to a joint tribunal of matters in issue between the two nations; and secondly, by the strong line which he took in opposition to proposals from European Powers for bringing concerted pressure to bear on the States before the outbreak of the Spanish War. Another great object, definitely secured under Lord Salisbury's third Administration, was the recovery of the Soudan from the barbarous tyranny under which it had lain since the fall of Khartoum and the murder of General Gordon. The morrow of this achievement found us in the autumn of 1898, through the occupation of Fashoda, on the White Nile, by an expedition under Captain Marchand, within measurable distance of war with France. Acquiescence in that occupation would have been impossible for any British Minister, but the fact that the withdrawal of Captain Marchand was obtained with-

out war, and without producing more than a temporary bitterness in France must stand to Lord Salisbury's credit.

The conduct of events leading up to the great South African War was not in Lord Salisbury's hands, and it was thought for a time that he was not fully in sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain. But both before and after the outbreak of the war, and all through its long continuance, he associated himself decisively and emphatically with the general aims of the policy of his Colonial Secretary, and he set his face with absolute sternness against the further maintenance of Boer independence in any form.

The first two years of this Administration were occupied in Europe by great anxieties connected with the Near East. Lord Salisbury would, there is reason to believe, have wished to intervene for the rescue of the Armenians from the atrocious misgovernment of the Sultan, but that it was made clear to him that a general European war would ensue. During the Greco-Turkish War he laboured with success to prevent grave dissensions from arising among the Powers, and to him, as *The Times* biography justly observed, "must fall a large share of the honour of the settlement by which, in spite of the decisive defeat of the Greek forces at the hands of Turkey, the Sultan was compelled to grant autonomy to Crete, under a Greek Prince—a settlement which till now has worked extremely well, securing tranquillity in the island." During the Boer War, the prevalence of a large amount of hostility to Great Britain on the Continent of Europe was exhibited. There can be no doubt that the firm tone repeatedly adopted by Lord Salisbury in regard to the inadmissibility of foreign intervention did much to secure that the unfriendly feeling just mentioned did not take shape in any dangerous form. In regard to China it must be admitted that the general effect of the direction of British policy was not to produce the appearance of success, or of any approach to the maintenance of the position of predominance so long enjoyed by this country in the Far East. But it must be remembered that, if Lord Salisbury's policy was not altogether clear or firmly conducted, the British nation itself was far from having any definite view of the aims to be pursued, and that during a large part of the most critical period our power to show a firm front in that region was to a great extent paralysed by our South

African struggle. One of the latest important exercises of Lord Salisbury's responsibility as Premier was the adoption, through Lord Lansdowne, who in 1900 succeeded him as Foreign Secretary, of the policy of the Japanese alliance, directed towards the re-establishment of British prestige in the Far East.

To Lord Lansdowne the Foreign Office had been handed over on the occasion of the partial reconstruction of the Ministry which followed shortly after the general election of 1900, when the Unionists returned to power with a majority of 134. Lord Salisbury retained the Premiership into the new reign, saw the Boer War out, and would have continued at his post until after the Coronation of King Edward VII.; but the postponement of that solemnity on account of his Majesty's illness made this impossible, in view of the chief Minister's declining strength, and the King, then convalescent, received Lord Salisbury's resignation on July 11, 1902. It was deeply felt by his fellow-countrymen on his retirement that in his statesmanship and in the respect in which he was universally held abroad as well as at home the Empire had possessed, during a most critical period, a source of strength with which it could ill afford to dispense.

In his last illness Lord Salisbury was surrounded by public sympathy. It was well understood that then as

throughout his life he was fortified by a strong faith in the Christian religion. He was a deeply attached member of the Church of England, and when occasion arose one of its most strenuous and powerful defenders. He was a chemist of considerable attainments, and found much refreshment in laboratory work, and it has been said that he valued perhaps as much as any other distinction his Fellowship of the Royal Society. For some time Lord Salisbury was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He is understood to have declined the honour of a dukedom, but at the time of his final retirement from office he received from the King the G.C.V.O. set in brilliants.

In conclusion it must be said that the elevation of Lord Salisbury's character, his vast knowledge of affairs, his dignity, and his mastery in speech and writing of a clear, impressive, and frequently pungent style, gave him a constant hold on the interest and the respect of his fellow-countrymen. His home life was known to be happy and admirable, and though he had lived aloof from the public gaze he was recognised as having maintained, in the highest degree, the traditions of a great governing English family.

Lord Salisbury was succeeded by his eldest son, James Edward Hubert, Viscount Cranborne, at the time M.P. for Rochester and Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On the 1st, at Clifton, Bristol, aged 83, **Joseph Griffith Swayne, M.D.** (London), a very distinguished physician. Born at Bristol, the s. of John Champeney Swayne; educated at Bristol and at Guy's Hospital, London. M.B., London University, 1842; M.D., 1845; Fellow of the Obstetric Society, London; Lecturer at Bristol Medical School for fifty years; author of "Obstetric Aphorisms for Students," which was translated into several languages. On the 2nd, in Paris, aged 53, **Professor Edmund Nocard**, bacteriologist and early collaborator with Pasteur; author of several important discoveries in bacteriology. On the 3rd, in London, **Colonel Sir Francis Aylmer Graves Sawle, C.V.O.**, third Baronet. Born 1849, s. of Sir Charles Graves Sawle. Entered, 1868, the Coldstream Guards, which he was commanding to within a few weeks of his death; became Colonel in the Army, 1889; took part in Nile Expedition, 1884-5, with the Guards' Camel Regiment, and was in actions of Abu Klea and Abu Kru, receiving medal with two clasps and Khedive's star. M., 1891, Harriet, dau. of Thomas Vernon Wentworth of Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire. On the 5th, at Camden Town, aged 39, **Phil May**, a brilliant caricaturist and "black and white" artist, s. of an engineer. Born at Leeds; partially educated at St. George's School, Leeds; came to London at the age of eighteen; went to Australia and found work on the *Sydney Bulletin*; about 1890 returned to London and contributed sketches to *Punch* and other papers; he excelled in depicting scenes in low life, and had a keen sense of humour. On the 6th, in London, **Mark Whitwill**, a prominent shipowner of Bristol. Born, 1826, at Scarborough. Was widely known as a philanthropist; Founder of the Bristol Hospital for Sick Children and Women, of which he was both President and Treasurer. On the 8th, at Bad Reichenhall, Bavaria, "**Colonel**" **Schiel**, who took the German volunteers to the Transvaal at the beginning of the Boer War. Born, in 1858, at Frankfort. Lieutenant of Hussars in the Prussian Army for a time; went to South Africa, 1878; became Chief Induna of Dinizulu, son of Cetewayo; was appointed by the Transvaal Government to take

charge of the State Prisons; he designed the fort at Johannesburg; when in command of the German volunteers was wounded and taken prisoner at Elands-laagte, and remained a captive at St. Helena till the end of the war; he afterwards lectured in Germany on his South African exploits. On the 8th, at Folkestone, aged 76, **Lieutenant-General Charles Brisbane Ewart, C.B.** Entered the Army, 1845; served in the Royal Engineers at Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, and the siege and capture of Sevastopol; mentioned in despatches, and made a Knight of the Legion of Honour; received medal with four clasps, Sardinian and Turkish medals, and Fifth Class of Medjidieh; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1866; Colonel, 1873; Deputy-Director of Works to the War Office, 1872-7; served in the Boer War, 1881, and in the Soudan Expedition, 1885; appointed Major-General, 1885; Lieutenant-General, 1888; Lieutenant-Governor at Jersey, 1887; Colonel Commandant of Royal Engineers, 1902. M., 1860, Edith, dau. of Rev. P. Ewart. On the 8th, at Antwerp, aged 55, **Robert Mols**, a well-known Belgian painter, who painted the "Review at Spithead," for which the trustees of the National Gallery paid 40,000 francs. On the 9th, aged 80, at Colinton, **George Balfour, M.D.**, s. of Rev. Louis Balfour, D.D., of Colinton. For several years one of the King's Physicians-in-Ordinary for Scotland; a great authority on diseases of the heart. On the 9th, at Bath, aged 78, **Major-General William Thomas Froke Farewell**, s. of Captain N. Farewell of Holebrook, Somerset. Entered the Army (Madras Staff Corps), 1849; served with distinction in India through the Mutiny, receiving the Central India medal with clasp. M., 1861, Augusta, dau. of Captain Fras. Senior, of East India Company's service. On the 10th, at New York, aged 71, **William Earl Dodge**, s. of Hon. William E. Dodge. The son was President of the Panama Railroad Company and a well-known philanthropist. On the 10th, at Sandown, Isle of Wight, aged 29, **Captain Harold William Ravenhill, R.G.A.**, s. of W. W. Ravenhill of Surbiton. Entered the Army, 1894; Captain, 1900; served in the Transvaal War, 1899-1900, being mentioned in despatches and receiving medal with three clasps. On the 12th, at Sidcup, aged 68, **Surgeon Major-General Thomas Norton Roysted**. Served with the 59th Regiment at the capture of Canton, 1857; in the Indian Mutiny with the 54th in the advance into Oudh under Lord Clyde, 1858; Afghan War, 1878-9; received medals and clasps in all campaigns. On the 13th, at St. Andrews, **William Smoult Playfair, M.D.**, a celebrated physician-accoucheur, third s. of George Playfair, Chief Inspector-General of Hospitals in Bengal. Born, 1836. Graduated M.D. at Edinburgh and entered the Bengal Medical Service, serving in Oudh at the time of the Indian Mutiny; Professor of Surgery in Calcutta, Professor of Midwifery, King's College, London, 1863; Physician-Accoucheur to T.R.H. the Duchesses of Edinburgh and Connaught and to the Queen of Roumania; author of many works on obstetrics. M., 1864, a dau. of James Kitson. On the 15th, at Bangor, **Very Rev. John Pryce**, Dean of Bangor, born 1828, second s. of Hugh Pryce of Dolgelly. Educated at Dolgelly Grammar School and at Jesus College, Oxford; Rector of Trefdraith, Anglesey, 1880-92; Canon, 1884; Archdeacon, 1887; Dean of Bangor, 1902; raised a large fund for the renovating of the Cathedral; author of a number of theological works in Welsh and English. M., 1862, Emily, dau. of Canon Rowland Williams of Flintshire. On the 15th, at Baveno, Italy, **Rear-Admiral Archibald George Bogle**. Entered the Navy, 1847; served in the *Howe* under Sir J. Stirling; was engaged in suppressing the slave trade in the Congo waters, 1850-1, and received official thanks for his rescue of an American brig from pirates; Sub-Lieutenant in the *Amphion*, 1854, in the Gulf of Riga, receiving Baltic medal, promotion and honourable mention; in China at storming of Canton, 1857, twice mentioned in despatches; fought the pirates in the Min River, 1859, as Lieutenant and Commander of the *Hardy*; capture of Ningpo, 1862, when his handling of his gunboat received special mention, and he received the Chinese medal and official thanks; served in the *Duncan* flagship, 1864; Senior Officer and Commander of the *Cockatrice* in the Danube and Black Sea, 1866-7, for which services he received thanks of the Austrian Government. On the 17th, at Berlin, **Hans Gude**, a noted landscape painter, born, in 1825, at Christiania, Sweden. Entered Düsseldorf Academy, 1842; became Professor there; went to Karlsruhe Academy, 1864, as Professor, and to Berlin Academy of Arts, 1880; painted admirable views of the mountains and fjords of Norway, and his works are in many galleries on the Continent. On the 17th, at Pietersburg, Transvaal, **Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. Henry Frederick White, D.S.O.**, born 1859. Served in the Soudan Campaign, 1885 (medal with clasp); in the Boer War, 1899-1902, in Grenadier Guards, being mentioned in despatches and receiving D.S.O.; promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Reserve of Officers. On the

18th, at Lyndhurst, **Mary, Countess of Galloway**. Lady Mary Arabella Cecil was a dau. of James, second Marquess of Salisbury, by his second wife. M., 1872, Alan Plantagenet, tenth Earl of Galloway. Accomplished and interesting, with a considerable knowledge of Italian art. On the 18th, in London, **James Bailey**, a successful teacher. Born, in 1827, at Bath; entered the Normal Seminary, Glasgow, 1849; Headmaster of Southlands Training College for Women, 1872-1903. On the 19th, in London, **Major-General Sir Edward Andrew Stuart**, born 1832. Entered the Army, 1852; served at the siege of Sevastopol, where he was severely wounded, received medal with clasp, Turkish medal and fifth class of Medjidieh; took part in China Campaign, 1860 (medal with two clasps); Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea Hospital, 1885-94. On the 19th, in London, aged 90, **Margaret Bryce**, widow of James Bryce, LL.D., the eminent naturalist. Born in Belfast; mother of James Bryce, M.P. On the 21st, at Leeds, aged 85, **Sir Edwin Gaunt**, a prominent manufacturer in Leeds. Mayor of Leeds, 1886, knighted, 1887. On the 21st, at Cawsand, near Plymouth, aged 79, **John Waye**. Served in the Navy with Sir Thomas Cochrane's expedition against the Sultan of Borneo, 1846; took part in capture of Lagos in the *Bloodhound*, receiving thanks of the Government; in the *Harpy* in the Crimean War (medal); served in the West Indies later; Navigating Lieutenant, 1866; Staff Commander, 1867. On the 22nd, at Rome, aged 58, **Menotti Garibaldi**, s. of the celebrated Italian liberator. Took part in the campaigns of his father, and rose to the rank of General; in the Italian Legislature was at first a member of the Extreme Left party but afterwards joined the Moderate Left. On the 23rd, in London, **Mrs. Sutherland Orr**. Alexandra, elder sister of the late Lord Leighton, m. Major Sutherland George Gordon Orr of the Madras Service and Commandant of 8rd Cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent; was an intimate friend of Robert Browning, whose life she wrote, as well as criticisms of his poems. On the 24th, at Constantinople, **Edgar Whitaker**, Proprietor and Editor of the *Levant Herald*, and Correspondent of *The Times* in that city. On the 25th, in Paris, aged 51, **Gustave Larroumet**, a celebrated literary and dramatic critic. Was the successor, as dramatic critic on *Le Temps*, of Francisque Sarcey; author of "Life of Lord Brougham," "Etudes d'Histoire et de Critique Dramatique" and "Etudes de Molière et Marivaux." On the 26th, at Ulcombe Rectory, near Maidstone, aged 86, the **Dowager Marchioness of Ormonde**, eldest dau. of General the Hon. Sir Edward Paget. M., 1843, the second Marquess of Ormonde. Served as Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Adelaide, 1844-9. On the 26th, at Marstrand, Sweden, **William Henry Corfield**. Born 1843. Educated at Cheltenham Grammar School, Magdalen College, Oxford, University College, London, and Medical Schools of Lyons and Paris. Professor of Hygiene in University College; was a pioneer in hygienic work, being the first Professor of Hygiene appointed in London and starting the first hygienic laboratory at University College, and was the author of many books and pamphlets treating of the public health. On the 27th, at Maynooth, **Mgr. Gargan, D.D.**, President of Maynooth College. Born, in 1819, in Co. Meath. Entered Maynooth, 1836; ordained, 1843; Professor of Humanity at Maynooth, 1845; Professor of Ecclesiastical History, 1859; Vice-President, 1885; President, 1894. During his presidency the beautiful chapel was built, mainly through his energetic initiative. He presided over the centenary celebrations of the college, which were conducted on a grand scale, and received the King and Queen on their recent visit with much dignity. On the 28th, at Marham House, Norfolk, aged 100, **Eva Maria, Viscountess Glentworth**, dau. of Henry Villebois of Marham. She had lived in the reigns of five English monarchs. M., first, 1836, Edmond Henry (by courtesy) Viscount Glentworth; second, 1847, Colonel Hugh Smith Baillie of Red Castle, Ross-shire, retaining the courtesy title. On the 28th, at Dublin, **Henry Gray Croly**, a well-known Dublin surgeon. Twice President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and for nearly forty years Senior Surgeon at the Royal Dublin Hospital. On the 29th, at Naples, aged 62, **Cavaliere Enrico Modisto Bevilacqua**. For twenty-five years Opera Conductor at Covent Garden; made Cavaliere by the late King Humbert. M., 1867, a niece of Madame Tietjens. On the 30th, aged 83, **Captain Reginald Merton Barff**, 45th Bengal Infantry, s. of Arthur Barff, of Upper Norwood. Served in the North-West Frontier Campaign, 1897-8, with the 45th Ratnay's Sikhs; also with the Tirah Expeditionary Force, being mentioned in despatches, and receiving medal with three clasps. In August, aged 66, **Right Rev. William Thomas Thornhill Webber**, Bishop of Brisbane, s. of William Webber, a surgeon at Norwich. Born in London; educated at Tonbridge School and Pembroke College, Oxford. Curate of Chiswick, 1861-4; Vicar of St. John the Evangelist,

Red Lion Square, 1864; appointed Bishop of Brisbane, 1885; paid long visits to England to raise money for his diocese, the building of a cathedral, and the maintenance of schools. In August, in Berlin, Herr Von Lavetsov, born 1837. President of the German Reichstag, 1881-4 and 1888-95, when he resigned his office on the adverse vote on his proposal to present an address of congratulation to Prince Bismarck on his eightieth birthday; afterwards Leader of the Conservative party; Life Member of the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, 1890.

SEPTEMBER.

Dr. Alexander Bain.—On September 18 there died at Aberdeen, Dr. Alexander Bain, for twenty years Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen, and one of the strongest and most original of modern British psychologists. He was born at Aberdeen, 1818, and educated at Marischal College, where very early he acted as Deputy-Professor of Moral Philosophy and afterwards of Natural Philosophy. After being Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Andersonian University, Glasgow, for a year, he moved to London, 1845, and lived there till 1860, when he was appointed to the Chair of Logic at Aberdeen. During his life in London he developed his intimacy with John Stuart Mill, whom he already knew, having read his "Logic" in MS. and been its first reviewer in the *London and Westminster Review* (1849). Till 1850 he held the post of Assistant Secretary to the Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioners, but resigned it in that year to be free for philosophical authorship. He had already written scientific textbooks for Chambers's School Series, and brought out an edition of Paley's "Moral Philosophy" with notes (1852), and now produced the two treatises which made his reputation, that on "The Senses and the Intellect" (1855) and on "The Emotions and the Will" (1859). Mill speaks of Bain's work in these volumes as having "pushed analytical research into mental phenomena, by the method of the physical sciences, to the farthest point which it has yet attained," and they placed him in the foremost rank of the philosophers of the nineteenth century. After his return to Aberdeen he reduced his exposition to text-book form in "Mental and Moral Science" (1868) and wrote "Logic, Deductive and Inductive" (1872). The Professor of Logic also taught English literature, and this led to the writing of an "English Grammar" (1863) and a manual of "English Composition." He repeatedly revised his longer treatises, and wrote "Education as a Science" (1879), a volume of "Practical Essays" (1884), worked with Mill and Grote in bring-

ing out an edition, with notes, of James Mill's "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind" (1869), edited Grote's "Aristotle," and his "Minor Works" (1873), and produced a biography of James Mill and "John Stuart Mill, a Criticism, with Personal Recollections" (1882). He was the founder of *Mind*, the first periodical in Great Britain devoted to Philosophy and Psychology, whose first number appeared in January, 1866, and which he supported financially for many years. His latest work was a memoir of its editor, his old pupil, Professor Croom Robertson, prefixed to a volume of "Philosophical Remains" (1894). His final revision of "The Senses and the Intellect" appeared in the same year, and in 1903 he collected various papers which had appeared in *Mind* and published them as "Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics."

Since Bain began to write, as the excellent obituary notice in *The Times* points out, very great progress has been made in psychological study by the application of evolutionary and comparative methods, the introduction of experiment and the great development of pathological research. That progress his work must be acknowledged to have materially assisted, even if he did not keep abreast of it himself. For he not only, as it has been truly put, said the last word that could be said—even so, not convincing, yet remarkably persuasive—on behalf of the old British school of Associational Psychology, but was also a pioneer of newer methods of investigation, as, for example, in his "insistence on the study of mental facts in close connection with their physiological conditions." "The stress which he laid upon our active experiences of movement and effort was entirely original," says *The Times*, and "the use he makes of the experiences themselves" in connection, on the one hand, with our sense of permanent personality, and, on the other hand, to explain our perceptions of space and the external world, "forms a permanent addition to psychological analysis."

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.—On September 27 there died at Gordon Castle, Fochabers, aged 85, Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Earl of March, Baron of Settrington and Duke of Aubigny in France, eldest son of the fifth Duke of Richmond. Educated at Westminster and Christ Church, he entered the Army, 1839, and was Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington, 1842-52. Sat as a Conservative for West Sussex, 1841-60, when he succeeded to the dukedom. First held office as President of the Board of Trade in the Derby-Disraeli Government of 1867, and followed his leaders on the question of household suffrage. On Lord Derby's death, 1869, the Duke was chosen as leader of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, which post he held for six years, criticising severely but temperately most of the measures introduced by Mr. Gladstone. When, in 1876, Mr. Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield, and leader of the House of Lords, the Dukedom of Gordon was revived in favour of the Duke of Richmond. He was Lord President of the Council, 1874-80, but after 1880

he took a more subordinate though not unimportant part in politics, holding office again as President of the Board of Trade and first Secretary for Scotland in Lord Salisbury's Government of 1885. The Duke was a keen supporter of agriculture, a successful breeder of Southdown sheep and maintained a herd of shorthorns. As President of the Council he did much to promote legislation for the protection of our flocks and herds from the ravages of contagious diseases. He was also chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (commonly called by his title) appointed in 1879, of which the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883 was an outcome. Although he took no active part in racing the Duke carried on his family tradition by always entertaining large parties, which frequently included members of the Royal Family, for the Goodwood meeting, which maintained its high position as a great social gathering. He married, 1843, the daughter of A. F. Greville, and at the time of his death his son, grandson, and great-grandson were all living.

On the 1st, aged 65, at Erbersdorf Neurode, Austria, while on leave, **Count Franz Deym**, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the Court of St. James since October, 1888, after being for a short time Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich. He had previously held various minor diplomatic posts, and before going to Munich sat for some years in the Austrian Upper House. He had numerous friends in England, where he had devoted himself with the greatest cordiality to the maintenance and strengthening of the, happily, very friendly relations between his own country and this. He was an Austrian Privy Councillor and a Knight of the Golden Fleece. M., 1870, Countess Anna Schlabrendorf. On the 2nd, aged 59, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas William Patterson, D.S.O.** Served with the Royal Army Medical Corps in Afghan War, 1878 (medal); the Soudan Expedition, 1885 (medal with clasp and Khedive's star), and as Senior Medical Officer in Burmah, 1886-7, being mentioned in despatches and receiving the D.S.O. On the 5th, **Major-General John Spurway**, of Spurway and Oakford, Devon, born 1827. Entered Royal Artillery, 1846, and served in the Crimea, being present at the Battle of Inkerman and fall of Sevastopol, and receiving medal with two clasps, Turkish medal, brevet of Major and Knighthood of Legion of Honour. M., 1864, dau. of Charles Stirling. On the 6th, aged 65, **Thomas Richard Jessop, F.R.C.S.**, a leading surgeon in Leeds. Was first Professor of Surgery and Practical Surgery when the Leeds School of Medicine was amalgamated with the Yorkshire College, 1884; President of the Surgical Section of the British Medical Association, 1889. On the 6th, aged 39, **Father Wehinger**, of Austrian birth, founder and head of St. John's Leper Asylum, Mandalay. The asylum was founded twelve years ago and Father Wehinger made an elaborate study of the treatment of leprosy, bringing his asylum to great perfection of arrangements. In 1901 Lord Curzon when in Burmah paid a high tribute to Father Wehinger and conferred on him the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. On the 6th, in London, **Captain Thomas Leslie Slingsby**, born 1829, third s. of Colonel C. P. Leslie, of Glasslough, Co. Monaghan. Entered the Royal Horse Guards at the age of twenty and was A.D.C. to Lord Raglan in the Crimean War. M. Emma Louisa Catherine, dau. of Sir T. T. Slingsby, ninth baronet, and sister of Sir Charles Slingsby, on whose death by drowning in the Swale (with other members of the Hunt) she became his heir, and her husband assumed the name and arms of Slingsby. He lived in Yorkshire, where he was well known, especially in the hunting field, being for several years Master of the York and Ainsty Hunt. On the 7th, in London, while on leave, **Major-General William Hill, C.B.**, of the Indian Army, born 1846,

s. of Major Charles P. Hill. Entered the Army, 1866; had medal with clasp for the Looshai Expedition, 1871-2; in Afghan War, 1878-80, was at capture of Ali Masjid, and on march from Kabul to relief of Kandahar—mentioned in despatches and brevet majority; mentioned again, and C.B., for services in command of Kurram movable column in Tirah Campaign of 1897-8; since 1901 Inspector-General of Volunteers in India. M., 1877, Emily, dau. of William Jameson, C.I.E. On the 8th, **Colonel William Briggs Allin, B.A.M.C.**, principal medical officer of the Bombay and Nagpur districts. Served in the Afghan War, 1878-80, and Nile Expedition, 1884-5, when he was mentioned in despatches and received medal with clasp and Khedive's star; served also in South Africa, where he was principal medical officer of an infantry division, was promoted Colonel and mentioned in despatches. On the 9th, aged 69, **William Westall**, at one time a foreign correspondent for *The Times*, and Editor and part Proprietor of the *Swiss Times*. Author of "Tales and Traditions of Saxony and Lusatia," 1877; "The Old Factory," 1881, and many other works of fiction, several of which illustrated his knowledge of Lancashire and Yorkshire life. On the 10th, aged 40, **Staff-Surgeon William Job Maillard, V.C., R.N.** Entered the Navy as Surgeon in 1889; was awarded the Victoria Cross for conspicuous gallantry in his efforts to bring into safety a wounded seaman during the outbreak at Candia, 1898; promoted to Staff Surgeon for distinguished service in 1899. This gallant officer was M.D. Lond. (obtaining marks qualifying for the Gold Medal, 1891), and M.R.C.S. England. On the 13th, aged 80, **Rev. Prebendary Godfrey Thring**, fourth s. of Rev. John Gale Dalton Thring of Alford House, Somerset, and younger brother of Lord Thring and of the famous headmaster of Uppingham. Graduated at Balliol College, Oxford, 1845; after serving several country curacies, held for thirty-four years the family living of Alford with Hornblotton, Somerset; Prebendary of Wells, 1876; a well-known hymn writer and hymnologist; his publications included "The Church of England Hymn Book," which is in its third edition. M., 1870, the only dau. of Charles Pinney of Camp House, Clifton. On the 14th, **Mrs. Alice Gordon Galick**, President of the International Institute for Girls in Spain. Had worked for thirty years for the Christian and higher education of Spanish girls, being President of the Young Women's Christian Association and Women's Christian Temperance Union in that country. On the 14th, aged 89, **William Alexander Mackinnon**, thirty-fourth Chief of the Clan Mackinnon, s. of W. A. Mackinnon of Acryse Park, Kent. Educated at Cambridge; sat as Liberal M.P. for Rye, 1852-3, and for Lynton, 1857-68; High Sheriff of Kent, 1885. M., 1846, Margaret, dau. of Francis Wiles. On the 17th, **Rt. Rev. Hugh Willoughby Jermyn**, s. of Rev. George B. Jermyn. Born 1820; educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge. Incumbent of St. John's, Forres, 1848; Rector of St. George's, Basseterre, and Archdeacon of St. Christopher, West Indies, 1854. Obligated by ill-health to return to England he held one or two livings before 1871, when he was appointed Bishop of Colombo. In 1875 his health again failed and he returned to England to be appointed in the same year Bishop of Brechin, in succession to Bishop Forbes; he was appointed Primus of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, 1886. A keen promoter of foreign missions and of efforts for the elevation of social morality, Bishop Jermyn, alike in the administration of his diocese and in his discharge of the duties of President of the Scottish Episcopal Synod, commanded cordial and general confidence and wielded important influence. M., first, Ellen, dau. of Edward Scudamore, M.D., and second, Sophia, dau. of Rev. Edward Chaloner Ogle. On the 18th, **Canon John Henry Overton, D.D.**, born 1835, s. of Francis Overton. Educated at Rugby and Lincoln College, Oxford; held the Vicarage of Legbourne, in Lincolnshire, for twenty-three years, from 1860, and the Stow Longa Canonry in Lincoln Cathedral, to which Bishop Christopher Wordsworth appointed him, 1879-1902; he was elected their Proctor in Convocation by the clergy of the Lincoln diocese, 1892-8, and by the Dean and Chapter, 1898; was Rector of Epworth, 1883-98, and of Grimley, near Market Harborough, 1898, till his death; in January, 1903, was appointed to a residentiary canonry at Peterborough; was recognised as a distinguished authority on English Church history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; read many papers at the Church Congress on historical and kindred topics; author, with Rev. C. J. Abbey, of "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century" (1878), and, by himself, of a volume on Wesley in the "Leaders of Religion" series, "The Life, Character and Opinions of William Law, Non-juror and Mystic" (1880), "The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 1801-30," and "The Anglican Revival" in the "Victorian Era" series; Birkbeck Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, since 1902, and Select Preacher at Oxford, 1901. M. dau. of John

Allott of Hague Hall, Yorkshire. On the 18th, aged 80, **Sir Llewelyn Turner**, s. of William Turner. A keen supporter of all movements for the furthering of Welsh interests, and worker for the improvement of Carnarvon; published "The Memories of Sir Llewelyn Turner," edited by Mr. J. E. Vincent; received the special thanks of the Admiralty for his part in organising the Royal Naval Reserve at Carnarvon. On the 19th, aged 25, **Lieutenant Sydney Knox Hamilton Little** of the Indian Army. Promoted from the ranks of the City of London Imperial Volunteers for good service in South Africa and received the medal with four clasps, with a commission in the Connaught Rangers, from which he was transferred to the 25th Bombay Regiment. On the 23rd, **General William Craig Emilius Napier**, born 1818, s. of General Sir George Thomas Napier. Served with the 25th Regiment at the landing in Natal, 1842, and as A.D.C. to his uncle, Sir Charles Napier, during his operations (1845) against the tribes on the right bank of the Indus; also at the siege of Sevastopol as Assistant Director-General of the Land Transport Corps, receiving medal with clasp, Fifth Class of the Medjidie and Turkish medal; appointed Commandant of the Staff College, 1861; he became Director-General of Military Education, 1870-4; and Governor of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, 1875-82. M., 1845, his cousin, Emily, dau. of Sir Charles Napier. On the 23rd, aged 55, **Fleet-Surgeon Albert Charles Queeley**, R.N. Appointed Surgeon in the Navy, 1872; while serving as senior surgeon of the *Triumph* during the Chilian and Peruvian War, 1879-81, he rendered services in the hospitals at Lima, for which he received the thanks of the Admiralty and of the Provisional Government of Peru. On the 24th, **Rear-Admiral Wollaston Comyns Karalake**, born 1842, s. of J. W. Karalake, of Culmstock, Devon. Entered the Navy, 1856; saw active service in China, 1858, and with a shore party during the Maori War, 1860 (New Zealand medal); promoted Commander for his services (1875) in expedition sent up the river against the Congo pirates. On the 26th, **Captain Robert Erskine Anderson**, late Royal Artillery, a veteran of the Punjab Campaign of 1848-9, for which he had the medal and two clasps. He had also seen much service during the Indian Mutiny. On the 26th, **Rev. Edward Ker Gray, LL.D.**, born 1842, s. of J. E. Gray. Educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Was instrumental in building and became the first incumbent of St. Michael's, North Kensington, 1872-86; and from 1888 till his death was incumbent of St. George's Chapel, Albemarle Street, a proprietary chapel of which he held the lease. He introduced very elaborate music into the services, getting the assistance of operatic "stars." On the 26th, aged 63, **Jabez Lones**, a Staffordshire ironmaster, who began life as a workman in rolling mills. Became head of the firm of Lones, Vernon & Holden; Chairman of the Axletree Makers' Association; Vice-President of the Birmingham Exchange, and prominent on local governing bodies. On the 27th, **Rev. Dr. Lewis Borrett White**, born 1827, s. of John Meadows White. Educated at Blackheath and Queen's College, Oxford; appointed, 1858, to the living of St. Mary Aldermary, which he held till his death. He worked his parish with much care and zeal, and was an authority on all matters connected with city churches. Secretary to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1863-76; and one of the two chief secretaries of the Religious Tract Society, 1876-1902. On the 27th, **Major-General Lewis Percival**, late Rifle Brigade. Served through the Indian Mutiny, being mentioned in despatches and receiving medal with clasps; and in the suppression of the Fenian insurrection in Canada—medal with clasp. On the 27th, **Dr. James Robert Wallace**, born 1856, of humble Eurasian parentage. Obtained the M.D. and F.R.C.S. of Edinburgh; built up a large medical practice in Calcutta, and became the acknowledged leader of the Eurasian community, whose interests he vigorously advocated, and President of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. On the 28th, **Joseph Thorburn Ross, A.R.S.A.**, s. of R. T. Ross, R.S.A., Edinburgh. Studied art at Gloucester and Paris. Exhibited "A Garland of Poppies," 1889; "Serato Veneziano," 1892, which won a diploma of honour at Dresden; "The Poppy Field," 1894, and many other pictures. On the 28th, aged 23, at Zaria, Northern Nigeria, **Lieutenant Allan James Reginald Mackenzie**, Royal Horse Guards, eldest s. of Sir Allan Mackenzie, Bart., of Glenmuick. Saw active service with the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa, and obtained his step within a year of entering the Army; since December, 1902, he had served as subaltern in the Northern Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force. On the 29th, aged 66, **David Fernie**, principal member of the firm of Henry Fernie & Sons, merchants, and owners of the well-known fleet of sailing ships. He was Chairman of the Docks and Quays Committee of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board at the

time of his death, and had been in other ways associated with the public life of Liverpool. On the 29th, **W. Fogg**, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Born 1835. Being left an orphan at fourteen, he acquired by his energy and resolution both education and success in business; was recognised as an able speaker and writer on economic subjects. He was a Free Trader. On the 30th, in Switzerland, the **Right Hon. Sir Michael Henry Herbert**, born 1857, fourth s. of first Baron Herbert of Lea and brother of the present Earl of Pembroke. Nominated an Attaché, 1877, he served at the Paris Embassy and as Second Secretary at Washington, 1888; acting there as *Chargé d'Affaires* and Secretary of Legation, and winning excellent opinions; returning to Europe, 1893, he served at the Hague, Constantinople and Rome. Having acted (1897) as British Agent at the tribunal of arbitration on the Venezuelan boundary question, he became, in 1898, Secretary of Embassy with rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. In 1902, he was selected to succeed Lord Pauncefoot as Ambassador to the United States, President Roosevelt having conveyed to the British Government a feeling most favourable to his appointment. During the short time he held office at Washington he had entirely justified the choice, winning great popularity, and doing much to preserve cordial relations between Great Britain and the United States. He married, 1888, Miss Leila Wilson of the United States. His early death was universally lamented, as cutting short a career of the highest promise. In September, the **Hon. Duncan Gillies**, born in Glasgow, 1834; went to Victoria, 1852, starting as a working miner at Ballarat; was elected five times as miners' representative for Ballarat West. A Conservative and Free Trader, he held office in successive Ministries, 1872-7; in the Service-Berry Coalition Ministry, 1883-6; and became Premier of a fresh Coalition Government with Mr. Deakin, 1886-90, holding also the offices of Treasurer, Minister of Railways, and later Minister of Mines. He represented Victoria in the first three sessions of the Federal Council. In September, aged 74, **Sir Alexander Edward Miller, C.S.I., K.C., LL.D.**, s. of Alexander Miller, of Ballycastle, co. Antrim. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Dublin, where he was university scholar (1849), first gold medallist in mathematics and physics and second gold medallist in classics (1851), and Berkeley medallist in Greek (1852); called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn (1854), and was for some years Legal Examiner at London University and for the Council of Legal Education; took silk, 1872; stood unsuccessfully (against the present Lord Ashbourne) for Dublin University as a Conservative, 1875; Legal Member of the Railway Commission, 1877-88; a Master in Lunacy, 1889-91; Legal Member of Council in India, 1891-6. M., 1859, Elizabeth, dau. of C. A. Creery, of Newcastle, co. Down. In September, aged 70, **Joseph Skipsy**, known as the "Miner Poet." Worked in the Northumberland mines the greater part of his life; in 1880, through the influence of Mr. John Morley, M.P., and Dr. Spence Watson, was appointed caretaker of Shakespeare's house at Stratford-on-Avon, but afterwards returned North; published five volumes of verse. In September, aged 81, **Frederick Law Olmsted**, author of "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," and "A Journey through Texas"; and well known as the first landscape architect in America, where he laid out the Central Park, New York, in 1856, and many other public parks, and the grounds of the Chicago Exhibition, 1893. In September, aged about 46, the **Hakim el Mulk**, one of the highest officials of the Shah of Persia, whom he accompanied to Europe in 1900; had received some medical and other Western education and spoke French; discharged very dignified and confidential duties at Court, but was believed to have fallen into disgrace early in 1903, when he retired to Resht. His death, which was said to have been marked by suspicious circumstances, occurred shortly before the fall of the Atabeg-Azam, the Grand Vizier, whose rival he was supposed to be. In September, aged 91, the **Right Rev. Thomas March Clark**, for more than forty-eight years Bishop of Rhode Island, and since 1899, by seniority of consecration, Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church. Began his ministry as a Presbyterian in Massachusetts, but after a short time obtained Episcopal ordination; worked as parish priest in Boston, Philadelphia and Hartford, being a powerful preacher and lecturer, and after his consecration was for twelve years Rector of a large parish in his See city. Notwithstanding his advanced age, his wisdom and geniality as Presiding Bishop were cordially recognised.

OCTOBER.

The Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky.—On October 22 there died, at his house in Onslow Gardens, aged 65, William Edward Hartpole Lecky, one of the most widely respected historians and men of letters of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The son of an Irish landowner in co. Carlow, by an English wife, he was sent to school at Cheltenham and completed his education at Trinity College, Dublin. He did not take honours there, but obtained the Gold Medal for Oratory from the members of the Historical Society at a brilliant period. He studied with a view to taking Holy Orders, but abandoned that intention as he felt unable to subscribe to the Articles, and devoted himself to a literary career. Of this the first fruits were contained in his anonymous volume published in 1861 on "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland"—those dealt with being Swift, Flood, Grattan and O'Connell—which attracted a good deal of attention, and exhibited distinctly Nationalist sympathies. It was republished, 1871-2, with the author's name, in a considerably altered and corrected form, but still exhibiting the same tendency of feeling. In 1865 he published his "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," to be followed, in 1869, by the "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne." Both of these works were marked by extensive information, exhibited in well-ordered form, and if not illuminated by piercing insight, yet made intelligible and interesting by being systematically related to a leading point of view. They excited a good deal of hostile discussion, the author's position and method of treatment being attacked in both cases from the orthodox side, and also in that of the "History of Morals" by the partisans of the utilitarian school of ethics. The first work was the greater literary success of the two, reaching its fifth edition by 1872.

But the book which entirely established Mr. Lecky's reputation was his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century." This was originally brought out in eight volumes, of which the first two appeared in 1878, and the last two in 1890. Two years later it was re-cast and produced in a Cabinet Edition of twelve volumes, the last five of which were devoted to the continuous treatment of Irish affairs down to the Addington Ministry. The

period was one in many ways congenial to the author and he equipped himself for treating it by the most careful research. The result was a work abounding equally in interest and instruction. Leading characters of the most diverse order are portrayed with vividness and with sympathetic justice. Movements—religious, social, economic and political—are clearly analysed and made comprehensible to the reader of quite other days. Among the results to which the book sensibly contributed must be reckoned a modification in the view so long current in England that all the blame for the American Revolution rests on the Mother Country, and, on the other hand, a realisation of the extent to which England must be held responsible for the conditions out of which grew the chronic Irish trouble of the nineteenth century. At the same time Mr. Lecky's enlightening appreciation of the historic wrongs of Ireland and of the merits of Irish National politicians in the eighteenth century and beyond, lent the greater force to his profound disapprobation of the methods of the Land League and his resolute opposition to Mr. Gladstone's later Irish policy, both agrarian and political. Mr. Lecky may be said, indeed, to have embodied, and to some extent to have created, the philosophy of Liberal Unionism.

It was very natural, therefore, that in 1896, on the elevation of Mr. David Plunket, one of the Members of Parliament for Dublin University, to the Peerage, Mr. Lecky should be asked to stand in his place. He consented, and was returned as a Liberal Unionist by a large majority against another Unionist, Mr. Wright (afterwards Solicitor-General for Ireland and now a Judge). In 1900 he was returned without opposition. In the meantime he had produced, in 1896, "Democracy and Liberty," two volumes of criticism, not seldom severe, of the working of modern political principles and tendencies—a book of considerable interest and value, but by no means equal in importance, or in the impression which it produced on the public mind, to his great historical work. A later edition (1899) contained in its introduction a remarkable study of the political character of Mr. Gladstone, who had died a few months earlier. Also in 1899 Mr. Lecky brought out "The Map of Life," giving the fruit of his thought on practical life. His one volume of poems

published in 1891 was of no conspicuous merit. In the House of Commons, from which he retired at the beginning of 1908, he obtained, though entering at late in life, a considerable position, his speeches being always marked by the full information and the play of independent thought which characterised his literary work. He supported, though with reserve, Mr. Balfour's

policy of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland. In 1897 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in 1901 he was placed by King Edward among the twelve original members of the "Order of Merit." He married, in 1871, a Dutch lady, daughter of Baron de Dedom, who before her marriage had been Lady-in-Waiting to the late Queen of the Netherlands.

On the 1st, aged 56, **Alfred Clarkson Oaler**, of a family prominently connected for three generations with the glass trade of Birmingham. A keen Liberal politician, he served successfully as Hon. Secretary, Treasurer, and President of the Birmingham Liberal Association; he adhered to Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule question, and presided at his great meeting at Bingley Hall. In May, 1908, he accepted an invitation to stand as Liberal candidate for Central Birmingham at the next general election, and during the last few weeks of his life spoke strongly against Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals. On the 1st, **Canon David Richard Falconer**, educated at Hatfield Hall, Durham, where he was licentiate in theology, 1855, and honorary M.A., 1882; appointed Rector of Hartlepool, 1867, of Stockton-on-Tees, 1874—both by Bishop Baring, who also made him Hon. Canon of Durham; appointed by Bishop Lightfoot to the valuable Rectory of Jedgefield, near Stockton, 1885, when the clergy of the Auckland Archdeaconry elected him Proctor in Convocation. On the 2nd, aged 83, **Colonel John William Fleming Sandwith**, one of the officers of the Honourable East India Company. Made his first voyage in a sailing ship, 1839, to join the 106th Bombay Regiment (now 2nd Battalion Durham Light Infantry). Took part in several actions in the Indian Mutiny, being wounded while leading a detachment at the storm of Jhansi, and receiving brevet Majority for his services. Held various staff appointments till he retired from the Indian Army, 1867. Actively promoted the Army Scripture Readers' and Soldiers' Friend Society, and other charitable movements. On the 2nd, aged 63, **Göbelmrath Friedrich Lippmann**, Director of the Royal Academy of Engravings in the Berlin Museum, since 1876. A very eminent authority on the whole art of engraving, he organised and enriched the various branches of his Gallery with admirable energy and judgment. On the 3rd, aged 69, **Admiral Sir Alexander Buller**, s. of Rev. Richard Buller. Served through all the operations before Sevastopol; commanded as Captain the naval brigade against the Malays in the Straits of Malacca, 1875-6, receiving the C.B. for his services; Naval A.D.C. to Queen Victoria, 1884; Admiral Superintendent of Malta Dockyard, 1889-92; Commander-in-Chief on the China Station, 1895-7; retired, 1899; G.C.B., 1902. M., 1870, Emily Mary, dau. of Henry Tritton, of Beddington. Inherited, 1879, the Erie Hall estate, near Plympton, Devon, from his uncle, Mr. Charles Reginald Buller. On the 5th, **William Johnson Walsham**, born 1847, s. of William Walker Walsham of Wisbech. Studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, gaining gold medal for Botany at the Apothecaries' Society, and other prizes; and became full Surgeon and Surgical Lecturer there, devoting himself specially to orthopædics and to the treatment of nasal diseases; for several years was an Examiner to the Royal College of Surgeons of England; was a first-rate operator and able lecturer. M., 1876, Edith, dau. of Joseph Huntly Spencer, of Hastings. On the 6th, aged 80, **Saul Isaac**, who was partner with his brother, the late Major Samuel Isaac, in the firm of army contractors who were chief agents to Jefferson Davis during the American Civil War, and were ruined by the fall of the Confederacy. Later, he worked the Clifton Collieries, near Nottingham, and sat as Conservative for Nottingham, 1874-80, being the first professed Jew elected to the Carlton Club. On the 7th, aged 73, **Lieutenant-General Henry James Buchanan, C.B.**, Colonel of the Norfolk Regiment. Served in the Crimean Campaign (including Alma, Inkerman, and sortie of October 26) as Adjutant of the 47th Regiment; being appointed Town Major of Sevastopol after its fall. Commanded a column of the Field Force against the Afridis, 1877-8, being mentioned in despatches, and receiving the C.B.; after reaching Major-General's rank, 1886, commanded an infantry brigade at Aldershot, and the troops in the Eastern district. M., 1884, dau. of Rev. F. Otway Mayne, of Brighton. On the 7th, **Henry Marc Brunel**, born 1842, s. of I. K. Brunel. Educated at Harrow and King's College, London. Took part in some of his father's engineering works; helped in compiling his "Life"; was associated with William Froude in his scientific researches into naval architecture; and was in

partnership with Sir John Wolfe Barry in important engineering works such as the Blackfriars Bridge over the Thames, Barry Dock, and the Tower Bridge. On the 8th, aged 42, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, **Captain Harry Clifford Franks**, s. of Major-General W. A. Franks, Indian Army. Held a commission in the North Lancashire Militia which he resigned, 1883, to enlist in the 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders; after three years' service as private and non-commissioned officer, received a commission in the West India Regiment; served under Sir Francis de Winton on the West Coast of Africa, 1887-9, being mentioned in despatches; employed for some time in the Gold Coast Constabulary; was recalled to the Colours as a Reserve officer, he served with the 4th (Militia) Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment in South Africa, 1900, and on the formation of the 6th Battalion Royal Garrison Regiment was gazetted to a company and made Adjutant of the battalion. On the 8th, **William Holms**, born 1827. For many years in business in Glasgow; Liberal M.P. for Paisley, 1874-84, during which period he took an industrious and useful part in connection with social and economic legislation of a minor order. On the 9th, aged 74, the **Rev. the Hon. George Wingfield Bourke**, fourth s. of fifth Earl of Mayo; graduated from University College, Durham, 1855, shortly after taking Holy Orders. M., 1858, eldest dau. of Dr. Longley, then Bishop of Durham, and became, 1859, chaplain to that prelate, and so continued until his death, as Primate, in 1868; held the living of Wold-Newton, Lincs, from 1859 till 1866, when Archbishop Langley gave him the Rectory of Coulsdon, near Croydon. In 1878, Lord Leconfield appointed him Rector of Pulborough, where he remained till his death, taking an active part in local administration; in 1883 he was made Honorary Chaplain to Queen Victoria, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary, 1886; and became Chaplain to King Edward VII. in 1901. On the 11th, aged 71, **George Lawson, F.R.C.S.**, Surgeon-Oculist to Queen Victoria; was Assistant-Surgeon to the Rifle Brigade in the Crimea; devoted his attention largely to diseases of the eye. Author of "Injuries of the Eye, Orbit and Eyelids" (1867), and of a "Manual of Diseases and Injuries to the Eye" which went through five editions. On the 12th, aged 82, **Major-General Robert Unwin**, a veteran of the first Afghan War, in which he served (1842) under General Nott in the force from Kandahar to Kabul; he was in the Gwalior Campaign, and at the Battle of Maharajpur, 1843; in the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-6 at Moodkee, Ferozeshah and Sobraon; and served during the Indian Mutiny at the relief and in the subsequent siege and capture of Lucknow and the capture of Bareilly; retired 1874. M. dau. of Lieutenant-Colonel A. Shuldham, Bengal Native Infantry. On the 13th, aged 62, **Captain Andrew William Miller, R.N.**, saw active service at the blockade of Canton, and in other operations in China, 1857-8; was mentioned in despatches for service as navigating lieutenant of the *Amethyst* in the engagement with the Peruvian rebel turret-ship *Huascar* off Yeo, 1877; was author of "Straits of Magellan and Eastern Shores of the Pacific Ocean." On the 13th, in Dublin, aged 60, **Sir George Frederick Duffey, M.D.** Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he had a distinguished career; entered the Army Medical Service and served in it at home and on the Mediterranean Station till 1871; President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, 1896. M., 1871, dau. of the late John Cameron, of Dublin, and sister of Sir Charles Cameron, M.D., many years M.P. for Glasgow. On the 16th, **William Quarrier**, b. 1829, in poor circumstances. Worked as a shoemaker; founded and organised homes for destitute children near Glasgow, opened 1878, through which over 5,000 children have been sent to Canada; also established the first Consumptive Sanatorium in Scotland. On the 16th, Colonel the **Hon. Sir William James Colville**, born 1827, s. of General the Hon. Sir Charles Colville, G.C.B., G.C.H., whose elder s. became eleventh Baron and was made first Viscount Colville of Culross, and died only three months earlier. Educated at Sandhurst; served with the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade in Canada, and in the Crimean War, at the Alma, and on the staff of Sir James Simpson who commanded the army at the fall of Sevastopol, receiving medal with two clasps, brevet of Major, Knighthood of the Legion of Honour, Sardinian and Turkish medals, and fifth class of the Medjidieh. Began his Court life as Comptroller of the Household and Treasurer to the Duke of Edinburgh, 1872; became Master of the Ceremonies to Queen Victoria, 1893; and held the same post to King Edward; had an unrivalled knowledge of Court ceremonial; held many foreign orders and decorations. M., 1857, Georgina Mary, dau. of Evan Baillie, of Dochfour. On the 17th, **Lewis A. Tallerman**, who having in early life amassed a large fortune in the Australian trade "annually spent some thousands of pounds," according to *The Times*, "in his work of establishing free institutes in London and the country for the necessitous poor." On the 18th, aged 86, **John Callicott Horsley**,

R.A., s. of William Horsley, a composer of glees, and grandson of the composer, Callcott. Was early appointed Headmaster of the National School of Design, Somerset House; painted the fresco of "The Spirit of Religion" in the House of Lords, 1845, but usually painted smaller and more homely subjects, being to a considerable extent a follower of the Dutch school; was at his best between 1850-60; for many years Treasurer of the Royal Academy, and for over twenty years from 1875 was the chief promoter and organiser of the winter exhibitions of old masters at Burlington House, travelling over the country to visit private collections and make choice of pictures for the exhibitions, which he arranged so successfully. Some ten or twelve years before his death took a leading part in a newspaper crusade against the nude in art. On the 18th, **Colonel Sir Gerald Richard Dease, G.C.V.O.** Born 1831; educated at Stonyhurst. A keen sportsman and man of business. Governor of the Bank of Ireland, 1891, and director of one or two companies. Chamberlain to many successive Lord Lieutenants. M., 1863, Mary, dau. of Sir Robert Throckmorton, of Buckland, Berkshire. On the 19th, aged 67, the **Rev. James Robertson**. Graduated, 1858, from Jesus College, Cambridge, being bracketed Second Classic; Assistant Master at Rugby under Dr. Temple, 1862-72, and at Harrow under Dr. Montague Butler, 1872-84, when he was appointed Headmaster of Haileybury College, which post he held till 1890; was four times Select Preacher at Cambridge; from 1891 till his death held the Jesus College living of Whittlesfield, near Cambridge. On the 20th, aged 63, **Rev. James Williams Adams, V.C.** Educated at Trinity College, Dublin. After holding curacies in England, went to India, 1867, and was placed on Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment, 1868. Was Chaplain at various stations, 1868-78, and accompanied the Kabul Field Force, 1879, taking part in the march to Kandahar. Was awarded the V.C. for his rescue (in face of the enemy) of two Lancers who were struggling under their horses in a ditch, at Bhagwana. Returned to England, 1887, to be Rector of Postwick, Norfolk, Vicar of Stow Bardolph, 1894, and Rector of Ashwell, near Oakham, 1902; Hon. Chaplain to Queen Victoria, 1900, and to King Edward VII., who in 1901 made him Chaplain-in-Ordinary. M., 1881, eldest dau. of Sir Thomas Willshire, G.C.B. On the 20th, aged 91, **Colonel Josiah Wilkinson**. Called to the Bar, 1850; was one of the founders of the 14th Middlesex (Highgate) Rifle Volunteers, 1859. He was the first Captain of the Highgate Corps, which ultimately became part of the 1st V.B. Middlesex Regiment, of which battalion he rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel, 1862, and since 1878 had been its Honorary Colonel. On the 24th, **Charles Thomas Hudson, LL.D., F.R.S.** Born 1828. Graduated as fifteenth Wrangler from St. John's College, Cambridge, 1852; Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, 1855-60, and of Manilla Hall, Clifton, 1861-81. A recognised authority on the Rotifera, of which he discovered several new genera and species. Author with Mr. P. H. Gosse, F.R.S., of "Rotifera, or Wheel Animalcules." On the 24th, aged 65, **Samson Fox**. Raised himself from the position of a working mechanic to be head of the Leeds Forge Company, which he started, 1874, for the making of boiler plates; author of many mechanical inventions, including the corrugated flue; gave 46,000*l.* to the building of the Royal College of Music. On the 26th, **Wilfred Joseph Cripps, C.B., F.S.A.**, born 1841, s. of William Cripps, M.P.; educated at Trinity College, Oxford. Called to the Bar, 1865; author of a series of works on English plate which are recognised as of final authority on the subject; published "Old English Plate," 1878 (sixth edition, 1899); "Old French Plate," 1880; and "Corporation and College Plate," 1881. On the 29th, from a railway accident in America, **Mrs. Booth Tucker**, dau. of "General" Booth of the Salvation Army and one of the leaders of that organisation. On the 29th, aged 84, **Charles Henry Wyndham & Court-Repington**, of Amington Hall, Warwickshire, s. of General Charles Ashe & Court-Repington. Educated at Eton and Cambridge. Took an active interest in promoting emigration to Canada, visiting the colony in connection with that work; was M.P. for Wilton, 1852; appointed by Lord Palmerston Commissioner of Income Tax, 1855, and by Mr. Gladstone Assistant Comptroller of National Debt Office, 1860; retired, 1882. M., 1854, Emily, dau. of Henry Currie of West Horsley Place. On the 31st, **Charlotte Frances Frederica, Countess Spencer**, born 1838, dau. of Frederick Charles William Seymour by his second wife, Lady Augusta Hervey, dau. of the first Marquess of Bristol. M. Earl Spencer, 1858. Her dignity and grace were the subject of universal appreciation in Ireland when her husband was Viceroy, 1868-74 and 1882-5, and for many years she was one of the most admired of hostesses in London society. In October, **Sir Herbert Stanley Oakeley, Mus. Doc.**, born 1830, second s. of Sir Herbert Oakeley, third Baronet. Educated at Rugby

Church, Oxford; studied music at Dresden with Dr. Schneider and t; elected Emeritus Professor of Music in the University of Edinburgh, ghted, 1876; Honorary Composer of Music to the King in Scotland; many compositions in Church music, also for the pianoforte and solo October, Richard Henry Savage, born, 1846, at Utica, New York State. an Engineer in the Egyptian Army, 1871-4, and with the 2nd United nteer Engineers through the Spanish War; and also filled several lplomatic and consular posts. Author of "My Official Wife," and about er sensational novels. M., 1873, Anna Josephine Scheible of Berlin. In ged 60, Albert Dresden Vandam, s. of Mark Vandam, District Com- for the Netherlands State Lotteries. Educated in Paris and lived there per Correspondent for many years; wrote "An Englishman in Paris" olume of reminiscences attributed to Sir Richard Wallace; also "My ook" (1894), "French Men and Manners" (1895), "Under Currents of l Empire" (1896). In October, William Curnow, a native of Cornwall. r Wesleyan Ministry; went out to Australia, 1854, and after holding ges was Minister for several years of the principal Wesleyan church in about 1877. A throat affection making active ministerial work im- joined the staff of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and became its Editor, h post he held until recently. In October, Apostol Margariti, pioneer, eek by education, of the Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia; by 1890, despite bitter Greek opposition, in establishing, with Turkish rty Roumanian schools in Macedonia and Southern Epirus, three of imself maintained, besides founding secondary schools at Monastir and atterly he fell into disgrace at Constantinople and Bucharest and his declined. In October, aged 77, William Brown, prison warder at Winson l, Birmingham, for forty-three years. The original of Warder Evans Reade's "It's Never too Late to Mend," and noted for his wise and eatment of prisoners.

NOVEMBER.

Mommsen, the most distin-
historian of Rome and one
et distinguished jurists in
enth century, was the son
awig pastor, and was born
g, November 30, 1817. He
the Altona Gymnasium, and
iversity of Kiel, and at an
was commissioned by the
ademy of Science to study
riptions in France and Italy.
t time he was editor of the
leswig-Holstein *Zeitung*. In
as called to the Chair of Civil
ipsig, which two years later
ced to vacate on account of
l views. He was successively
of Roman Law at Zürich,
d at Breslau, 1854-8, when
ppointed to the Chair of
lstory at the University at
here the remainder of his
ieffly spent. He was engaged
years in editing the "Corpus
um Latinarum," published
e auspices of the Berlin
He also took part in edit-
Monumenta Germaniæ His-
it his most important work
vn "Römische Geschichte,"
he first volume appeared in
be rapidly followed by its
till the completion of the

great undertaking. The impression it
produced was profound, and has been
abiding. In Mommsen's pages ancient
Rome lives again; dramatic imagina-
tion, informed by the most exact and
laboriously accumulated knowledge, has
brought back the struggles and the am-
bitions of the Imperial people and
their leaders. Justice may not be
always done, but the vivid story com-
mands the interest of every intelligent
reader.

Among other works which became
text-books for students and scholars the
most noteworthy were "Römische For-
schungen" (1864-79), "Res Gestæ Divi
Augusti" (1865), "Römische Staats-
recht" (1871-6), "Digesta Justiniani"
(1866-70), and "Römische Strafrecht"
(1898). On more than one occasion his
freedom of speech and strong Liberal
opinions involved him in conflict with
the German Government, and in 1882
he was tried, but acquitted, on a charge
of slandering Prince Bismarck in an
election speech. In 1880 a great portion
of his library was destroyed by fire, and
his English admirers presented him
with a collection of books to make good
in part his loss. He had once been a
strong admirer of English institutions
and the English temper, but latterly
his sentiments changed, and during

the South African War he expressed his unfriendly feelings in strong language, which was heartily endorsed not only in Academic centres, but by his countrymen at large. Yet during the last year or so of his life he expressed a desire for the revival of Anglo-German friendship. In England, in any case, as elsewhere, he was regarded as the greatest scholar of his time in every source of knowledge pertaining to ancient history. He continued to work up to within a short time of his death, which occurred on November 1, at Berlin, and he was accorded a public funeral, at which the German Emperor was present.

The Hon. George Brodrick.—Hon. George Charles Brodrick, second son of Rev. William Brodrick, Rector of Castle Rising, and subsequently seventh Viscount Midleton, was born May 5, 1831. After some years with a private tutor, Mr. Brodrick went to Eton, but his health broke down, and he was forced to leave in 1848, when he took a voyage to India, and on his return in 1850 entered as a Commoner at Balliol College, Oxford. In 1855 (having previously taken a first in Classical Moderations) he graduated with a first class in *Literæ Humaniores* and in History; was elected Fellow of Merton College, and carried off the English Essay and Arnold History prizes. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1859, and joined the Western circuit, but with little success in the way of briefs, and was from 1860-72 a leader writer for *The Times*. He unsuccessfully contested Woodstock in 1868 and 1874 as a Liberal, and Monmouthshire in 1878, standing on the same side; but after the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill he became a Liberal Unionist, published various articles on Ireland, and made speeches on Home Rule, which on one occasion involved him in legal proceedings, followed by an apology. In 1881 he was elected Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and threw himself with great zeal into the remodelled University and municipal life of Oxford. In 1898 he declined the office of Vice-Chancellor on the score of age, and resigned the Wardenship a few months before his death, which took place on 8th November at his lodgings, Merton College. Of him the *Guardian* truly observed, that at his College "his wisdom and kindness will be long remembered," and added: "He had more points of contact with the outside world of politics, letters and society than most University digni-

taries, and his loss deprives Oxford of one of the few figures which stood out prominently against the background of academic qualifications."

Lord Rowton, C.B., K.C.V.O.—Montagu William Lowry-Corry, Lord Rowton, the second son of Rt. Hon. Henry Corry, was born in London on October 8, 1838, and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1860. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1863 he practised for three years on the Oxford Circuit. In 1866 Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, appointed him his Private Secretary, and he remained in that post after his chief's retirement in 1868. In 1874 he resumed the place officially and continued to hold it until Lord Beaconsfield's death in 1881. He accompanied Lord Beaconsfield to Berlin as Joint Secretary to the Special Mission, and in 1880 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Rowton.

After his patron's death Lord Rowton devoted himself to the question of the housing of the poor, and in conjunction with Sir Edward Guinness—afterwards Lord Iveagh—began to personally investigate the conditions under which the poor lived in London and Dublin. His solution of the question differed from that proposed by other workers in the same direction—Lord Rowton insisted that a "poor man's hotel" under certain conditions could be made to pay, and that the success of one block would induce the public to furnish means for building others. In order to start the first "Rowton House," Lord Rowton advanced 30,000/., and with this sum Sir Richard Farrant undertook to build the house required. When the building was completed, Lord Rowton undertook the furnishing in all its details, personally selecting the articles requisite and testing the arrangements for the comfort of the guests. The uniform charge of sixpence a night was made, which included the use of all the living rooms, and a scale of charges was arranged by which a single man could be boarded or lodged at the rate of from ten shillings to thirteen shillings per week. The success attendant upon this scheme was so great that in 1894 it was thought advisable to form a company with an increased capital—which before Lord Rowton's death had risen to 350,000/., and had provided "Rowton Houses" at King's Cross, Newington Butte, Hammersmith and Whitechapel, with accommodation for

nearly 4,000 guests, with the prospect that more than twice that number will be provided for in a few years.

Lord Rowton's intimate connection with the Court continued up to the close of Queen Victoria's life, but his health was so much impaired of recent years that he withdrew in a great measure from public and Court life. He was, however, universally popular with all classes and was an unfailing friend to those who appealed to him for assistance or advice. He died at his house in Berkeley Square on November 9 from pleuro-pneumonia following on influenza. Lord Rowton was Lord Beaconsfield's sole literary legatee, with entire discretion as to the use of the material thus placed at his disposal; but it is understood that he held that the time for its publication was not yet.

The Rev. Shirley Baker of Tonga.—This remarkable person, who was the practical ruler of Tonga for some thirty years, was a member of a Devonshire family allied to the Brunels. Shirley Waldemar Baker was born in Devonshire, 1835, obtained a medical degree, and emigrated to Australia, 1859. A year or two later he obtained admission to the Wesleyan Ministry and went as a missionary to Tonga, where he obtained great influence with both the King and people, and was able to transmit considerable sums to the Wesleyan body in Australia as the results of collections among the converts whom he had made or to whom he ministered.

There is controversy as to subsequent events, but some facts stand out with sufficient clearness. There having been complaint, largely from English merchants, as to Mr. Baker's proceedings, Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stanmore), High Commissioner in the Pacific, invited the Wesleyan Conference in Australia to hold an inquiry. They recalled Mr. Baker to a circuit in Australia, but he refused to go, and so used his influence with the King that he was appointed Premier for life. He ruled Tonga both civilly and ecclesiastically up to 1890, setting up what he called the Free Church of Tonga, and, it is said, treating with much harshness those who opposed separation from the Wesleyan connection. He introduced a good deal of the paraphernalia of European Parliamentary government, but remained himself the real ruler. Ultimately he became unpopular, and an attempt was made on his life, which was very severely punished. In 1890 Sir John Thurston, who had succeeded to the High Commissionership, had him deported for two years to Australia as a "cause of disturbance" in Tonga. He returned some years later, and appears to have endeavoured, with some considerable success, to discomfit the Wesleyans by bringing the Tongan Church within the Anglican pale, in which he had become a lay reader. But he never regained his influence, and died after a career of picturesque but finally unsuccessful adventure on November 30.

On the 1st, at Birmingham, aged 59, **John Bernard Hardman**, a manufacturer of stained glass and ecclesiastical metal work. Educated at St. Mary's, Oscott, at the Oratory, Edgbaston, and at the Roman Catholic University of Dublin. Member of the Birmingham Town Council, 1879-95; and an active philanthropist. On the 1st, at Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W., aged 56, **William Edward Briggs**. Educated at Rugby and Worcester College, Oxford; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1888; sat as Liberal Member for Blackburn, 1876-85; stood unsuccessfully as Liberal Unionist for Clitheroe, 1892. On the 3rd, aged 74, **Rev. Canon Thomas Major Lester**. Graduated at Cambridge, 1852; took Holy Orders and in 1855 became Vicar of St. Mary's, Kirkdale, Liverpool, which charge he retained till his death, winning such universal esteem by his work for the benefit of the poor, and especially poor children, that it had been lately decided, in his life-time, to raise a statue to him by public subscription. On the 3rd, aged 38, **Commander George Murray Kendall Fair, R.N.**, promoted to that rank for services in connection with the relief of the Pekin Legations, 1900. On the 4th, at sea, aged 39, **Lord William Augustus Cavendish Bentinck, D.S.O.**, third son of Lieutenant-General Arthur Cavendish Bentinck, and brother to sixth Duke of Portland; served with distinction through the late South African War, being twice mentioned in despatches; major, 10th Hussars, 1902. On the 5th, at Durban, Natal, aged 64, **Sir John Robinson, K.C.M.G.**, s. of George Robinson, of Durban. Member of Legislative Council, Natal, 1863-1901; first Premier of the Colony, 1893-7. M., 1865, Agnes, dau. of Benjamin Blaine, of Natal. On the 7th, aged 78, **Sydney Evershed**, of Albury House, Burton-on-Trent, son of John Evershed, of Albury, Surrey, a brewer at Burton. Mayor, 1881-2; sat as a Liberal for Burton Division of Staffordshire, 1886-1900. M., 1856, Fanny, dau. of Henry Whitehead, of Chelsea. On the 8th, aged 70, the **Hon. Louis François Rodrigue Masson**, a much-

respected French-Canadian statesman; served on the Lower Canadian frontier during the Fenian raid, 1866, and became Lieutenant-Colonel, 1867; was Conservative member of the first Dominion Parliament for fifteen years; Minister of Militia, 1878, under Sir John A. Macdonald, and introduced the system of cadet corps in schools and colleges; Dominion Senator, 1882; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, 1884, retiring 1887, but was again Federal Senator 1890-1902. On the 8th, at the Grange, Totteridge, Herts, aged 93, **Sir Charles Nicholson**, D.C.L., M.D., first Baronet, s. of Charles Nicholson, of London. Educated at Edinburgh University; M.D., 1832. Emigrated to New South Wales, 1833; member of first Legislative Assembly; Speaker, 1845-56; Chancellor of the University of Sydney, N.S.W., 1854-60, which he generously endowed and had been instrumental in establishing. Knighted, 1852; Baronet, 1859. M., 1866, Sarah E., dau. of Archibald Keightley. On the 11th, aged 85, **Thomas Ebenezer Webb**, until six weeks of his death County Court Judge of Donegal, to which post he was appointed in 1888; but he was best known for a career of great and prolonged brilliance in connection with Trinity College, Dublin, of which he was a scholar in 1845. He obtained an extraordinary number of University prizes; was "grinder" in philosophy to Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Dr. J. P. Mahaffy; elected Professor of Moral Philosophy, at Trinity College, Dublin, 1857; read for and was called to the Bar, 1861; and was elected (1865) Regius Professor of Laws, having been elected Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, on the first trial, 1863; practised successfully at the Bar, and published, 1902, "The Mystery of Shakespeare," to demolish Shakespeare's authorship. On the 12th, at Hemel Hempstead, aged 74, **Maria S. Rye**, dau. of Edward Rye, of Golden Square, London. One of the pioneers in the enterprise of migrating children to the Colonies, especially to Canada, and for twenty-seven years actively engaged in the work. Waifs and strays, mainly girls from three to sixteen, were first trained in a home at Peckham, and then drafted to a home at Niagara, where, under Miss Rye's personal supervision, their training was completed, and places were found for them in Canadian households. The results have been excellent. Ultimately, in 1895, Miss Rye transferred her homes to the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society. At an earlier period she was also actively engaged in promoting the emigration to the Colonies, under favourable conditions, of middle-class girls. On the 12th, at Sydney, N.S.W., aged 73, **Sir John Lackey**, K.C.M.G., son of William Lackey, of Moorbank, Sydney, N.S.W. Became a farmer; sat as representative for Paramatta, 1860-5; for Central Cumberland, 1867-85; Minister of Public Works, 1875-7, and 1878-83; Member of Legislative Council, 1886; President, 1894. M., 1851, Martha, dau. of William Hutchinson, of New South Wales. On the 13th, aged 82, **Staff-Commander John Grimsdale Anderson**, R.N. (retired). Was wounded, about 1840, in command of a boat pursuing a slaver on the West Coast of Africa; in 1842, being at Fernando Po, volunteered to take charge of H.M.S. *Soudan*, the remnant of the ill-fated Niger expedition, and suffered partial blindness of one eye for the rest of his life through the effects of repeated attacks of fever on that service. On the 13th, at Brighton, aged 88, **Hon. Georgina Mary Harbord**, dau. of third Lord Suffield. M., first, 1837, George Edward Anson, C.B., first Private Secretary to H.R.H. Prince Albert; and second, 1855, Charles Edward Boothby. As Mrs. Anson she was resident Bedchamber Woman to Queen Victoria, 1838-45. On the 15th, at Hull, aged 79, **Sir Robert Martin Craven**, F.R.C.S., s. of Robert Craven, F.R.C.S. Educated at Kingston College, Hull, and at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London; was connected with the Hull Royal Infirmary. M., first, 1853, Jane A., dau. of William Ward, of Hull; and second, 1858, Mary M., dau. of Robert Welsh, W.S., of Edinburgh. Sheriff of Hull, 1878-80. On the 15th, at Kingsdowne, Stratton St. Margaret, Wilts, aged 91, **Hannah Archer**, widow of David Archer. To her was largely due the adoption of the principle of boarding out pauper children, first advocated by Miss Preusser, of Windermere. Having seen the excellent possibilities of such a plan, she headed, in 1870, a deputation of ladies to Mr. Goschen, then President of the Local Government Board, which secured the abrogation of the ruling against the placing of children outside their own unions. On the 15th, at Düsseldorf, aged 87, **Rev. Albert Augustus Isaacs**, called "the Jew of Leicester." Graduated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1850; Vicar of Christ Church, Leicester, 1866-91. Was greatly interested in the conversion of the Jews. Author of numerous books of travel in the Holy Land, and other works. On the 16th, at Skierniewice, Russian Poland, aged 8 years, **Princess Elisabeth**, only child of the Grand Duke of Hesse and the daughter of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, who were divorced in 1901. On the 19th, at Long Spring,

Melton, Suffolk, aged 40, **Hugh Stowell Scott**, better known under the pen-name of Henry Seton Merriman, s. of a member of Lloyds, where he entered an under-writing firm in 1885, but remained only a few years. In 1892 he published his first novel, "From One Generation to Another," which was followed at brief intervals by others, among which were "With Edged Tools" (1894), "The Sowers" (1896), "Roden's Corner" (1898), "The Isle of Unrest" (1900), "The Vultures" (1902), and "Barlasch of the Guard" (1908). On the 21st, at Hampstead, aged 67, **Julian Marshall**, s. of John Marshall of Headingley, first M.P. for Leeds. Educated at Harrow. Engaged in the family business of flax-spinning, but became a great collector of art objects, and was devoted to music and games; author of many biographical articles in Sir George Grove's Dictionary, and of the "Annals of Tennis" (1878). M., 1870, Florence, dau. of Rev. Thomas Sumner, of All Hallows, Barking. On the 21st, in London, aged 75, **Prince Dimitri Soltykoff**. Born in Russia; educated at St. Petersburg University, and entered the Russian Diplomatic Service, and afterwards served in the Army during the Crimean Campaign as Aide-de-Camp to General Paskievitch. In 1863 Prince Soltykoff first began racing in England, and about ten years later came to reside permanently in this country. He was moderately successful on the Turf and a highly respected member of the Jockey Club. He m., in 1865, a dau. of Prince Yacowbel, a famous art collector. On the 21st, at Carlton House Terrace, aged 55, **John Penn, M.P.**, s. of John Penn, of Lee, Kent. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Joined his father's firm of marine engine-builders, 1873; sat as a Conservative for Lewisham from 1891, and spoke with considerable authority on questions of naval construction and administration; he was devoted to golf and was distinguished in the Parliamentary tournaments which began soon after his election to the House of Commons. On the 21st, at Brighton, aged 58, **Major-General George Hand More-Molyneux, C.B., D.S.O.**, s. of Lieutenant-Colonel A. More-Molyneux, H.E.I.C.S. Educated at Guildford and Bedford Grammar Schools. Appointed to 87th and, later, 37th Foot, 1870; in 1874 joined Bengal Staff Corps; served in the Afghan War, 1878-80; employed in the Intelligence Department of the Soudan Expedition; as D.A.A.G. in the Burmese Expedition, 1885-9 (Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel); in the Tirah and North-West Frontier Campaign, 1897-8 (mentioned in despatches). M., 1889, Alice, dau. of C. P. Matthews of Havering-atte-Bower, Essex. On the 22nd, in London, aged 70, **Right Hon. Charles Seale-Hayne, M.P.**, s. of Charles H. Seale-Hayne, of Fuge, Devon. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1857; sat as a Liberal for the Ashburton Division of Devon from 1885; was made Privy Councillor, 1892, and Paymaster-General, 1892-5. Took a prominent part in local and county affairs, and passed through the various grades of the South Devon Militia, of which he became Lieutenant-Colonel, and was subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel of 2nd Devon Volunteer Artillery. On the 22nd, in London, aged 58, **Charles Cotes**, s. of Rev. Charles Guy Cotes, Rector of Stanton St. Quentin. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; became a stockbroker; contributed 10,000l. to the fund raised to purchase the Longford pictures for the National Gallery. M., 1876, Lady Edith Bouverie, dau. of fourth Earl of Radnor. On the 23rd, in London, aged 66, **Sir Charles Bradley Pritchard, K.C.I.E.**, s. of Rev. Dr. Charles Pritchard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Educated at Rugby, Sherborne and Haileybury; appointed to Bombay Civil Service, 1857; Commissioner of Customs, 1881; of Salt Revenue, 1882; and Commissioner in Scinde, 1888-92; Member of the Governor's Council, 1890, and of the Viceroy's Council, 1892-6. On the 23rd, at Montebello, Quebec, aged 85, **Louis Joseph Amédée Papineau**, head of a notable French Canadian family, which took part in the rising of 1837. Educated at Quebec; studied law; at the rising escaped to New York, and admitted to the Bar; then by special act of Legislature returned to Canada in 1843, and was appointed joint protonotary of the Court of Queen's Bench for Lower Canada; retired 1880, and in 1890 joined the Presbyterian Church, to which his wife belonged. On the 24th, at Childwickbury, Herts, aged 59, **Sir John Blundell Maple, Bart., M.P.**, s. of John Maple of Tottenham Court Road. Entered his father's business at an early age and developed it to a remarkable extent, and in 1900 it became a limited liability company, of which he was the Chairman. He was President for twelve years of the Early Closing Association. In 1885 he took to racing, and subsequently to the breeding of race-horses, meeting with a fair amount of success. In 1887 he was elected as a Conservative for Dulwich and represented that constituency until his death. In 1893 he presented a small hospital and in 1894 a

large park for a recreation ground to St. Albans, and a few years later he undertook the rebuilding of University College Hospital, London, at a cost of more than 150,000*l.* M., 1874, Emily H., dau. of M. Merryweather of Clapham; knighted, 1892, and made a Baronet, 1897. On the 24th, aged 78, Hugh Shield, K.C., s. of John Shield, of Stotes Hall, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and Jesus College, Cambridge; graduated first class in Classics, 1854; first class in the Moral Science Tripos, 1855, and Chancellor's Medal for legal studies, 1856; Fellow of Jesus College, 1856; called to the Bar at Gray's Inn, 1860; sat as a Liberal for Cambridge, 1880-5. On the 25th, at Bishop's Cattle, Salop, aged 67, Robert Jasper More, M.P., s. of Rev. Thomas F. More of Linley Hall, Salop. Educated at Shrewsbury School and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1860; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1863; sat as a Liberal for South Shropshire, 1865-8, and as a Liberal Unionist for the Ludlow Division from 1885 to his death. M., 1871, Evelina Frances, dau. of Rev. Dr. Carr of St. Helens. On the 27th, at 127 Victoria Street, S.W., aged 83, Lieutenant-General Sir John Black Spurgin, K.C.B., C.S.I., s. of J. Spurgin, M.D., of London. Entered the East India Company's Service, 1842; appointed to the Madras 1st Regiment; served in the Burmese War, 1852-3, and with great distinction during the Mutiny at Cawnpore and Lucknow, 1857-8, receiving the thanks of the Governor-General in Council, brevets of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel, medal with two clasps, and one year's service for the defence of Lucknow; commanded Sub-District of Naas, Ireland, 1878-9, and 1st Brigade at Aldershot, 1880-3. M., 1848, Emma, dau. of Henry Walsefield. On the 30th, at Kensington, aged 75, Sir John Richard Robinson, s. of Rev. Richard Robinson, of Witham, Essex. Educated at a Congregationalist School, whence he was apprenticed to a newspaper office at Shepton Mallet; came to London in 1848 as sub-editor of *Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper*, and was appointed shortly afterwards editor of *The Express*, an evening issue of the *Daily News*; in 1868 he was appointed manager of the *Daily News*, and brought forward Mr. Archibald Forbes and many other distinguished "war correspondents" during the Franco-Prussian and subsequent wars. In 1887 he became also editor of the paper (though not taking night work), and retained the post, combined with that of manager, until 1896, and the managerial control alone again till 1902. He m., 1869, Jane, dau. of W. Granger, of Wickham Bishops, Essex. He was always specially interested in the aspirations of subject nationalities, and at the time of the *Daily News* jubilee received an address from the Bulgarian people, gratefully acknowledging the services rendered to them by that journal under his charge. He was an excellent example of the older type of journalist—high-minded, with a scrupulous regard for the best traditions of English newspapers, and with a great knowledge of men and a fine sense of humour. On the 30th, Sir Frederick Bramwell, Bart., F.R.S., born 1818, third s. of George Bramwell, partner in the firm of Dorrien & Co., bankers. After being at a school under a master who was pained by his mechanical proclivities, he was apprenticed (1834) to John Hague, an engineer, with whom he remained as chief draughtsman after his apprenticeship was ended. He worked for other employers and then set up in practice for himself, becoming an Associate (1856) and full Member (1862) of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. He gradually concentrated his attention on the legal side of his profession, and, says *The Times*, his "services were in demand, and his name will be found, in nearly all the most important [engineering] cases of the last thirty or forty years of the nineteenth century." In 1874 he was chosen President of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, in 1885 President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and he was President of the British Association at Bath, 1888. He was D.C.L. of Oxford and Durham, LL.D. of Cambridge and McGill, and a F.R.S. He was knighted, 1881, for services in connection with technical education, and made a Baronet, 1889. M., 1847, his cousin, Harriette Leonora, dau. of Joseph Frith. In November, by a gun accident in London, Dacres Hope Wise, eldest s. of Lieutenant-Colonel Dacres W. Wise, of Allerton, Loddiswell, Devon; a Commissioner of Lands in the service of the Federated Malay States, whose early death was declared by the Colonial Office to be a "great loss" to the service. In November, aged 42, Alfred Edward Rodewald, member of a firm of cotton merchants at Liverpool, who, in his leisure time, had attained a high degree of musical culture, had founded (1884) the Liverpool People's Orchestral Society, and conducted its performances with such success that good judges believed that he could have an assured career if he adopted music as a profession. In November, the Contessa Baldelli, dau. of Captain Walker, R.N., one of Nelson's captains. M., first, Captain McDouall, 12th Lancers; secondly, Count Baldelli. Was actively interested in philanthropic and humanitarian work of various kinds in Italy.

DECEMBER.

Herbert Spencer.—Herbert Spencer was born in Derby on April 27, 1820, the son of a schoolmaster, by whom his education was directed until he was fourteen years of age, when he adopted engineering as a profession, and in 1837 was articled to Mr. Charles Fox in London. Whilst pursuing his technical studies Herbert Spencer found time to turn his attention to more speculative subjects, and at the age of twenty-two published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper a series of letters on "The Proper Sphere of Government." This marked the turning-point in his life. He came to London and supported himself by journalism and other literary work. In 1848 he was appointed sub-editor of the *Economist*, to which journal he had been a contributor, and held the post until 1853. Meanwhile in 1851 he had produced at his own expense his first important work, "Social Statics," which failed to attract much attention beyond a limited circle. The expense, which absorbed nearly all his means, and a serious illness which overtook him shortly afterwards, seemed likely to arrest his work as a writer. In consequence, however, of a legacy in 1855 he was able to bring out "The Principles of Psychology," which at once placed him in the front rank of speculative philosophers. Two years later, in April, 1857, he published an article in the *Westminster Review* on "Progress: Its Law and Cause," in which he anticipated by two years Darwin's theory of Evolution. The great work, however, by which Herbert Spencer was to be best known was heralded in 1860 by the prospectus of his "Synthetic Philosophy," in which he announced the scheme of a new philosophy based upon scientific grounds as distinguished from metaphysical reasoning. The opening volume, "First Principles," appeared in 1862, in which he traced the influence of constant evolution in life, mind, morals and society. This general introduction—of which the tenth edition appeared in 1897—to his system was followed at intervals by the "Principles of Biology" (1864), "Principles of Psychology" (1870-2), "Principles of Sociology" (1876-96), and "Data of Ethics" (1879). At various intervals he published supplementary volumes in which "The Principles" were more specifically elaborated. Amongst these were "Ceremonial Institutions" (1879), "Political Institu-

tions" (1882), and "Ecclesiastical Institutions" (1885). To the "Data of Ethics" he added "Justice" and other volumes, of which the final, completing the "Principles of Sociology," appeared in 1896. According to Spencer's system the omnipresent law of evolution itself was deduced from a higher and ultimate principle. He insisted therefore upon the importance of determining what was the ultimate test of truth. And in doing this he brought out the distinction between his method and that of J. S. Mill and the principles of empirical philosophy. He held that the roots of Ethics were to be found in all the conditions of human activity. His influence upon his contemporaries was more obvious in foreign countries than in his own, but he declined to accept any honours which foreign universities and statesmen pressed upon him. In the same way he declined all public or official recognition of his long services to his fellow-men. In his later years he published two volumes, "Various Fragments" (1897)—chiefly of a controversial nature—and "Facts and Comments" (1902), on general topics. In his practical opinions Mr. Spencer was a very pronounced Individualist—a fact somewhat difficult to harmonise with the general scheme of his philosophy. For a year his health, always precarious, had been failing, and he died on December 8 at Brighton, leaving the reputation of the greatest thinker of his country and of his time, who had constructed an organic scheme of philosophy based on encyclopædic knowledge, and had done more than any other writer of his century towards the unification of thought.

The Bishop of Gibraltar.—The Rt. Rev. Charles Waldegrave Sandford, second son of Ven. John Sandford, Archdeacon of Coventry, was born in 1828, and educated at Rugby and Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained a studentship, and graduated First Class in *Literæ Humaniores*, 1851. Tutor of Christ Church, 1855, and Senior Censor, 1866; appointed by Dr. Tait his Examining Chaplain, 1864-71; Rector of Bishopsbourne, Kent, 1870-4, when he was appointed to the Bishopric of Gibraltar, which extends over the whole of Southern Europe, reaching to the shores of the Black Sea. He discharged the duties attaching to the charge of his wide and scattered

diocese with unsparing devotion, which in the end broke down his health. He was a moderate High Churchman, with wide sympathies, and had friendly relations with the leaders of other communions than his own. He was well known to and warmly regarded by the British residents at winter resorts in Southern Europe, and was an active and efficient promoter of missions to British seamen in foreign ports. He married, in 1885, Alice, daughter of Sir George Baker, and died at Cannes on December 8 after a short illness.

Signor Zanardelli.—Guiseppe Zanardelli was born at Brescia in 1829, and after being educated in his native town became a law student at the University of Pavia. On the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 he joined the Italian patriots and took part in the campaign against the Austrians. In addition to his active share in military duties, he started the journal *Costituente*, which advocated the principles of Italian freedom. On the re-establishment of Austrian power in Lombardy Zanardelli returned to Brescia, where he earned his livelihood by "coaching" law students for the University degree. His little disguised hostility to the Austrian Government soon attracted the attention of the authorities, and his classes were inhibited. On the union of Lombardy and Piedmont he was elected, in 1859, as Deputy for his

native town. He organised Garibaldi's reception at Naples in 1860, and took part in the subsequent Sicilian campaign. A little later he was appointed Royal Commissioner for the province of Belluno. He continued an active political life in the Chamber, where he sat with the Opposition as an advanced Liberal. In 1876 he accepted office as Minister of Public Works in the first Depretis Cabinet, and two years later as Minister of the Interior in the Cairoli Cabinet he brought forward, but was unable to pass, a Bill for the reform of the franchise. After two years in Opposition Zanardelli returned to office in the second Depretis Cabinet as Minister of Justice, when he carried his franchise scheme and a commercial code. In 1888, having quarrelled with Depretis, he retired, but resumed his portfolio in 1887, and retained it under Crispi until 1891, having during his tenure introduced a new Criminal Code. In 1893, and again in 1896, he was elected President of the Chamber, but quitted the Chair to take office under the Marquis di Rudini. On the fall of the Saracco Cabinet (1901) Zanardelli was entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet, which, supported by the Extreme Left, remained in power until October, 1903, when Zanardelli retired from ill-health. He died at his villa at Maderno on December 26 after a protracted illness.

On the 1st, at Perth, Western Australia, aged 73, **Sir James Lee Steere**, third s. of Lee Steere, of Jayes Park, Ockley. Educated at Clapham Grammar School; emigrated to Western Australia in 1850; devoted himself to farming; nominated member of the Legislative Council, 1868; elected Speaker of Council, 1886-90, when he was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Assembly; represented Western Australia in the Federal Council of Australasia in 1886, 1888 and 1889, and at the Federation Conference, 1890, and Federation Convention, 1891. M., 1859, Catherine A., dau. of Sir Luke Leake, of Perth, Western Australia. On the 1st at Cairo, aged 51, **Ernest Ayscoghe Floyer**. Educated at Charter House. Appointed to the Indian Telegraph Service, 1869; spent the year 1876 in the unknown districts of Baluchistan, and published "Unexplored Baluchistan," 1876; appointed Inspector-General of Egyptian Telegraphs, 1876; sent to explore the Eastern Desert of Egypt, and rediscovered ancient emerald mines. On the 1st, aged 43, **Major Langton Philip Mumby**, R.A.M.C., s. of the late Colonel Charles Mumby. Mentioned in despatches for service with the Tochi Field Force, on the North-West frontier of India, 1897. On the 1st, at Munich, **Herr Mayer**, formerly Burgomaster of Oberammergau, and well known for his noble and impressive performance of the part of Christ in the Passion Plays at that place. On the 3rd, at Lochinch Castle, Stranraer, N.B., aged 85, the **Earl of Stair**, K.T. Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple, tenth Earl, was educated at Harrow; served for some years in the Scots Guards; sat in the House of Commons as Liberal member for Wigtonshire, 1841-56; Chancellor of Glasgow University, 1884; Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, 1869-71; one of the founders of the Liberal-Unionist party in the West of Scotland; President of the Council and Captain of the Royal Company of Archers. M., 1846, Louise J. H. E. de Franquetot, eldest dau. of the Duc de Coigny. On the 3rd, at Upper Brook Street, W., aged 85, **Major-General Charles Vyvyan Cox**, C.B., s. of Rev. John Cox, Rector of Chedington and Vicar of Stockland-cum-Dalwood, Devon. Educated at Sherborne School and Addiscombe; appointed to the Bengal Artillery, 1838; served in the Gwalior

Campaign, 1848-4; the Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6, wounded at Moodkee; the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9, mentioned in despatches; and through the Indian Mutiny. M., 1864, Charlotte Elizabeth, dau. of J. L. Farr, of North Cove Hall, Suffolk. On the 3rd, aged 89, **Commander Arthur Cole Lowry**, who had on several occasions displayed conspicuous gallantry in the saving of life at sea. On the 3rd, at an advanced age, **Mrs. Beattie Inglis**, one of the first and most successful of lady lecturers. On the 4th, at Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, aged 67, **Alfred Louis Cohen**, a prominent philanthropist and public worker; s. of Louis Cohen, of the Stock Exchange. President of the Jews' Soup Kitchen; Vice-President of the Jews' Free Schools, and many other charities; member of the London County Council from 1901. On the 4th, **George Edward Yorke Gleadowe, C.M.G.** Born 1856, s. of Canon Gleadowe, of Neston, Cheshire; was a scholar of Winchester and of New College, Oxford; first class in *Lit. Hum.*, 1879; had a successful career in the Treasury, and early in 1903 was appointed Assistant-Comptroller and Auditor-General, but failing health prevented his occupying his new post. M., first, dau. of F. L. Bland; secondly, dau. of Rev. O. M. Holden. On the 5th, aged 66, **Lieutenant-General James May, C.B.**, s. of Captain William May. Received one year's services for his conduct in and around Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny, when he was wounded; and was mentioned in despatches for services in the Bhootan Expedition, 1864-5. On the 6th, at Malvern, Victoria, aged 86, **Rev. Colin Campbell**. Born in Scotland; educated at Glasgow University and Exeter College, Oxford; B.A., 1838. Emigrated to Tasmania in 1839, and subsequently passed over to Victoria; was first a sheep farmer, and afterwards a journalist; was Secretary to the Denominational School Board, Victoria, 1848-52; member of Legislative Council, 1854-7; after which he sat in successive Parliaments in the Legislative Assembly; entered Holy Orders, 1878; Incumbent of All Saints', Ballarat, 1879-86; of Talbot, Victoria, 1886-9. On the 7th, at Münster, Westphalia, aged 76, **Dr. Julius Otto Grimm**, Professor of Music at the University of Münster, and a musical composer. Studied at the Leipzig Conservatorium with Schumann, Brahms and Joachim; and did much to popularise the works of the two first named. On the 7th, aged 62, **Colonel Thomas Walker**, late R.A. Entered Bombay Artillery from Addiscombe, 1859; joined India Ordnance Department, 1880; Commissary of Ordnance, Bombay, through the second Afghan War and the Suakin Expedition; Officiating Superintendent, Gun Carriage Factory, during the Egyptian Expedition, and received the thanks of the Government of India on all three occasions. His latest appointment, ending with his retirement, 1896, was Inspector-General of Ordnance, Madras Circle. On the 8th, at Waddington, Lincolnshire, aged 70, **Rev. Thomas Henry Stokoe, D.D.** Graduated at Lincoln College, Oxford, first class in *Lit. Hum.*, 1855; ordained 1857; Second Master at Clifton College, 1859-63; Headmaster of Richmond (Yorks) Grammar School, 1863-71; of Reading Grammar School, 1871-7; and King's College School, London, 1880-9; Rector of Lutterwate, 1889-94; Vicar of St. Michael's, Oxford, 1894-7; and Rector of Waddington from that date. On the 9th, **Adolphus Drucker**. Born in Amsterdam, 1868; educated at Leyden Gymnasium and University; returned as Conservative for Northampton, 1898. On the 10th, at Alderley Park, Cheshire, aged 76, **Lord Stanley of Alderley**, Sir Henry Edward John Stanley, third Baron Stanley. Was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; entered the Foreign Office as précis writer to Lord Palmerston, 1847, and subsequently passed into the Diplomatic Service as Attaché at Constantinople, 1851; Secretary of Legation at Athens, 1854-9, and served on Lord Dalling's Special Mission to the Danubian Principalities; embraced the Mahomedan religion, and buried in accordance with its rites. M., 1862, Fabia, dau. of Señor Don Santiago San Roman of Seville. On the 10th, at Ardgowan, Renfrewshire, aged 77, **Sir Michael Robert Shaw-Stewart**, seventh Baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; served in 2nd Life Guards, 1845-7; sat for Renfrewshire as a Liberal Conservative, 1855-65; Grand Master of Scottish Freemasonry for seven years. M., 1852, Lady Octavia Grosvenor, sixth dau. of second Marquess of Westminster. On the 11th, in Paris, aged 83, **Lord Abinger**, James Yorke MacGregor Scarlett, fourth Baron Abinger. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; served in the South African War, 1900, with the Militia Battalion of the Cameron Highlanders. On the 13th, in Grosvenor Place, London, aged 89, **Captain Leonard Robert Sunkersett Arthur, C.M.G.**, second s. of Colonel Sir Frederick Arthur. Entered the Army, 1883; served with the Rifle Brigade in the Burmese War, 1887-8; appointed to organise the Sultan of Zanzibar's troops, 1892; accompanied Sir Gerald Portal to Uganda, 1898; appointed British Consul at Boma and Dakar, and made C.M.G. for specially meritorious

services in connection with the Gambia Expedition; Colonial Secretary to the Gold Coast, 1900 to 1908, when he was appointed Private Secretary to Lord Northcote, whom he was to have accompanied to Australia. On the 14th, at Alcauth, Hungary, aged 29, **Archduchess Clotilde Marie Rainieria**, dau. of Archduke Joseph of Austria. On the 15th, at St. Ives, Cornwall, aged 61, **Thomas King, C.B.**, s. of D. H. King, of Stratton, Cornwall. Educated privately at King's College, London, and at Trinity and Jesus Colleges, Cambridge; Fellow of Jesus College; Assistant Commissioner on Primary Education in Ireland, 1868-70; Inspector of Schools, 1871; Chief Inspector, 1894, and Senior Chief Inspector, 1898. On the 15th, at Panton Hall, Lincolnshire, aged 65, **Edmund Turner**. Educated at Eton and Oxford; sat as a Conservative for Grantham and South Lincolnshire, 1868-80. M., 1866, Lady Mary Gordon, dau. of tenth Marquess of Huntly. On the 15th, at Askham, Penrith, aged 85, **Rev. Gage Earle Freeman**. Graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he won the Seatonian Prize for English Poems in 1892, 1888, 1893 and 1894; ordained, 1846; Vicar of Emmanuel, Bolton, 1854-6; Macclesfield Forest, 1856-89, and Askham, Penrith; did much to revive Falconry in England by letters to the *Field*, signed "Peregrine"; author of "Falconry; its History, Claims and Practice" (1859); "Practical Falconry" (1869). On the 15th, at St. James's Place, S.W., aged 76, **Sir James Cornelius O'Dowd**, s. of J. H. O'Dowd, of Dublin. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1859; Deputy-Judge Advocate-General, 1869-99; Professor of Law at the Military Staff College, 1896; for some years part proprietor and editor, in conjunction with Sir W. H. Russell, of the *Army and Navy Gazette*, and also for several years an Army Purchase Commissioner. On the 15th, at Birmingham, aged 67, **Rev. Henry William Pullen**, s. of Rev. W. Pullen, Vicar of Little Gidding, Beds. Educated at Marlborough and Clare College, Cambridge; B.A., 1859; Assistant Master at Bradfield, 1860-2; Vicar Choral of York Minster, 1862-3; of Salisbury, 1863-75; Chaplain to H.M.S. *Alert* in Sir George Nares' Arctic Expedition, 1875-6; author of "The Fight in Dame Europa's School" (1870); and for some years editor of Murray's Handbooks to Italy, Rome and Greece. On the 16th, aged 64, **Edward Cowey**, President of the Yorkshire Miners' Federation, greatly respected by the members of that body; one of the founders of the National Miners' Federation, and frequently a delegate to international miners' congresses. On the 17th, at Hastings, **Clifford Harrison**, born 1867, s. of a celebrated tenor, who, in 1866, in conjunction with Miss Pyne, established and popularised English operas. At an early age he became known as a reciter, but he was also the author of several poems and a volume of "Stray Records," and on more than one occasion held successful exhibitions of his water-colour paintings. On the 17th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 88, **Mrs. Thompson**, Frances Eliza Selwyn, dau. of William Selwyn, K.C. M., first, 1847, George Peacock, F.R.S., Dean of Ely, and a distinguished mathematician; and second, 1866, William Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. On the 18th, at Chelsea, aged 85, **Robert Etheridge, F.R.S.**, a distinguished geologist and palaeontologist. Educated privately; appointed to the Geological Survey of Great Britain under Sir Roderick Murchison and Professor Ramsay; Assistant Keeper of the Geological Department of the British Museum, 1881. He was a strong believer in the existence of an important coal-field in the South-east of England; was a recognised authority on questions of water supply; compiler of the "Catalogue of British Fossils," a work of great authority. On the 19th, at sea, aged 65, **Colonel James Gavin Lindsay**, s. of Colonel Martin Lindsay, C.B., of Dowhill. Educated at Addiscombe, entered the Royal Engineers (Madras), 1855; served in Central India through the Mutiny, 1857-8; superintended the construction of the Northern Bengal Railway, 1873, and the Sibi Railway, made with wonderful speed for the troops moving into Southern Afghanistan, 1879-80, and the Harnai-Pishin Railway; Engineer-in-Chief of the Southern Mahratta Railway, which has proved of great value in famine relief, 1881-91; Deputy-Chairman of that railway, 1891-6, when he became Chairman. On the 20th, at Hampstead, aged 73, the **Rev. Dr. Brooke Herford**, a highly esteemed Unitarian Minister, who on his retirement from the ministry, on account of failing health, two or three years ago, received a testimonial of over 3,000*l.* from English and American friends. On the 20th, at Netherhall, Maryport, aged 60, **Humphrey Pocklington-Senhouse**, s. of J. Pocklington-Senhouse. Chairman of the Maryport Harbour Trust; took a prominent part in county affairs; Lieutenant-Colonel of Cumberland and Westmorland Yeomanry, 1893-7. M., 1879, Florence Catherine, dau. of Turner H. Macan, of Carriff, Co. Armagh. On the 21st, at Belgrave Road, S.W., aged 83, **Rear-Admiral William Andrew James Heath, C.B.**, s. of Baron Heath, Consul-General for Sardinia. Entered the Navy, 1832; served in the Syrian War,

1840; in the Baltic, 1854; and the Black Sea, 1855 (promoted Commander); commanded a storming party at the taking of the Peiho forts, 1859 (mentioned in despatches and promoted Acting Captain). M., 1871, Ella, dau. of Edward Hall of Hambledon House, Hants. On the 22nd, Hon. John Tudhope, Colonial Secretary of Cape Colony, May, 1884-November, 1888, in the Upington Ministry, and November, 1896-July, 1900, in the second Sprigg Ministry; was Director, at the time of his death, of a company owning the *Johannesburg Star*, the *Cape Argus*, and other South African papers. On the 23rd, Mrs. Knox, the authoress, under her maiden name, Isa Craig, of a volume of poems, "Duchess Agnes, etc.," which reached a second edition, 1868; and for many years the energetic Secretary of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. On the 23rd, aged 60, Surgeon-Colonel Sir George Thompson, K.C.B., s. of James Thompson of Aberdeen. Educated at the Marischal College and Aberdeen University; M.B., 1864. Entered the Indian Medical Service, 1865; served through the Afghan War, 1878-9; Chief Medical Officer in Chitral Relief Expedition, 1895, and Tirah Campaign, 1897-8, and was mentioned in despatches in each campaign. M., 1877, Catherine, dau. of John Ferguson, of Aberdeen. On the 23rd, at Strasburg, aged 66, Princess Leopoldine zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg, dau. of Prince Wilhelm of Baden. M., 1862, Prince Hohenlohe, Imperial Statthalter of Alsace-Lorraine. On the 24th, at Dunskey, Portpatrick, N.B., aged 43, Charles Lindsay Orr-Ewing, M.P., s. of Sir Archibald Orr-Ewing, first Baronet. Educated at Harrow. Captain 3rd (Militia) Battalion of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (1885-9); sat as a Conservative for the Ayr Burghs since 1895. M., first, the Hon. Beatrice Ruthven, only dau. of Lord Ruthven, from whom he obtained a divorce, 1894; and, second, 1898, Lady Augusta Boyle, dau. of the Earl of Galloway. He was a great traveller and a keen sportsman. On the 25th, at South Kensington, aged 68, Major-General John Pennock Campbell, s. of Colonel Archibald Campbell. Entered the Army, 1853; served in the 30th Regiment throughout the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5 (mentioned in despatches); Colonel, 1st Battalion East Lancashire Regiment, 1885-7. M., 1875, Caroline Mary E., dau. of Sir John Rivett-Carnac, second Baronet. On the 26th, at Helleston House, Norwich, aged 62, Sir Harry Bullard, M.P., s. of Richard Bullard, of Norwich. Educated at Grey Friars' Priory, Norwich, and at the Guildhall School, East Dereham; entered his father's brewery, 1858; elected as a Conservative for Norwich, 1886, but unseated on petition; elected again, 1895, and retained the seat until his death; knighted, 1887. M., 1867, Sarah Anne, dau. of Thomas Ringer, of Rougham. On the 26th, at Kensington, aged 56, Sir William Fischer Agnew. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1870; Reporter of Indian Reports to the High Court of Calcutta, 1877; Law Lecturer at Presidency College, 1878; Recorder of Rangoon, 1879; author of several works on law and Indian procedure. On the 26th, at Richmond, aged 81, Elise C. Otté. Born in Copenhagen; her mother subsequently married Benjamin Thorpe, the philologist, who was much assisted in his work by his step-daughter. In 1840, she went as a governess to the United States, and resided at Boston, and had a large circle of friends among the professors at Harvard. After her return to England she again assisted Thorpe in his translation of the Eddas, etc., but in 1849 joined Professor G. E. Day at St. Andrews, and worked at scientific translations until 1863, when she accompanied the Days to Torquay and nursed Dr. Day through a long illness, in which her own health broke down; she was the author of a History of Scandinavia (1874). On the 27th, at Stuttgart, aged 72, Professor Albrecht Friedrich Schaeffle. Born at Nurlingen, Württemberg. Studied at Tübingen, where he was Professor of Economics, 1860-8, when he was appointed to the same Chair at Vienna, 1868-71; Member of the Württemberg Diet, 1862-5; of the "Zoll" Parliament, 1868; Minister of Commerce in Austria in Count Hohenwart's reactionary Cabinet, 1871; author of numerous works on political economy. On the 28th, at Scotland House, Sunderland, aged 66, Sir William Allan, M.P., head of an engineering firm. Born at Dundee, s. of James Allan. He began life in humble circumstances, as an engineer-apprentice, 1847-52. Emigrated to New York and worked at Patterson, N.J. During the American Civil War was chief engineer on board a blockade runner from Glasgow; he was taken prisoner by the Federals; on his release on parole he returned to England and entered the North-Eastern Marine Engineering Company's works as a workman in 1866, and became manager in 1887; subsequently established the Scotia Engine Works, and was the first employer to adopt the eight-hours-day system. In 1893, he was returned as a Radical for Gateshead, and continued to sit for that constituency until his death. He was keenly interested in Navy reform and the abolition of Belleville boilers,

which he strenuously condemned, in our ships of war. He was the author of several volumes of verse and was knighted at the King's Coronation. M., 1870, Jane, dau. of William Beattie, of Lookerbie. On the 28th, at St. Jean-de-Luz, France, aged 46, **George Glasing**, a distinguished novelist. Born at Wakefield; educated at Owens College, Manchester, and began life as a clerk in a house of business at Liverpool. After a voyage to Australia, returned to London in 1880, and went through a period of great want and hardship. "The Unclassed" and "Workers in the Dawn" appeared in 1884, and were followed by a series of works dealing with life under its least attractive aspects, and in many points autobiographical. He also wrote a remarkable monograph on Charles Dickens, and edited the Rochester edition of his works; was also the author of "By the Ionian Sea" (1900); and "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft" (1902), chiefly his own experiences of life. On the 29th, at Kensington, aged 84, **Mason Jackson**. Born at Newcastle, and was apprenticed to a wood-engraver. After a short employment on the *Morning Chronicle*, he joined the staff of the *Illustrated London News*, of which he was Art Editor, 1860-96; author of a standard work on the progress of illustrated journalism. On the 29th, aged 45, **Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Russell Cree, R.A.M.C.**, s. of Edward Hodges Cree, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, R.N.; had a medal with two clasps for the Soudan Campaign, 1885, and was mentioned in despatches in connection with the relief of Ladysmith, 1900. On the 30th, at Bristol, aged 89, **Samuel Carter**. Born and educated at Tavistock. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1847; stood twice as a Chartist for Tavistock in 1852, but was unseated for want of a property qualification; Revising Barrister, 1879-84. On the 30th, aged 52, by his own hand, at his lodgings in London, **Andrew Pattullo**, a Canadian of Scottish descent, who had had considerable success as a journalist and politician in the province of Ontario, and had lately been speaking at Tariff Reform meetings in Great Britain. On the 30th, at Westport, Co. Mayo, aged 79, the **Marquess of Sligo, John Thomas Browne**, fourth Marquess, s. of the second Marquess. Educated at the Gosport Naval College. Entered the Royal Navy, 1839; rose to rank of Lieutenant. Sat in the House of Commons as a Liberal for Mayo, 1857-68. On the 31st, in London, aged 57, **Lord Haldon**, Lawrence Hesketh Palk, second Baron. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Entered the Scots Guards. M., 1868, Constance Mary, dau. of seventh Viscount Barrington. In December, in the Bassa Province, Northern Nigeria, District Superintendent of Police, **Lieutenant Cyril Amyatt Wise Amyatt-Burney**, in operations against a section of the Okpoto tribe. S. of the Rev. E. A. Amyatt-Burney, Rector of Babcary, Somerset. After serving with the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa, was attached, on Lord Methuen's recommendation, to the Constabulary there, but having been invalided home, obtained the appointment in Northern Nigeria, where he fell.

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